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Our elusive Willy;



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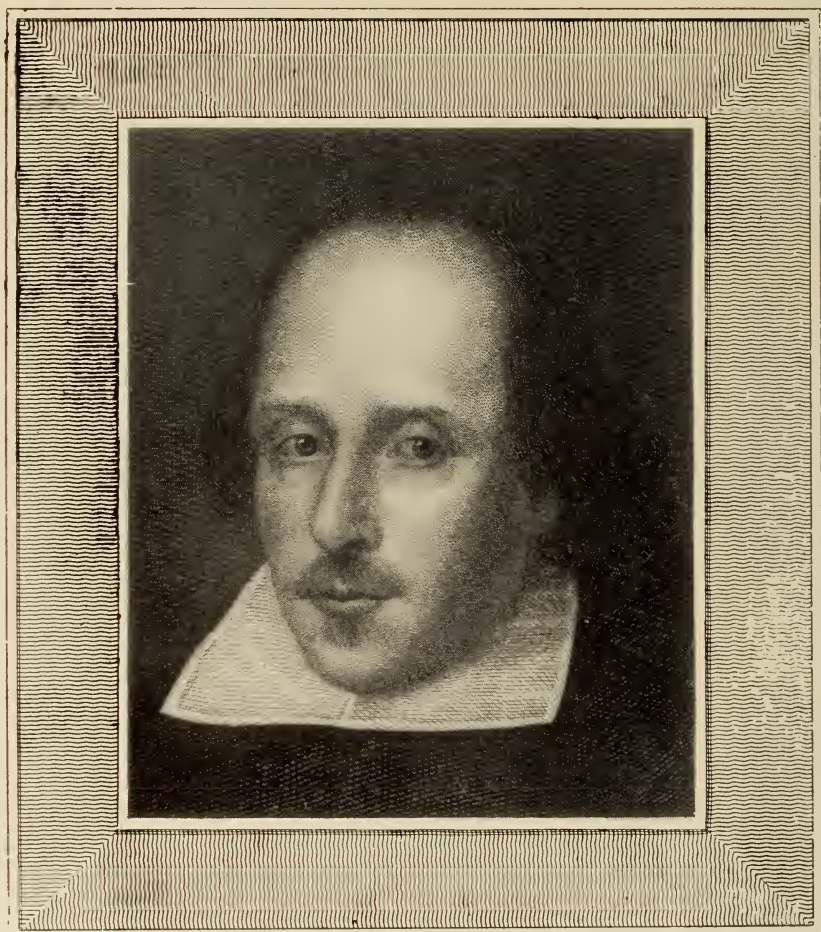
OUR ELUSIVE WILLY



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W. Shakspeare

OUR ELUSIVE WILLY

A
SLICE OF
CONCEALED ELIZABETHAN
HISTORY

Ida Sedgwick Proper

*All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players,
They have their exits and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts . . .*

AS YOU LIKE IT, Act II, Sc. 7



*What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet . . .*

ROMEO AND JULIET, Act II, Sc. 2

DIRIGO EDITIONS
Manchester, Maine

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in any form whatsoever, either for
movies, stage, television, musical
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TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO KEPT THE
GREAT SECRET, THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED

*Truth long lies hid, but in God's appointed span at length
come to light the things, that have long been concealed.*

02/4/20
2011
2011



THE FENTON PORTRAIT

NOTHING is known of this portrait, supposed to have been the original painting of Shakespeare from life, in 1597 by Richard Burbage. The likeness is so near the only two portraits that we know are authentic that, although it has no recorded history, it yet seems the best to portray the marvelous poet so beloved by all peoples in all countries, and we give it our preference.

As Richard Grant White, from whose book I take this portrait, says in his *Shakespeare's Works*, (I, 126): "Either we have here a genuine portrait of Shakespeare painted from the life, or the work of a man of genius and insight who prostituted his powers to the fabrication of a portrait and forgery of a signature, and then let his work go from him, careless even of obtaining the success within the reach of a clever imposter. This sweet, grave sensitive face, with its serene, all-observant eye, and its mouth almost sad, but to perception capable of smiles as bright as sunlight, if it were not painted from Shakespeare's self, yet it does express that self in a fashion which, mere features accuracy secured, leaves nothing to be desired." White again says, (I, 125): "On the back of the panel upon which this head is painted is an inscription in black and white paint, the style of the characters being that of the Elizabethan period. This inscription was, by those who first brought the picture into notice, and by the publisher of the first engraving from it, supposed to be 'Guil Shakespeare 1597 R.N.'; and it was not until some years after that that Mr. Abraham Wivell, a painter, having rubbed some linseed oil upon the back of the picture to nourish the decayed wood, brought out the writing more clearly, and discovered that it was 'Gul Shakspear, 1597, R.B.'" Of course this would mean, if it could be proved true, that it was the work of Shakespeare's great, in fact one of his greatest, friends.

White says also that, "For these reasons this portrait has been engraved to accompany this present edition of his *Works*." The forehead and the costume were corrected by the Stratford bust and the Droeshout print—that in the First Folio. The Signature which

accompanies this portrait in the present edition " . . . appears upon the title page of a copy of the first edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, published in 1603."

Florio married Rose Daniel, the sister of Samuel Daniel, the poet, and John Daniel, the flutist. She was the Rosalind of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*. Both of these brothers, and also Rose, were close friends of Hertford and William Shakespeare, under their various aliases. Samuel, in fact, was an employee at one time of Hertford, as was John the flutist. Edward, a younger brother, was a house employee of Hertford in 1603.





Jane Seymour, Queen of England, third wife of Henry VIII who beheaded his second wife. Portrait by Holbein.

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is the by-product of an exhaustive search for truth; a search which entailed twenty-years spent in scrutinizing the voluminous records and documents of the Elizabethan and James First periods, for the strong motives that actuated the backers and personnel of the so-called Popham Colony. This was the first effort of the Plymouth and Western towns to settle the territory allotted to them under the famous King James Charter of 1606, it was called the Second, Plymouth or the North Virginia Colony.

Secrecy was the vital element required in this period of the struggle between Protestant England and the Spanish Catholics; thus it has been impossible to find out many facts that have been obscure until England published her documents, public and private as well as foreign, rather recently as history goes.

Another factor in the situation was the extensive spy systems maintained by both England and Spain. Espionage and counter-espionage activities were of course not recorded except in code terms, and if the truth were known their tactics would probably equal the cleverness and resourcefulness of the secret agents of today.

The material for this study has been largely obtained from the public records of England, namely: Calendars of State Papers, Elizabeth - Domestic and James I - Domestic; Calendars of State Papers, Foreign, French, Elizabeth and James I; Calendars of State Papers, Spanish, Elizabeth and James I; Calendars of State Papers, Venetian, Elizabeth and James I; Scottish State Papers; Historic Manuscripts Commission; Collections of manuscripts, found in the private libraries in England; histories of shires, local histories, biographies, genealogies, ancient and modern encyclopedias and other pertinent material. Also I had recourse to the vast collections of works about Shakespeare, Shakespeare Societies' Collections; and works about Spenser as well, both in England and America.

As many of the real records have been deleted or destroyed, some by fire, some deliberately by authority, some by fear or sentiment and some by prudery, deduction became necessary to untwist the tangled threads and weave a new pattern of the mysteries surrounding some of the great writers of poetry, dramas and songs of this great Elizabethan period. Especially was it difficult as secrecy was by means of alias and pseudonym, rigidly kept.

Naturally most of the deductions contained in this study are formed on the material found in these public records, although some of it has been found in private hands. It is difficult at times to make a concise statement as most of the letters are only a one-sided correspondence. The other part of the story was not kept, or if it was, the early searchers for these precious facts abstracted the letters and documents that interested them and did not trouble to return them to the place where they belonged. One of these culprits seems to have been the famous Dutchess of Portland, a descendent of the Cavendish family, whose husband and his brothers formed the collections called the Harleian Manuscripts. However, we have reconstructed what we can of the story of these historic victims of the terrific struggle for power, mixed with the Spanish Catholics' efforts to get control of the English throne, during this bloodless battle of the succession of Queen Elizabeth and later King James.

All history in past times has a way of ignoring women and their tremendous influence on society, and the Elizabethan period was no exception. Women, unless they as individuals were notably wicked or a ruling queen or in the line of succession, have received scant notice from the historians. The women in this study are terribly important and although we do not have too much information about them, fortunately they were of sufficient eminence so that some of their correspondence has not been entirely overlooked. It is mainly from their writings that I have established this story.

The canvas I have to paint has a dark, sometimes an almost terribly frightening background; the figures which I hope to portray on it are beautiful, light, merry, oft times tragic and sad, but of an amazing versatility and industry. It was a phase of life which was unparalleled in its love of beauty and greatness of expression, but which I hope it will not be possible for life to repeat.

—IDA SEDGWICK PROPER.

PROLOGUE

To properly tell our story and introduce some of our characters, we will have to paint the sad and stormy background of events just before Henry VIII's death, when he made a *Will* which caused tragic confusion in the succession to the throne.

As his and Jane Seymour's son, Edward VI, was only in his tenth year, and not too strong, Henry thought it necessary to settle the succession to his throne by this *Will*. It provided that should Edward VI die without issue then Mary, his eldest daughter, should succeed, although she was a Catholic with strong Spanish connections through her mother, Catherine of Aragon. If her line failed, then his second daughter, Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, should succeed. It seems that parliament, although having in turn declared both of these daughters illegitimate, had at Henry's behest recognized this order. The people generally also seemed to approve of it.

If Elizabeth died without issue, then he named as successors the descendents of his younger sister Mary, who had married the old King of France, Louis XII, in 1514. Upon his death she had married the famous Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with whom she had been in love before her marriage to the aged French King. By him she had two sons, who died young, and two daughters, the eldest of whom was Frances. Lady Frances in turn married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset. In naming his younger sister, Henry VIII ignored the claim of his elder sister Margaret, who had married James IV, King of Scotland.

Henry VIII had already contracted to marry Margaret's granddaughter, daughter of James V of Scotland and Marie de Lorraine (Mary Stuart), to his son Edward VI. However, some of the Scotch people did not want to be joined in this way to England, their long-time foe, so they sent young Mary Stuart to France where she married the son of King Henry II and *Catherine de Medicis*, later King Francois II. This angered Henry VIII and he sent Edward Seymour, his brother-in-law, to Scotland to wage war

against the Scots. Probably this was the reason why he ignored the line of his elder sister in the succession that he arranged.

Before his death he appointed a Council to act as guardian to his young son. Naturally he appointed young Prince Edward's two uncles, Edward Seymour and Thomas Seymour, to this Council along with other nobles.

After Henry's death, this Council selected Edward Seymour as Protector and bestowed upon him the title of Duke of Somerset. The younger uncle, Thomas Seymour, was given the title of Lord Seymour of Sudley and Admiral of the Fleet.

Thomas, the Adonis of the age, promptly married Catherine Parr, the King's widow. Into this household he then brought Princess Elizabeth, about fifteen years old, who was supposed to be under the guardianship of her stepmother, Catherine Parr.

Thomas Seymour then bought the wardship of Lady Jane Grey from her parents, as was the custom in those days, promising to marry her to his nephew the King. Lady Jane, who was then only about ten years of age thus was in the same household with Princess Elizabeth during the time Thomas Seymour made unseemly love to her. Undoubtedly her young sister Catherine often visited her and undoubtedly knew Elizabeth.

The love affair came out under the cross examination of Elizabeth's governess, Katherine Ashley and her treasurer, Thomas Parrye, at the trial of Thomas Seymour. Elizabeth has always been supposed to have been in love with him. As the facts are so little known, I am giving some of them here.

From the confession of Thomas Parrye, her cofferer: "I do remember also she (Katherine Ashley) told me, that the admiral loved her, but too well, and had done so a great while: and that the queen was jealous on hir and him, insomuche, that one tyme the quene suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, cam sudenly upon them, when they were all alone, he having her in his armes."

From the confession of Katherine Ashley, her waiting woman and governess. "She saith 'Chesfly he would come many mornings into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber, before she were redy, and sometye before she did rise. And if she were in hir bed, he wold put open the curteyns, and bid hir good morrow, and one morning he strave to have kissed her in bed. At Hanworth, in the garden he wrated (wrestled) with her, and cut her gown in a hundred

pieces, being black cothes. An other tyme, at Chelsey, the lady Elizabeth hearing the pryvie-lock undo, knowing that he would come in, ran out of her bed to hir maydens and then went behind the curteyen of the bed, etc. At Seymour-Place . . . he did use a while to come up every morning in his nyght-gowne, barelegged in his slippers, where he found commonly the lady Elizabeth up at her boke.' At Hanworth, the queene told this examine that my lord admirall looked in at the gallery wyndow, and se my lady Elizabeth cast hir armes about a man's neck. The which heryng, the examine enquiryed for it of my lady's grace, who denyed it weeping, and bad ax all hir women. Thei all denyed it. And she knew it could not be so, for ther came no man but Gryndall, the lady Elizabeth's scholemaster. Howbeit thereby this examine did suspect that the queene was jelous betwixt them; and did but feyne this, to the entente that this examine should take more hede, and be, as it were, in watche betwixte hir and my lord admirall. She saith also, that Mr. Ashley, hir husband, hath divers tymes given this examine warnyng to take hede, for he did fere that the lady Elizabeth did ber some affection to my lord admirall, and she seemyd to be well pleased therwith, and sometyme she would blush, when he were spoken of."¹

After Catherine Parr found out about the behavior of her husband with Elizabeth, she had Princess Elizabeth's household removed from her own.

Whether it was at this time that Elizabeth began to detest the Grey sisters, her cousins, I do not know. Jane, although much younger, was really beautiful and as highly accomplished in music, languages, and the classics as Elizabeth, according to the tutors which they both had. This may have created that jealousy and dislike which later influenced her treatment of Catherine, Jane's sister.

Flocking around the young King Edward were the sons and daughters of his relatives and children of the nobles of about the same age. Among these was his cousin Edward Seymour, who was also his fellow student as they were exactly the same age, and an older noble by the name of Henry Sidney. Also included in this group were the daughter of Lord Protector Seymour, Jane Sey-

¹Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, in turn taken from Haynes, *Burghley's State Papers*, I, 96, note 2.

mour, and little Jane Grey, the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset, and ward of Thomas Seymour.

It had been the plan of the Duke of Somerset to marry his daughter Jane Seymour to King Edward; but Thomas Seymour also had his and Catherine Parr's plan to marry young Jane Grey to the King.

Thus began the enmity between these two brothers who had always been devoted to each other. Also aggravating the split between them was the action of their wives in regard to precedence. Should an ex-Queen precede the wife of the Protector or vice-versa? Catherine Parr, proud and autocratic or Anne Stanhope, Dutchess of Somerset, of the same nature—who, oh, who should precede the other!

Catherine Parr died in 1548 and Thomas is reported as saying he might marry Jane Grey himself. We quote:

"A remarkable dialogue took place between Lord Thomas Seymour and Parr, Marquis of Northampton, on this very subject. They were walking up and down the gallery at Seymour Place, or Durham House, the London residence of Lord Thomas, when that Noble began to sound out his companion regarding the young Jane, who was then actually under his roof. 'There will be much ado soon for my Lady Jane, Dorset's daughter,' said he, 'for the Lord Protector and his Dutchess mean to do all they can to obtain her for their heir, young Hertford. However, they will not succeed, for her father has given her up wholly to me upon certain covenants between us.' 'But what will you do,' asked Northampton, 'if your brother the Protector, should induce the father of the lady to enter into his views for her marriage with his son?' 'I will never consent thereto,' answered Lord Thomas Seymour."

Miss Strickland, from whom I am quoting this says, "According to the laws of wardship, that was no idle assertion. While he lived and Jane was under twenty-one, he could have broken any marriage contracted for her by her parents. Lord Thomas affirmed, both then and publicly, that 'Lady Jane was as handsome a lady as any in England.' " Such opinion from the Adonis of the court of Henry VIII, the all-conquering Lord Thomas Seymour, ought to have its due weight with those who deem that the perfections of Lady Jane Grey were solely mental.

One mystery solved by the foregoing narrative is that the ill will between Somerset and his brother, Lord Thomas, which

swelled into murderous enmity after the death of the Queen Dowager Catherine (who is usually considered the cause of it) had its origin really in the disposal of the hand of Lady Jane Grey.

"Lord Thomas meant by her means to deprive his niece Lady Jane Seymour, of the hand of the young King; or, if disappointed in that scheme, still to prevent all hopes of his nephew Hertford becoming her husband, by marrying her himself if he failed of obtaining the Princess Elizabeth."²

But Lord Thomas Seymour, the Admiral, also tried to get more power in his hands through the control of the Navy. These reasons finally led to his attainder and execution.

Two crafty members of the Council wanted to cause this split between the Seymour brothers in order to gain control of the government. They were John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Suffolk, Jane Grey's father. (These titles were bestowed somewhat later.) According to one account these crafty conspirators used these disputes to separate the Seymour brothers so that they might get control of the government and the King's person, they being of the King's Council. There seems to have been some truth in both of these stories, for as soon as Admiral Thomas Seymour was beheaded on Tower Hill, they brought charges against the Protector himself of treason. He successfully withstood this charge, but two years later they succeeded in bringing a charge of felony against him and he was brought to the block. It must have been during these years that the Protector's son, the Earl of Hertford, was affianced to Lady Jane Grey.

"The next movement of the two dominant politicians was the union of their interests by uniting their children. All Northumberland's sons were married excepting Guildford, and to him Lady Jane's hand was destined. However when Suffolk informed his daughter that such was his will and pleasure, Jane positively refused compliance. He reiterated his commands very harshly, declaring moreover that the marriage had been made by Edward VI and requiring to know whether she meant to disobey her King as well as her father? Jane reminded her parents that she had given her promise, with their consent, to a young nobleman whom she could not renounce, supposed to be the Earl of Hertford." Our

²Deposition of the Marquis of Northampton before the Privy Council, State Papers relative to the attainder (Thomas Seymour), quoted by Strickland in *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*, p. 111 et passim.

authority is a Venetian visitor to England³ who affirms that "the reluctant submission of Lady Jane to this marriage was extorted by the urgency of her mother and the violence of her father, who compelled her to accede to his command by blows." Perhaps this was the most agonizing crisis in the short life of martyrdom Jane led on this uncongenial earth.⁴

Lady Jane had also been forced by the Duke of Northumberland to sign a document stigmatizing the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth as bastards. However, Edward VI was slowly dying and these two Dukes became convinced that they would lose their power unless they did something drastic so they planned to have Edward make a *Will*, breaking through that of his father's, naming Lady Jane Grey successor to his crown. Edward VI, although so young, was a fanatical Protestant and they convinced him that if he did not do this his sister Mary would bring back the Catholic religion and the authority of the Pope and all the work of reformation of his father and himself in religion would be lost.

Child Marriages

As the young King steadily declined in health these wily Dukes decided to cement their interests in the marriages of their children but also with other children in the lines of succession. Therefore on May 25, 1553, they held three child marriages at Durham House, now the home of the Duke of Northumberland. They were: Guildford Dudley to Lady Jane Grey (both about sixteen years of age); Henry Herbert, son and heir of the Earl of Pembroke, and Catherine Grey (he about nineteen and Catherine fourteen years of age); Henry Hastings to Catherine Dudley (he about eighteen and she slightly younger).

The very same day that these child marriages took place, Catherine Grey's younger sister Mary, although only eight years of age with a crooked back, was solemnly betrothed to her adult kinsman, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton.

A previous marriage arranged by John Dudley was that of Anne Seymour, daughter of the Protector Somerset, to his son Ambrose Dudley, who later became Earl of Warwick. He was the brother

³Broardo, *Historical Tract*, edited by Luca Cortille, printed 'nell' Accademia Venezia, MDLVIII, black letter. Lent by Hon. Greville Howard of Levens Hall, Castle Rising, and Ashley Park.

⁴Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*, p. 135.

of Leycester, beloved of Queen Elizabeth.

During these fateful and unhappy years the *New Learning* had been coming into vogue and all these young people had been taught by the most famous teachers of that age. In fact this new learning seems to have been as rabid in England as was the question of religion. France and Italy were experiencing their tremendous revival of the classics and the young English students who visited abroad were all avid followers. All of these young children of royalty and near royalty had been taught Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish when they were mere babes in the nurseries. Every child was, when three years of age, taught its prayers, probably in Latin. As they grew older the study of Latin authors and Greek stories and plays as well as French, Italian and often Hebrew and the Oriental languages was the usual thing. So their heads were filled with stories of the heroic and chivalrous actions of the Old Greek and Roman legendary characters. Their letters are full of allusions to these antique gods, when they wished to represent a virtue or a vice.

Music also formed part of these infants' schooling and those of adolescent age were not only taught the playing of musical instruments, singing, etc., but were also taught the mathematics of music, as they called musical composition. Ruled paper for these exercises and for the copying of existing music had been given an early printing license.

Now back to our unscrupulous Dukes. Having made their plans to crown Lady Jane as Queen, they kept the death of Edward VI secret until they were ready. (It is thought that he died sometime in July, 1553, in the arms of his devoted friend Henry Sidney, who with the Earl of Hertford was his chief companion.) With the control of the government in their hands, the Dukes then proceeded to proclaim Lady Jane Grey Queen of England, to the consternation of the country. The English people were strong believers in the law of primogeniture.

Mary, forewarned, rode forth to contest her right and Elizabeth and most of the nobles joined with their retainers. Finally, after ten days, the reign of Jane Grey collapsed and Mary was proclaimed Queen and the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk and their sons and brothers were imprisoned in the Tower along with innocent Lady Jane.

The wife of John Grey, Mary Browne's father had been Sir

Anthony Browne, a powerful Catholic, and his widow (the "Fair Geraldine" and daughter of Thomas Grey, Fourth Earl of Dorset) persuaded Mary to release Sir John Grey. The others were finally beheaded, but of these three we shall hear a great deal later.

With the crowning of Mary I, Tudor, the Catholics returned to power and the Protestant bishops who had so boldly persecuted Catholics and had demolished their church properties were in turn persecuted. Those Catholics that had fled overseas returned home and the Protestants in turn fled to Germany and other centers of their faith.

Mary seems to have been a very human sort of person in her private life, although a fanatic in religion, for she gathered into her Court her relatives irrespective of their religion, with the exception of Elizabeth, although even she was honored at the coronation.

In her Privy Chamber, Mary had Lady Frances Grey, Dutchess of Suffolk and her daughter Lady Catherine Grey; the "Fair Geraldine", a sister-in-law of Frances Grey and now married to Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln; Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of the Protector; Lady Lennox of the Scottish line of Margaret Tudor; Lady Jane Dormer, whose mother was a sister of Henry Sidney. These women were all Protestants with the exception of Lady Jane Dormer who became an ardent Catholic later. As these women are all connected with our story we are mentioning them. There were other women in Mary's Court but we do not have to consider them.

Naturally under these rapid and peculiarly drastic changes in both government and religion many unusual things happened. Elizabeth came under suspicion and so she was brought up from her home in Ashbridge and lodged in the Tower for examination. Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, was also in the Tower at that time and it quite well might have been that Elizabeth became more intimately interested in him at this time. (The Tower was not a prison in the accepted sense, as we will find out from time to time in the stories that follow. The inmates were able to see each other through bribery and intrigue.) Robert Dudley had been married to a wife of his father's choosing, Amy Robsart, during Edward's reign.

Another act of generosity that must be put down to Queen

Mary's credit is that in liberating the young sons of Northumberland she had restored some property to them which gave them a means of livelihood. At the same time she restored to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford and son of the Protector, his title and some of his property.

The tragic history of Queen Mary and her reign, we do not need in this story to relate, excepting that with her marriage to Philip II of Spain she brought the dreaded influence of Spanish Catholics into England, and as this infiltration of the Spanish Jesuits colors and explains the tremendous motives of many of our chief characters, we must take it into account. Philip II befriended Elizabeth and she was grateful to him many times for his early affection for her. Whether it was from this cause or from matters of private intrigue or prudence, she always kept a picture of him near her during her whole life.

Mary died in November of 1557, a most miserable death, and Elizabeth was quickly crowned Queen and the Protestant religion restored.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, in the glory of her twenty-fifth year, she was a greatly changed person from the mild, seemingly submissive girl of her princess days. With the coronation came the realization of absolute authority and power, should she be prudent, skillful, cunning and cautious.

Her love of intrigue and cunning, especially in love affairs, had been fostered by her governess Kate Ashley, who was famous for such practices; while her prudence and caution had been inducted into her in her earliest childhood by Blanche Parry, her nurse and lifelong companion.

"Elizabeth was quick tempered and obstinate. She would do an unjust thing in a rage and stick to it afterwards for pride. A sort of insensate vanity, common in men but rather rare in women, always made her cleave to a decision, however mistaken. One could not shake her. She never found the need to apologize in her life. In other words she was redheaded and vain."

With the other troubles of England, Elizabeth inherited a Court of Nobles, mostly Protestant, as at Mary's death the Spanish faction of the Catholics swiftly went into hiding, or else fled the country, while the Protestants who had fled to Germany and other centers of their faith, returned to their beloved England. As many of these noblemen and women were related to both

Mary and Elizabeth, or were old friends, naturally Elizabeth retained some of them in her Court. But Elizabeth made one change, in that she chose Jane Dormer, Jane Seymour and Catherine Grey to be Maids, instead of attendants of her Privy Chamber.

Over these Maids she placed as Mother, Blanche Parry, who from later evidence was beloved by all of them. Blanche was a handsome and amiable woman, who used her influence with the Queen to the advantage of others as well as herself. She was a student of astrology and the occult sciences which she had probably imbibed from her cousin John Dee.

Naturally a Court must have Courtiers and there were many young gallants thronging back. Some of these like the Maids were either cousins or of some relationship to the members of Elizabeth's Council or of her household. Of these not so often mentioned were Humphrey Gilbert, the great colonizer; half brother of Raleigh, who had been with Elizabeth at Hatfield; Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford; Ambroise Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Sir Henry Sidney. These less known but brilliant figures are perhaps more interesting than Robert Dudley, later Earl of Leicester, whom Elizabeth immediately honored by making him Master of Horse, a rank which placed him always next the Queen's person and bedroom. Her list of Courtiers also included some older men like the Duke of Sussex and Sir John Harington.

Elizabeth, like Mary, also restored to some of these young nobles their former lands of which Mary's officials had deprived them when they beheaded many of their fathers and brothers. Among these was the Earl of Hertford whose father, Protector Somerset, had vast estates. She did not restore all of these properties at first, but later the Court of Wards settled many of them on him.

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BOOK I

OUR ELUSIVE WILLY

A
SLICE OF
CONCEALED ELIZABETHAN
HISTORY

CHAPTER I

The Tragic Love Story of the Earl of Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, 1554-1568

UNDOUBTEDLY Lady Jane Seymour, the sister of Young Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was the immediate cause of his secret marriage with Lady Catherine Grey. Jane had seen them desperately in love with each other for many years, or since the execution of Lady Jane Grey, and as she knew her life would not be long and there seemed no other solution for their plight, she carefully engineered it. She devotedly loved them both and their misery was hers.

Poor Lady Catherine had been divorced from her child marriage with Lord Henry Herbert, son of the Earl of Pembroke, a Catholic, during Queen Mary's time. The basis for the suit by the Earl of Pembroke was Catherine's love for the Earl of Hertford.

Sometime during Mary's reign, Catherine had acted as god-mother to Bess of Hardwick's daughter, Elizabeth Cavendish, mother of Arbell Stuart. Also during Mary's reign, "it happened that Lady Jane Seymour fell ill during her attendance at Court, and Queen Mary thinking it best that she should be with her own mother, sent her to Hanworth (the home of Anne Seymour, widow of the Protector and mother of Hertford) in a royal litter, a species of palanquin borne by men, and well adapted for the conveyance of the sick. The mother of the Maids (Blanche Parry)" was in attendance on Lady Jane and Lady Catherine Grey accompanied her friend, and remained with her at Hanworth, during her indisposition."¹

The Earl of Hertford was then resident with his mother, Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, later married to Sir Francis Newdigate, former Master of Horse to Somerset, at Hanworth. He confided to his sister, Lady Jane, his affection for Catherine Grey, or as he subsequently termed it his "good will toward marriage

¹Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*, p. 190.

with her." Jane, according to his desires, informed Catherine of the same, who heard it very favorably. Both felt, however, that it was no time to make open declaration of their love.

"The Dutchess of Somerset, observing familiarity and good will between these lovers and dreading that it might be attended with danger to her son (quite possibly to herself) prudently exhorted him to abstain from Lady Catherine's company, to which he was wont to reply:

" 'Mother, young folks meaning well may well accompany, and that both in this house and Queen Mary's Court, I trust that I may have Lady Catherine's company, not having been forbidden by the queen's commandment.' "²

At another time he said to someone, " 'Lady Catherine hath been sent by the queen to live with my mother at Hanworth, knowing I was there, therefore her Majesty's feeling in the matter cannot be doubted.' "³

"So the Earl of Hertford, son of the beheaded Duke of Somerset, continued to love and court the impoverished daughter of the Duke of Suffolk—the sister of her who, but for the madmans dream of her being constituted the parliamentary heiress of the crown, would have been his wife. "Sympathy in their grief for the tragic fate of Lady Jane Grey doubtless nourished the love between Hertford and Lady Catherine in the first place.

Lady Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk but now the bride of Adrian Stokes, had always called Hertford "son", doubtless from the time he was affianced to her eldest daughter Lady Jane; however he never told her of his love for Catherine till after Queen Mary's death.

During Queen Elizabeth's Progress in March 1559, Hertford and Catherine decided to make another effort toward their marriage. At any rate Hertford rode down to the Charterhouse at Sheen, the Suffolk estate on the Thames where Catherine's mother was living. In Hertford's own words he "moved her to grant her good-will that he might marry the Lady Catherine, her daughter."

She consulted with her husband and said that in her opinion he was "a very fit husband for her if the marriage should please the Queen Elizabeth and her Honourable Council."

²Harleian Mss. No. 6286.

³Ibid.

Catherine's stepfather Adrian Stokes then advised Hertford to make suit to the Queen and such of her Council as he thought were his friends to influence the Queen to accept this marriage. The Earl said "he liked the advice well and would follow it." Adrian then said that he himself would do all he could to further the marriage with such friends as he had in the Council, and that his wife the Dutchess would write to Queen Elizabeth for her Majesty's favour and good-will. "And in very deed," said Adrian, "the Lady Frances required me to make a rough draft of a letter to that purpose."

Lady Frances sent immediately to Court desiring her daughter to ask leave of the Queen to come to speak with her mother at Charterhouse. "Leave was allowed and Lady Catherine coming to her mother, Lady Frances broke the matter to her, as it had been moved by the Earl of Hertford, saying, 'Now I have provided a husband for you, if you can like to frame your fancy and good-will that way.'

"Poor Lady Catherine, must have been a little amused at the Lady Frances taking all the credit of providing a lover who had so passionately wooed her, 'assured her mother that she was willing to love Hertford.'"

"Adrian who gave his evidence subsequently at Hertford's trial, said that the Lady Frances, Dutchess of Suffolk, at this time at the Charterhouse, where, to the best of his remembrance, she dictated to him the following letter for the Queen; 'that such a nobleman did bear good-will to her daughter, the Lady Catherine, and she did humbly require the queen's highness to be good and gracious unto her, and that it would please her majesty to assent to the marriage of her daughter to the said Earl, which was the only thing she desired before her death, and should be the occasion for her to die more quietly.' The Earl of Hertford seeing that the Lady Frances was dying, and his heart failing him to trouble her in her last moments requested Stokes to stir no further in the matter."

"Stokes says that the letter was not sent to the queen's highness, on the Earl's declaring he would meddle no more in the matter."⁴

Other witnesses testifying to the secret of the letter were, "Mr.

⁴Harleian Mss., 6286 Extracts. Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*.

Bertie, the husband of the other Dowager of Suffolk, Catherine Willoughbie, Mr. Strikelly and one Gilgett, a servant of Hertford's, who had been consulted in the concocting of the letter, which was to propitiate the inexorable Elizabeth."⁵

Evidently Hertford in his deep-seated chivalry, could not disturb the last minutes of the dying woman with his personal affairs, so he and Catherine decided to await a more favourable chance.

Spanish Overtures to Catherine Grey

While this love affair was going on the Spanish were busy trying to regain their position in the affairs of England, which they had lost through the death of Queen Mary; but which they were hopeful of retrieving by finding someone to whose person they could attach their ambitions, by marriage or otherwise. Naturally they picked on Lady Catherine Grey and the first attempt seems to have been made by the Duke de Feria, who was the Ambassador of Spain to England who had secretly married Jane Dormer, her friend — announced later this year.

De Feria wrote Philip II in March of this year of 1559: "I had forgotten to tell your Majesty that Lady Catherine is a good friend of mine and talks to me in confidence. The Queen does not wish her to succeed, in case of her death without heirs. She is dissatisfied and offended at this, and at the Queen's only making her one of the ladies of the presence, whereas she was in the privy-chamber of the late Queen who showed her much favour. The present Queen probably bears her no good will. I try to keep Lady Catherine very friendly, and she has promised me not to change her religion nor to marry without my consent. She has been hitherto very willing to marry the Earl of Pembroke's son, but she has ceased to talk about it as she used to do. The Bishop will have told your Majesty what passed between the Earl of Pembroke and me on this matter."⁶

"By May, Catherine, encouraged by de Feria's fair words to her and exasperated at the coldness with which she was treated at Court, had broken out at last into arrogant and unseemly words against Elizabeth. She was banished from the royal presence and was ready to lend herself to any desperate scheme.

"Philip offered to reward anyone who would bring Catherine

⁵Ibid.

⁶C. S. P. Spanish, Mar. 24, 1559.

away 'with three times as much as he or she should lose in England'; and the Countess de Feria (Jane Dormer), Lady Montague, Lady John Grey, Lady Hungerford and even Lord Arundel himself, were thought of as likely to lend their services, so utterly precarious appeared Elizabeth's tenure of the throne.⁷

"Cecil told the Spanish Bishop, however, that neither she (Catherine) nor any other woman will succeed, in order to exclude also the Countess of Lennox,⁸ whose son if he were taken to France might disagree with their stomachs."

On November 20, 1559, Lady Frances, Catherine's mother, died and Catherine was her chief mourner. She and her younger sister Mary, a hunchback, stayed for some time at Sheen. They found that their mother had made a will leaving everything that she could to her husband Adrian Stokes.⁹ So, greatly impoverished and quite unhappy, they returned to their duties at the Court.

During this absence Hertford had evidently been paying some slight attention to the daughter of Sir Peter Newtas and when Catherine found it out she became jealous and avoided him. His sister, Lady Jane Seymour, distressed, informed Catherine that he was ill and unhappy and wanted to explain his conduct to her. As the Court was at Hampton, a meeting was arranged between them and on her allusion to her jealousy, he told her, "*that to avoid all suspicion for the future, he was ready, if she would consent, to marry her out of hand, the next time the Queen went to London, if convenience might be found, and then he hoped she would have no more doubts.*"

The speech was made in the presence of his sister, Lady Jane Seymour. Lady Catherine was well pleased, but suggested their waiting till the Queen could be induced to consent. Then they exchanged promises of marriage, and Hertford gave a ring of betrothal with a fair pointed diamond, from which she never parted till she sent it to him at the hour of her death.

⁷Simancas Mss.

⁸The Countess of Lennox, Lady Margaret, was the descendant of Margaret, the older sister of Henry VIII, and mother of Lord Darnley, whom Mary Queen of Scots married, and Charles Darnley, a younger son who married Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of Bess of Hardwick and the mother of Arbell Stuart.

⁹Catherine Grey's father possessed before his death: the Dukedom of Suffolk, Barony of Groby, Marquisate of Dorset, Baronies of Astley, Bonville and Harrington. These honors became extinct on his death. But we do find that Catherine and her sister Mary owned land in all these places.

Evidently Elizabeth had heard rumors of the efforts of the Spanish King to get possession of the person of Lady Catherine, for on Catherine's return to Court Elizabeth in her deceptive way changed her treatment of her. Perhaps Cecil, who was a strong friend of Catherine's, had warned the Queen that she had gone too far in her treatment of Catherine. In the January despatch to Philip II, Bishop Quadra says, "The Queen calls Lady Catherine her daughter, although the feeling between them can hardly be that of mother and child, but the Queen has thought best to put her in her privy-chamber and makes much of her in order to keep her quiet. She even talks about formally adopting her."

It might also have been that by putting Catherine in her privy-chamber she could more closely watch her. Froude in his history of this period tells of this action, instituted by Cecil. Catherine was only nineteen years old at this time. This arrangement did not last very long for we soon find her again with her friend Jane Seymour in the Maids' quarters.

How difficult it was for these young lovers, watched every minute! How to keep their secret and yet nourish their love. How they did it I am not able to say. Probably a quick glance, a turn of a head, or a droop of an eyelid conveyed their devotion to each other in a way nobody but a lover could understand.

Undoubtedly there are some senses that some unusually sensitive human beings have that have not been defined nor studied by the scientists, that are as real as the ones we know or partially know, and have been labeled:—an aura or awareness of a loved one's nearness, or of an evil thing; sensitivity of the other's thought and emotion, without speech; distant thought transferability are all "at the anvil" as Spenser called it.

It could not have been quite as hard for Hertford, for he was living at Hertford House with his own servants and was deep in the writing of poetry and the translation, or Englishing of Italian and French drama and poetry; letting his fancy roam among the gods of the classical writers of Greece and Rome—their loves and their pranks—for he had a fertile and powerful imagination, humour, and a precise method of expression.

CHAPTER II

Jane Seymour

THE year passed in a rather quiet way. Elizabeth had her favourites about her and her "Robin" or "eyes" ever at her side while she flirted with foreign suitors and visitors; occupying the spotlight, like the great actress she was, and warning all other ladies off.

As our trio realized that Elizabeth really hated Catherine and that no permission was liable to be given for them to marry, Jane Seymour started planning a campaign. She was their underground line of communication against the powers, but I can find no record or hint of their being ambitious for greater honors or for the throne. These three—Jane, whose father, Somerset, had planned her for the Queen of Edward VI after Mary Stuart had been snatched by France; Hertford, whose father had planned him for the husband of Lady Jane Grey, and Catherine, now in the line of succession had much to weld them together, and quite probably they feared greater limelight and nearness to the throne.

Jane Seymour was so gay and friendly and such a favorite with everyone, seemingly having no enemies, that she was allowed much latitude. She had been one of Queen Mary's Maids and rather slickly had been given a special dressing room or a "closet," as it was called, entirely off from the Maids' room. It must have had an outside entrance other than that through the main chamber (The Maids' Chamber seems to have been in the ruinous old Palace of Westminster, while the Court was at Whitehall.)

Hertford loved these two women in his life with an unselfishness and intensity hard to realize. Deep in his poetic consciousness he experienced the heights and depths of love the old Greek and Roman writers had taught him existed for the chosen few.

Toward the end of 1560, when the time of mourning for her mother as prescribed by the etiquette of the day was ended, Catherine became restless. Her name was being bandied about among the scheming foreign Ambassadors and the ambitious Lords; she was the chief subject of parliamentary debate in the Houses of

Lords and Commons and among the young lawyers in the Inns of Court as a possible successor to Elizabeth, should she die without issue. Altogether Catherine, being silent by authority, was uneasy. With neither father, mother, nor brother to advise, and only a quite young sister as her closest relative, she was singularly alone. It is no wonder that she clung so closely to the two Seymours, who so truly loved her.

Hertford, too, was restless and wrote Jane that he must see Catherine. Jane arranged the meeting in her dressing room. Hertford pressed Catherine for marriage and she again told him of her great love for him and how much she wished to marry him, after these long years of waiting. Finally they decided that the next time the Queen highness should go abroad the two girls would make some excuse and stay behind.

Sometime during late November or early December, Elizabeth decided that she would like a short hunting trip and so one was arranged for her. Greenwich which had Shooter's Hill, with perhaps the forest near Eltham, was chosen as a most convenient place for this short trip. As often these impulsive jaunts of Elizabeth's were subject to weather or other reasons, the date of her departure was uncertain.

Jane and Catherine duly made their plans and Catherine suddenly developed a terrible fit of toothache and tied up her face, complaining that it was swelling badly. As Jane was always ailing it was quite easy for her to make an excuse.

So away went Elizabeth and her retinue to Greenwich, leaving the two girls behind. Blanche Parry and the other Maids also stayed. Hertford in his house in Cannon Row was watching from his windows at the beginning of dawn.

This is his statement given afterwards at his trial: "It was between All-hallow tide and Christmas, when I being in expectation at my house in Cannon Row, for it was very uncertain that the queen would really go out. I got up at six o'clock, and watched in the way of the palace some time, for we had all agreed that the marriage was to take place at my house in Cannon Row. I told Fortescue, my gentleman usher, to tell all his fellow-servants to go abroad. He sent his valets or grooms of the chamber on various errands to the city, his man, Christopher Barnaby had a commission at his goldsmith's, Derrick's, in Fleet Street."¹

¹Harleian Mss. 6286.

The girls must have slipped away from the others about nine o'clock. They ran quickly down the Strand path to Hertford House in Cannon Row, which was not far, where Hertford was awaiting their coming with impatience.

Hertford House like all the houses on the Thames' bank had stairs down to the river, as at that time the river was the great highway of London. Evidently a pair of stairs also served the Strand path.

Although the servants of Hertford's house were supposed to have been sent away, the cook was in the kitchen, the window of which overlooked both the water stairs and the stairs that led to the Earl's bedroom, and saw the two girls go up them.

After they had arrived in the Earl's chamber and their affectionate greetings were over, Jane went out to find the minister who was to marry them.

That the Earl of Hertford had long intended to marry Catherine, clandestinely if necessary, is certain, as he had had a curious wedding ring made for her. It was a plain circle of gold composed of five separate small rings fitted together but also held together in such a way that they could not be taken apart and yet seemed but one ring when worn upon the finger. He had composed a verse of four lines which was engraved on the inside of it:

*As circles five by art compact show but one ring in sight,
So trust united faithful minds with knot of secret might,
Whose force to break (but greedy Death) no wight
Posseth power,
As time and sequel well shall prove; my ring can say no
more.*

Probably while Jane had gone to get the clergyman, Hertford showed it to Catherine and after he had put it on I doubt that she ever took it off, until near her death.

When Jane and the clergyman arrived they took their places before him and the marriage ceremony was performed. The clergyman must have left shortly afterward, Jane having given him ten pounds out of her own private allowance that her brother regularly gave her .

Poor lovers! They were so excited and happy that they were at last married and belonged to each other that they took no notice of the name of the minister nor of anything else. Just so great

lovers have always been. Jane, however, reminded them that time was on the wing and that she and Catherine must be home for dinner or their absence would be noticed.

When they went outside they found that the tide had come up and had covered the Strand path and they must return to Westminster Palace by the river. Hertford assisted them into one of his boats and they were quickly rowed to the water stair before the Palace.

They probably were so excited on the boat ride that they chattered like young birds. They were lucky, as Blanche and the Controller Hobby were just about to enter the dining room for dinner and so their excitement and absence was not noticed.

That night Jane and Catherine, taking advantage of Blanche Parry's absence, admitted Hertford to Jane's dressing room, where Catherine was lurking, and then Jane joined the other maids in the general room. So the marriage was consummated in Jane's closet, to the intense joy of the three culprits.

During the months that followed Hertford continued to visit Catherine in Jane's closet. For a time nothing happened to mar their joy. However, their intense happiness could not be hidden for its radiance showed itself in Catherine's face.

Blanche Parry, as we have said, was more or less psychic and was a famous reader of palms. One day while reading the hands of the maids she looked at Catherine's. After looking it over carefully she said, "the lines say, that if you marry without the Queen's permission in writing, you and your husband will be undone, and your fate worse than that of Lady Jane Grey.

Whether Blanche, who was related to William Cecil, the powerful secretary to the Queen, told him of Catherine's look of happiness or not, he is recorded as having warned her about any misconduct. Lady Clinton, the "Fair Geraldine," also warned her, but all these warnings came too late.

In March of 1560 Jane Seymour was taken seriously ill and she was probably sent home to her mother at Hanworth. The illness, so very disastrous to our lovers, proved fatal and this lovely and courageous girl died on March 20. Her funeral was held with great pomp and she was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In one of the many trials Catherine had to endure, she said, in her testimony: "Before the death of Lady Jane Seymour, she realizing the truth of her suspicions that she was with child, told

Lady Jane her suspicions. Lady Jane said: 'There is no remedy but to tell how the matter stood.' and that the Earl when she told him, said the same: 'That they must proclaim their marriage and trust to the queen's mercy.'"

Hertford, realizing how alone his beloved Catherine now was, added to his personal loss of a beloved sister, wandered about the Court with an unhappy and dejected air.

Elizabeth noticing this and probably thinking it was because of the death of his sister, ordered him to go to France for a change of scene. With him was to go Thomas, son of William Cecil.

Catherine was desolate! Now she was entirely alone in the hostile world of Elizabeth's Court, with her terrifying secret and her husband going to France!

It also came out in the testimony that after her marriage she considering herself as the true wife of the Earl, was often in his company at sundry times, outside the closet, by means of Lady Jane and her own maid, Leigh, who, when she saw the Earl and her together, would quietly go away although she was never told to do so.

Hertford too, was reluctant to go to Paris! Before he did start they had an interview at Greenwich, where the Court was at that time. Catherine told him that "she mistrusted that she was in the way of having a family, and he answered: 'If she wrote to him the certainty of the same, he would not tarry long from her.'"

Four days before his departure for France, Hertford wrote an obligation, or assurance, and delivered it to her, binding his property to a jointure annuity of one thousand pounds per annum after his death. Catherine evidently did not understand, this paper or fully realize its importance, for it was mislaid or lost among her own papers. She asked Mrs. Cousins to look for it, but all that she could discover was, "It was lost with some papers and accounts of her own property."

Of course, Catherine being so alone in Court, Cecil the Queen's Secretary, suspicious, might have had these papers taken for some reason. It was probably for the safety of Catherine, who was related to him, since he was within certain limits friendly to her. The records are silent on the point.

After Hertford's arrival in Paris he wrote often to Catherine, but by this time Cecil or his spies must have been on the job, as these letters all went astray. Perhaps Thomas Cecil might have

had a hand in these mishaps to the letters of Hertford. Henry Seymour, Hertford's younger brother, seems to have also been in Paris and he brought a bracelet to Catherine as a token of her husband's affection, but she received no letters. In the meantime Catherine had written him letters, one of which she had sent by one of the former servants of Jane Seymour, Glynne, in which she addressed him as "Her loving husband."

What a great actress Catherine must have been! To keep hidden from the prying eyes of that crowd of women of the Court both her misery and her condition! Absolutely alone in a hostile world she needed all the arts of which she was capable. I fancy she had recourse to her music. She was a fine performer both on the lute and the viol, besides having a wonderful singing voice. As all musical people know, singing is a great solace.

Hertford, in Paris, was having an interesting time. His uncle, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was the English Ambassador there and this young nephew of his, who was so good looking and so wealthy, was introduced to many notable people. Among these was the King of Navarre, who later became Henry IV of France, and with whom he formed a lasting friendship. He also met most of the foreign poets and learned men of the day.

During all these days that the lovers had had to pass without sight of each other, Hertford, inspired by this great love coming into his life, had been writing sonnets and hymns to love and beauty, all in the style of the Greek and Roman idealism and symbolism and in the spirit of the new French revival of learning. In fact, some of his greatest poems were written under this stimulus of love for Catherine.

Hertford received the letter that Catherine had sent by Glynne, but only a month before the Queen's summons. In his testimony at one of his trials he said; "This letter spoke of her positive condition and to return and reveal all the matter of their wedlock, and was addressed, 'To my loving husband.'"

Hertford had written many letters to Catherine and sent them by various methods from Paris and Rouen, by common post. However, the one he sent from Paris by the Parisian merchant Jehan Renate, who had been recommended by Madame d'Etampes, in which he addressed Catherine "To my wife," Renate had been instructed to deliver into Catherine own hands and so she revived a little.

He had also sent her little presents from Paris, but evidently the only one she received was the bracelet that her brother Henry brought her. In the meantime Hertford had sent little tokens to other ladies of the Court and Catherine, receiving none, became jealous. This trait was seemingly the only fault this beautiful maiden possessed.

Thus the summer passed—both Hertford and Catherine knowing that the storm must break over their heads, but with their love in their hearts to feed on. Catherine would recite the lines engraved on her wedding ring telling of his undying trust and faith and would be comforted, while Hertford would think of her and write a verse or sonnet.

CHAPTER III

The Storm

QUEEN Elizabeth usually made two or three of those trips about her country called "Progresses" each year. In August of this year of 1560 she decided to go to Suffolk, one of the more distant shires of her realm. When she arrived at Ipswich it was very hot, and Catherine was no longer able to sustain her role, and duties, and the suspicious looks of her fellow ladies and maids and she broke down.

There seems to have been no intimate friend or woman or distant relative of hers in Elizabeth's entourage in whom Catherine could confide, in her desperate need she sought out a woman whom she had known all her life, Elizabeth Hardwick or Saint Lou, who was later the wife of the Earl of Shrewsbury. This woman had married one of her four husbands at Broadgates, Catherine's childhood home in Leicestershire on August 20, 1549. Catherine had served as bridesmaid and also stood as godmother for her child, Elizabeth. During Mary's and Elizabeth's reign she was always called "Bess of Hardwick."

On that hot Sunday afternoon, Catherine told Bess of her trouble. This inhuman woman, instead of being sympathetic or helpful, made a great outcry and upbraided Catherine for telling her about it. Bess thought only of what this secret and the confiding of it to her would mean to her personally in the eyes of Elizabeth. These two women were strangely alike in many ways and Bess was one who correctly understood the character of Elizabeth.

Catherine was desperate at this rebuff. As night came on she took the advice of her devoted woman nurse, Mrs. Cousens, of whom we shall hear a great deal later, and went in agony of spirit to the only man in the Court with whom she had any kinship and who was in a position to help her. This was Robert Dudley, later the Earl of Leicester, whom she had known from childhood and who was the Queen's devoted courtier. Catherine was related to Robert through the marriage of his brother Guildford to her sister

Lady Jane Grey; Hertford was also related through the marriage of his sister Anne Seymour to Robert's brother Ambroise Dudley, the Earl of Warwick.

So in the night after Dudley had gone to bed, Catherine crept into his bedroom which was next to the Queen's, as he was her Master of Horse and that official always had to sleep next the royal person, as a guardian at night.

She knelt down beside his bed and sobbingly poured out her story to that astonished knight. He was frightened that Elizabeth sleeping next door would hear and was terrified as well at the story, for he was Hertford's friend, although many times the gossips have had it otherwise. He promised Catherine that he would do what he could to placate the Queen when he told the story to her in the morning. I doubt that the young man slept much more that night, dreading the task that the morning would bring him.

What also troubled Robert Dudley was how this news was going to affect his own personal relations with Elizabeth. These were still in a delicate condition since his own mishap—the death of his wife under suspicious circumstances the year before. Also, Elizabeth's reluctance to subject her haughty queenship to the natural love of a man was still keeping him in a state of perturbation, though she probably was nearer to succumbing to natural love at this time than since the days when Thomas Seymour had been dallying with her. Then too, this mishap was connected with that same family of Seymour and well she knew how fascinating they were as lovers.

However, the next morning Robert did tell the tale to Elizabeth as tactfully as he could. After all, these young things had done nothing more than get married without her permission and this was not such a crime in those days before Elizabeth began her fierce campaign against them.

In spite of Robert telling the Queen that Catherine declared herself truly married to the Earl of Hertford, Elizabeth's temper of hurricane force raged, throwing out thunder and lightening in all directions but striking Catherine with greatest force, and she so alone, with Jane Seymour in her grave and Hertford in Paris.

Catherine and Mrs. Cousin were hastily gathered up along with Bess of Hardwick and started on their way to the Tower of London, Catherine's home to be for many weary years.

Queen Elizabeth was so filled with fury, that "she looked

like one lately come out of childbed" was what Catherine Willoughby said about her when she saw her that day. Imagine Bess of Hardwick being placed in the Tower for only listening to Catherine's tale! Yes, Bess did rightly understand Elizabeth!

Couriers were hastily sent to Paris to bring back the Earl of Hertford. There is a letter from Viscount de Gruz to the Council, or Queen, dated September 24, 1561, which seems to have been some kind of a report, probably from the Hostages in France at that time, in which he says:

"With respect to the Earl of Hertford and Lady Catherine, the said Earl was in great favour with the King of Navarre and when he was ordered to return to England, many of the Council thought that he had better not do so, but the Ambassador (Throckmorton) and some of the Hostages said that the Queen intended no evil to him or Lady Catherine, but on her own account desired to have him in England, in order that it might be decided by law that that Lady Catherine was his wife, whom he married for his pleasure, and therefore she (the Queen) might legally marry the Lord Robert for hers. They think that she will never marry anyone else, for the Ambassador and the Hostages have informed them that there was never any promise of marriage between her and the King of Sweden, and that the King spread a report to that effect that, for the friendship he had for her, and the advantages that he would bring, should she be induced to marry him, that if it were only to see her he would spend 1,000,000 of gold."¹

But Hertford and his uncle decided that it would be better for him to return promptly on the Queen's summons. Also Hertford was distressed about Catherine's plight.

When Hertford reached Dover Castle, "Her Majesty's House," some of his friends were there to meet him. While he was yet at breakfast in the Castle with Thomas Sackville and Mr. Strange (probably Ferdinand) and Captain of the Castle, Mr. Crispe, entered and showed Hertford his commission for his arrest. He was not allowed the companionship of his friends, was deprived of his servants and not allowed to speak with anyone, and arrived at the Tower on September 5. Hertford seems to have had as servants in France, Towle, Goddard and Mr. Michael Syddenham. As he was leaving Dover, happening to see Goddard, asked him "What

¹C. S. P., September, 24, 1561.

news?" but Goddard dared not reply for Captain Crispe interfered and there was no further talk.

After all, Hertford had only broken an old law passed in the reign Henry VIII when he had to guard against secret marriages with his daughters Mary and Elizabeth. (Little these same law-makers seem to have regarded the laws they had passed naming both of these daughters illegitimate!) This law was to punish with the utmost severity any subject who was so bold as to venture to marry a princess of the blood royal, especially if she was in the line of succession, without the sovereign's consent, ratified by an act of Parliament.

One old account states that Hertford's fate might have been worse, had not the Dutchess of Somerset represented Lady Catherine as the more blameworthy of the two.

The news of Catherine's mishap was not long in reaching Hertford's mother at Hanworth, and she in great distress of mind writes William Cecil on August 22, as follows:

"Good Master Secretary:

"Hearing a great bruit that my Lady Catherine Grey is in the Tower, and also that she should say she is married already to my son, I could not choose but trouble you with my cares and sorrows thereof. And although I might, upon my son's earnest and often protesting to me to the contrary, desire you to be an humble suitor on my behalf, that her tales might not be credited before my son did answer, yet, instead thereof my first and chief suit is that the Queen's Majesty will think and judge me in this matter according to my desert and meaning.

"And if my son have so much forgotten Her Highness calling him to honour, and so much overshot his bounden duty, and so far abused Her Majesty's benignity, yet never was his mother privy or consenting thereunto. I will not fill my letter with how much I have schooled and persuaded him to the contrary nor yet will desire that youth and fear may help excuse, or lessen his fault: but only that Her Highness will have that opinion of me as one, neither for child nor friend, shall willingly neglect the duty of a faithful subject. And to conserve my credit with Her Majesty, good Master Secretary, stand now my friend, that the wildness of mine unruly child do not minish Her Majesty's favours towards me. And thus so perplexed with the discomfortable rumour I end, not knowing how to proceed not what to do therein. Therefore,

good Master Secretary, let me understand some comfort of my grief from the Queen's Majesty, and some counsel from yourself, and so do leave you to God.

"Your assured friend to my power,"

"Anne Somerset."²

As this was the first of the many marriages that Elizabeth opposed through her own hatefulness, it was the hardest. The only other stolen marriage that had been made before this was that of Jane Dormer, which Elizabeth dared not carry to an issue with the King of Spain, who was probably backing his Ambassador de Feria.

Catherine, not having any established home, had no belongings which could be brought to her prison to furnish it. Sir Edward Warner, Lieutenant of the Tower, therefore" had furnished her apartments with some of the cast-off movables of faded magnificence which had in times of yore pertained to the royal suit, but were now thought unfit. These had been beautiful things in their prime, although the Tower Lieutenant observed, 'much torn, worn and defaced.' They had perhaps been used in Elizabeth of York's bridal chamber, or at Anne Boleyn's coronation festival; they might have been seen in after time in Lady Jane Grey's prison room, or even in that of Elizabeth, when she herself had been confined in the Tower—an event of recent date, though she was now in her turn a merciless persecutor."³

Perhaps Catherine had some possessions at the old Palace, or at Whitehall, and certainly she must have had some clothes so I presume these were delivered to her. Probably her musical instruments may also have been sent on to her.

Elizabeth had addressed the following mandate to Sir Edward Warner: "Ye shall by our commandment examine the Lady Catherine, very straitly, how many hath been privy to the love between her and the Earl of Hertford, from the beginning; and let her understand that she shall have no manner of favours, except she will show the truth—not only what ladies and gentlewomen were thereto privy, but also what lords and gentlewomen of this Court; for it doth now appear that sundry personages have dealt herein.

²C.S.P. E/139; Davey, *Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*, pp. 173-4.

³Strickland, *Tudor Princesses*.

When that shall appear more manifestly it shall increase our indignation against her, if she now forbears to utter it." This seems to have been a direct transcript of her dictation to Cecil, and so directly shows Elizabeth's character and how early in her reign she started her wily double talk that it is noteworthy.

CHAPTER IV

The Tower

WHEN Mrs. Cousin told Catherine that Hertford had entered the Tower that day, September 5, her joy was unbounded. Although they were in such terrible trouble, at least they would be near each other and she never doubted that her Ned would find a way to see her; or at least she might catch a glimpse of him as he walked about the Tower grounds.

Hertford, almost immediately he had entered the Tower, or on September 7, was summoned to appear before the Lord Treasurer, Marquis of Winchester; the Archbishop of Canterbury; Grindal, Bishop of London; Sir William Petre, and a formidable array of lawyers and divines, for the purpose of answering their interrogations touching his offense. Their commission deputed them to examine, inquire, and judge the "infamous" proceedings of Lady Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford.

"They plagued the Earl with questions for several days, brow-beating and intimidating him in every way they could devise. He behaved with manliness, and freely avowed his marriage and professed his passionate love for his wife, giving his inquisitors the same information respecting his espousal that has been related in this narrative.

"He allowed that there was no witness to their marriage but this dear sister, Lady Jane Seymour, and she was in her grave: he had forgotten the name of the priest who married them, or had never heard it. But he described his personal appearance. 'The clergyman his sister Jane fetched,' he said, 'was a man of a fair complexion with an auburn beard and of a midling stature, he had no surplice, but was attired in a long gown of black cloth, faced with budge fur, and his gown-collar was turned down after the sort that the ministers used to wear, of the German sect, when they first returned to England after the death of Queen Mary.'

"Intensive search was made for this clergyman, all over the country, but he could not be found. Many thought that he was a

Catholic priest and the commission concluded that he never existed.

"The only efficient witness the Earl could summon to corroborate his claim to his wife and the legitimacy of his expected babe was his wedding ring." These lines are taken from his testimony.

This ring we have described. but now Hertford recited the lines of the poem before these clerks and scribes, who took it down with grave care: thus we have it direct from his own lips.

This first examination of Hertford was thorough, but he had many, many thereafter. I think there must have been nine, while Catherine had twelve at least. Although they tried to find that there were other people concerned in the affair, they could not positively find anyone at all.

The baby was born just twelve days after Catherine had had an exhaustive examination. He was named after his father, Edward Beauchamp, and we have found the record of the birth written in French by his father in his own Bible: "*Mon plus aisné filz, Edward Beauchamp fust ne apres lemidy du jour Mecredy 24 Septembre 1561, un peu apres les deux heures, unquart d'heure ou demy heure.*"¹

Elizabeth was furious about the baby, as was to be expected, and was also in a terrible rage about the ardor the people showed toward a possible successor to her throne, and a male one at that!

For some reason Elizabeth thought it wise to confine Lady Margaret and the Earl of Lennox in the Tower at this same time. Probably as gossip was rife about the marriage of their eldest son, Lord Darnley, to Mary Queen of Scots, who had returned to Scotland after the death of her husband, Francois II, King of France.

Not only was all England talking about nothing but the birth of a possible heir to the throne, in case Elizabeth did not marry and establish a line, in which she appeared to be wavering, but the Ambassadors were hastily writing their King: the Calendars of State Papers, both Domestic and Foreign, are filled with these at that time secret documents which are now open for all the world to read. These documents are exceedingly interesting as they give many sidelights on the doings and opinions of the Nobles of the

¹This Bible and other records of the Seymours were found at Longleat by Rev. Canon Jackson, and published by him in the *Wiltshire Archeology and Natural History Magazine*. Longleat was the great palace built by John Thynne, Somerset's great steward. When Thynne died his widow married Caru Raleigh, the elder brother of Sir Walter Raleigh.

Country and their feelings about the succession—some of them even planning to marry their infant daughters to little Edward, who slept peacefully in his mother's arms.

The marriage of Catherine and Hertford, as far as I have investigated, was nowhere criticized as being unsuitable on account of the royal blood being debased. After all, Seymour blood ran in King Edward VI's veins and Anne Stanhope had distant royal blood in her line.

Just a month before the time Catherine was having her baby in the Tower, Mary, Queen of Scots became one of the topics of conversation in many of the Courts of Europe. Her claims to the throne of England were being pressed upon Queen Elizabeth by the Scotch Ambassador, Maitland, who told her that she should declare her successor in case she had no heirs. Elizabeth in deep anger said;

"The like has never been demanded of any prince to declare an heir presumptive in his lifetime."

Then Maitland replied: "that the Queen his mistress, was next in blood and would be content to hazard all rather than receive the dishonour to forego her right."

During the early part of 1562 the examinations of Catherine's and Hertford's marriage still continued and Hertford's brother, Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir Adrian Stokes were haled before the tribunal. "No marriage," was the pronouncement by the Bishop of London, Parker.

In April the lawyers were still busy about the question of the succession. Wrote Bishop de Quadra to Philip of Spain: "I hear they are much in favour of Lady Margaret. When they have made up their minds who is the rightful heir they will discuss how they shall publish it, or if at all. I am sure it will all end by the Queen obtaining power to select her own successor or leave the crown by will, and that Lady Margaret will thus be excluded, and the succession fall into the hands of the heretic, such as the Earl of Huntingdon or the Earl of Hertford."

During the summer, the Earl of Hertford addressed a letter to the Lords of the Council—no date, but probably in August, 1562.

Most honourabyll and my syngulier good Lordes:

My duty wt all humbylness consydeyed. Wher as by want of consyderacon of my most bounden dute I have fallen into the gret Indygnacon and dysplesure of the qnen's Mte, the offence

beyng so yowthfull and unadvysed for want of herye hyghnes lycense, as the felynge thereof in myne owne brest hathe bene & ys ane uncurabyll gref unto me, I therefore my good lords knowyng the most gentyll & well dysposyd naturs of yowe all, have bene so bould to request yowre favourabyll lycense to open myne afflyet-tyd mynd unto youw, and do most humbly upon my knes acknowledge the gretness of sayd faut and howe worthely I have deservyd all the emprysonment trobyll and dyspleasure yt I have receyvd. Well consyderyng yt althoughe I have so good wyll & desyre to Recompence & Redrese the same, yet I aknowledge the faute to be suche that yt lyethe not in my power to do yt; therfor I myself only to be under the quen's Mate gret mercy & perdon. Most humbly therefor my good lords styll upon my knes beseche your honors to be a meane unto hyre hyghnes to have pytty upon my pyttefull & wery lyf, my lone & longe Imprysonment, my hevy & dolorous hart utterly helpes without hyre sayd mercy graunted. I greve I say the same without myne owne desert, hopying to Recevye therby fyrst sum lyberte of walk to Releve my self and contynewe my helthe, sum Repayre of sum of my poore frends to gyve me advyse howe furder to humbyll my self with contynewall humbyll suts to hyre highnes, wherby she may withdrawe hyre hevy hand from my hevy tormented hart. Affyrmynge unto your lordshyps that there cane (can) no mane (man) Imagyne so humbyll and semely way of submyssion as I have a faythfull and obedyent hart Redy to yeld hyre Matie the same, and so wyll contynewe duryng my lyf with conynewall prayer to God for hyre long and prosperous Reyng over us "your Lordshyps Increase of honor."²

The Lords evidently granted his first request for not long afterwards, on September 20, we find a letter of protest from the Lieutenant of the Tower to Cecil: ". . . Is annoyed by the extreme passions of the Earl of Lennox, who has been more unquiet since the Earl of Hertford was allowed his small liberty."³

²Printed from the original rough draft found at Longleat. Longleat Papers-, Appendix-, original documents relating to Wulfhall and the Seymours, by the Rev. Canon J. E. Jackson. F.S.A., *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XV, 191.

³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza, September 20, 1562.

CHAPTER V

Elizabeth's Illness

THINGS had quieted down in regard to the succession when it was again violently brought to the fore in October, 1562, when the lords and council were abruptly reminded of their great hazard.

Elizabeth fell suddenly dangerously ill with smallpox at Hampton Court. While many of the noble ladies of her Court had been stricken with it, some having died, she seemingly was surprised to become a victim of it herself. However, she had felt unwell and had taken a bath to refresh herself and, impatient of restraint, had ventured out of doors and taken a chill. She then came down with a violent fever. The eruption would not appear! She said: "Death possessed every joint of her."

Finally when the crisis came she was unconscious for a few hours and Cecil, becoming frightened that she was dying, sent for the Council from London that they might decide on a successor. There was a conflict of opinion: Some were for Lady Catherine, some for the Earl of Huntingdon, none openly for the Queen of Scots.

Again we have to resort to Bishop Quadra's letter to King Philip II. ". . . During this discussion the Queen improved and recovering from the Crisis, the first thing she said was to beg the Council to make Lord Robert protector of the kingdom, with a title and an income of 20,000 pounds. Everything she asked was promised." But Bishop Quadra adds, ". . . will not be fulfilled." . . . "The Queen protested at the time that although she loved Lord Robert dearly, as God was her witness, nothing improper had ever passed between them."

The above letter was written on October 25, and the Bishop continues: "She is well again, they all fall to the ground, except Lord Robert's favour, which always continues, and as the Queen will not be visible for some time, owing to the disfigurement of her face the audiences will all be to him alone, except to the Duke of (Norfolk) whom they have forced into it."

On November 30, again De Quadra reports: "The other day a meeting of gentlemen was held at the Earl of Arundell's where amongst others there attended the Duke of Norfolk and his uncle the Lord Chamberlain. The question of the succession was discussed, and I understand they favoured Lady Catherine, who is supported by the Duke, perhaps with the idea that one of his little daughters may in time be married to Lady Catherine's son. The meeting lasted until two in the morning, and when the news of it came to the Queen's ears they say she wept with rage, and sent for the Earl of Arundell and upbraided him greatly about it. I understand he told her that if she wanted to govern by passion he could assure her that the nobles would not allow her to do so. He referred to the Huntingdon's affair, which he does not approve of, and the good Bishop adds, as it is supported by Lord Robert. She said, 'she did not approve of it either.' Since then the Earl of Lennox has been liberated by the favour of the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Robert, who are much against Lady Catherine.

"I think that the liberation of Lennox has two objects, first to hinder Lady Catherine by providing a competitor, and secondly to give a little satisfaction to the Catholics who are desperate at Lady Margaret's misery, and place all their hopes in the Queen of Scots and the husband she may choose. By giving them some hope that the succession may fall to Lady Margaret and her son they may cool towards the Queen of Scots. All this is convenient for the Queen, who wants to have the power to declare her own successor when she likes."

Probably the time passed slowly for Catherine in the Tower. But she did have the baby and Mrs. Cousins, and it is quite evident that these two lovers were able to get some stolen interviews for it soon became clear that Catherine was going to have another child. Hertford was a bold and daring young man, frantically in love with his wife, and by some means managed to arrange occasional meetings with her.

Rumor soon spread that she was going to have another child both among the nobility and the common people. The latter had a great regard for fecundity and disliked Elizabeth's ideas of keeping a man and his wife apart because of a stolen marriage. That this was so, can be inferred from the following letter of Sir John Mason to Cecil:

"Sir,

"I hadde thought too have coom this morning to the Court as well to declare untoo yow the advyses of Italy, which I send to you herewith, as to have spoken with you three or four Wordes un another Matter. The fowle Weather hath stayed me, and therefore I have thought good to wright, what I wold have sayd.

"There be abrode both in the Cite and sondry other Places of the Realme, very broade Speeches of the Case of the Earl of Hertford: Sum following theyre lewde affections and summe others of Ignorance make such talk thereof, as lyke them; nott letting too say they do be Man and Wief, and whye shoulde Man and Wief be lett from coming together? Theise Speeches and others, as I am informed be very common, which I am sure, you can, and doe very well consider, wolde out of Hande, bemett withal. And too tell my folishe Judgement for the Way thereof, methinketh it wyll no ill Way to call him to the Starre Chamber, and there after a good Declaration of the Queenes Proceedings for the Tryall of the Treuth of the supposed Marriage, and what was fownde and judged, then too charge him with his presumpsuous, contemptuous and outrageous Demeanor, and Behavior in the using of the Lady Catherine, both before the Sentence as, sythence; and in the Ende too sett a fyne upon his Hedde of ten Marks, if they be made Pounds, it shall be little inough. There is not a more outtreayd Youth (I speak French for lack of apt Englysh) within the Realme, nether one that lyketh himself, nether that promysseth himself greater Things. He wolde be made to learn himself. His imprisonment fattneth him, and rather hath he thereby Comodyte, than Hinderaunce. If a goodee Part of his lyving mought answerre summ Part of his Offence, and the'emprisonment therewithall continue, itt wolde make him too know what is to have so arrogantly and contemptuously offended his Prince, and wolde make (him) hereafter better to know hissellfe and his Duetye both to the State, and too Allmighty Godde, of whom I think he have very small Remembraunce. I beseche you pardon my rude scribbling and my boldness shewed in the same, and too way my Godde Meanings in the Matter, and nothing ells. And thus Almighty Godde have you in his most blessed keping, and assist you allway with his present Grace.

"Scribid in hast, thys 28th Day of January, 1562. (1563n.s.)

"Your own most bounden, during Lief,

JOHN MASON.

"To the Right Honorable, and my very goode
Frende, Sir William Cecill, Knight, chief
Secretary to the Queenes Highnes."¹

On January 31, 1563 n.s. the Commission of Archbishop Parker, Bishop Grindall and others hastened to the Tower to examine into the circumstances of the meetings between the Earl of Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, who was with child by him again.

On February 11, 1563 Thomas Seymour was born in the Tower and again Hertford records the fact in his Bible:

"Mon second Thomas Seymour fust né Jeudy-matin unziesme du Februie 1563, environ quart d'heure après les dix heures. Dieu leus donne sa gran Benediction paternelle. Amen."

This birth of Thomas was more than Queen Elizabeth could stand! Here was a young man who defied her and he should be punished most severely, but the only excuse for punishing him was that he had had a baby by his wedded wife whom he had proclaimed to all the world.

On February 22, another Commission of Peter Osborn and Sir Thomas Chaloner went to the Tower to inquire as to the validity of Hertford's and Catherine's marriage. (On this same day, Yoxley was sent to the Tower for promoting a design to marry Lord Darnley, Lady Margaret's eldest son, with the Queen of Scots.)

Cecil was evidently much impressed by John Mason's letter and he must have shown it to the Commissioners and perhaps to the Queen, for The Earl of Hertford was duly hailed to the Star Chamber. We have a document: "Notes of proceedings in the Star Chamber: that Edward, Earl of Hertford, was fined 15,000 pounds for his conduct towards Lady Catherine Grey; that their marriage was pronounced illegal in the High Commission Court by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 12 May, 1561, and an information was made against John Hales for saying that the marriage was lawful, and the sentence was unjust."²

It would be impossible to include in this story the many items in the official documents regarding the discussion of the succession at this critical period-in Parliament, Inns of Court and probably in St. Paul's Churchyard.

¹Hayne, State Papers, p. 396.

²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza, Addenda, XI, 535.

Catherine's uncle, Lord John Grey, whose wife, Mary Browne, and Lady Clinton, the "Fair Geraldine," her stepmother, and now the wife of the Earl of Lincoln, probably urged him to write to Cecil, his cousin, in behalf of Lady Catherine. Here is his letter:

"Lord Grey of Pyrgo to Sir William Cecil, in behalf of his neice Lady Catherine Grey.

"It is a great while, me thincketh, cowsine Cecil,³ since I sent unto you, in my Neeces behalfe albeit I knowe (opportunitie so servinge) you are not unmindfull of her miserable and comfortlesse estate. For who wantinge the Princes favor, maybe compt him selfe to live in any Realme: and because this time of all others, hath ben compted a time of mercie, and forgevenes, I cannot but recommede her woeful liffe unto you. In faithe, I wolde I were the Queenes Confessor this Lent, that I might joine her in penance to forgive and forget; or other-wise able to steppe into the pulpett, to tell her Highnes, that God will not forgive her, unleast she frelye forgeve all the worlde. Thus restinge in hope of her Majesties further favor, shortly to be extended towards my Neece. I committ you to Almightye God."

From Pirgo the sixth of Marche 1563.

By your loving Cousin and assured frynd,

JOHN GREY.

"To my onye lovinge Cousin, Sir
William Cecill, knight, chiefe
Secretary to the Queenes Majestie."⁴

Probably John Hales had seen Hertford during his stay in the Tower, as Hertford with his great charm and wealth was able to become invisible any time he wanted to see his wife or a friend. The Lieutenant of the Tower may have felt, as did the people of London, that the authorities had no business keeping a man and his wife apart. The common people, as John Mason said in his letter to Cecil, aired their views far and wide and with strong voices.

At any rate these two now happy people contended themselves and I feel sure that Catherine, having her new baby, and Hertford, with the leisure to perfect his poetry, were far from being the terribly miserable people their friends fancied them to be. At

³Lady Cecil's brother married a daughter of Lord John Grey's by a first wife.

⁴Miss. in Lansdowne, No. 7, art. 55, printed from Ellis, *Original Letters*, II, ser. 2.

least they could see each other even if sometimes it was at a distance.

It is evident from a letter written in March that Hertford had been released from the Tower, probably to attend the Star Chamber proceedings, and placed under the charge of Newdigate, his mother's new husband.

This Star Chamber session was of some duration. They fined him the terrifying sum of 15,000 pounds on three charges: breaking of prison, debauching a lady of blood royal, and abusing her a second time. Also at this time his land was distrained, for he says in a statement much later, "my land had never been distrained before till my coming to the Tower. At what tyme her Majesty released ten thousand pounds of the fifteen thousand. After, when I was at Tower and made sute for the release of my poore-Tenents pitifully distrained for the remain demanded which was five thousand pounds, her Majesty sayd she would have one thousand payd afore she would release any part of the sayd five thousand whereupon was payd in one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven pounds."

To aid Hertford, Anne Stanhope, his mother, went to Court to help in his suit for the Queen's forgiveness.

Letter from the Earl of Hertford to Lord Robert Dudley.

"My good Lord—Among divers my bonds, I think myself not a little bound unto your Lordship for the friendly welcoming and honourable using my lady mother, since her now being at the Court, as also for your well-tried and godly noble furthering her long and troublesome suit for us to our most gracious Queen. Wherein, as always so now I crave your especial and most humble means of desire to her Majesty we may unburdened of her Highness' intolerable displeasure, the great weight whereof hath sufficiently taught us never again to offend so merciful a Prince. And so I beseech you, my good Lord, now on our behalf, who pray for no earthly thing so much as the comfort of her too long wanted favour. My trust is God will bless your Lordship's trevails with the fruit thereof, and so by your means (Wherein next him we only depend) turn the sorrowful mourning of us, her Majesty's poor captives, into a contentive comfort. For which I rest in continual prayer. And so take my leave, beseeching Almighty God long to perserve her and make me so happy as to enjoy the com-

pany of so dear a Lord and friend as I have and do find of your Lordship.

From Hanworth the 18th of March, 1563. Your Lordship's most assured friend to command.

Hertford.⁵

Sent by Thugans.

Lord Robert replies to Hertford's letter on March 22

Has moved the Queen on their behalf for their further liberty, which was not disliked; Lord Hertford's mother also has done her part; (He) must wait the event with patience.⁷

But the restless Hertford wrote again to Lord Robert Dudley: "Grief which he endures lying under the Queen's displeasure. Desires a reconciliation and begs he will present the Queen on his behalf with a poor token of gloves."⁷

Lord Robert again writes to Hertford on April 1: "Has delivered his handy work as required. Will further the greater matter as opportunity may occur. The Queen's clemency should inspire good hope."⁸

Hertford writes to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Warwick, asking for his favour for their poor case. The Earl replies "that he is willing to do him any possible service." (Sent by Hertford's servant Ireland, April 6, 1563.)⁹

The Earl of Hertford writes to Cecil on April 16: "... Is about to send the bearer, his (younger) brother (Henry) to the University. Recommends him to Cecils favour." He also sends him to Lord Robert with the same request

We again find out the news from De Quadra's letter to Philip II, May 26, 1563: "Queen Elizabeth has made charges against him, the Bishop. She has also imprisoned more claimants to the crown, as the wife of Fortesque, a sister of Arthur Pole, is in the Tower." She evidently dared not put the Earl of Huntingdon in prison, as he was Robert Dudley's brother-in-law. "Lady Margaret is now in the Palace in high favour, and entertains some hope, as I believe, that the Queen of Scotland will marry her son (Darnley) with the Queen of England's consent."¹⁰

⁵Collins, *Lady Arabella Stuart*, I, 209-10.

⁶C.S.P. Dom. Eliza, March 22, 1563.

⁷*Ibid.*, Mar. 29, 1563.

⁸*Ibid.*, April 1, 1563.

⁹*Ibid.*, April 6, 1563.

¹⁰C.S.P. Foreign, Spain, May 26, 1563.

CHAPTER VI

Catherine's Letter to Hertford

THAT Hertford, upon his release from the Tower, had taken with him little Edward and servants to attend him is evident from Catherine's letter to her husband which follows:

"No small joye, my Deare Lorde, is it to me the comfortable understanding of your mayntayned helth. I crave of God to let you susteine, as I doute not but he wyll; you neyther I havying any thinge in thys moste lamentabyll tyme so much to comforte by pytyfull absence each other wyth, as the hearing, the seaking and contynuanee thereof in us both. Though of late I have not byn well, yet now, I thank God, pretely well, and longe to be merry with you as you do to be with me." . . . (omitted because of prudery) "I say no more but be you merry as I was heavy when you the third time came to the door and it was locked. Do you thynke I forget old fore-past matters? No surely I can not, but bear in memory far many more than you think for. I have good leisure so to do when I call to mind what a husband I have of you and my great hard fate to miss the viewing of so good a one '(Then follows some indistinct pleasantry which seems to allude to 'brats so fast one after another,' and 'with the blessed increase of children we shall altogether be beggared.')

Now to her Grace, whose letter I send you here inclosed that you may see how kyndly she wryteth . . . ¹ Thus most humbly thanking you, my sweet Lord, for your husbandly sending both to see how I do, and also for your money, I most loveingly bid you farewell; not forgetting my especyall thanks to you for your book, which is no small jewel to me. I can very well read it, for as soon as I had it, I read it over even with my heart as well as with my eyes; by which token I once again bid you *Vale et semper salus* my good Ned."

Your most lovyng and faithful wyfe during lyfe,

KATHERINE HERTFORD.

¹The Bath Mss. copy of this letter is much abbreviated and adds only this bit of information to the above, "praying that her Grace, your mother, may not be allowed to dismiss her servants."

"I pray my Lord be not jealous of a thing I shall desire you to do which is, to tell your *Poet*" (little Edward), "I think great unkindness in him for that I understand he should have come to me, but when he was wished, he groaned . . . Well, yet though he would not come to me, I would have been glad to have seen him, but belike he maketh none account of me as his Mistress which I cannot but take unkindly at his hand."²

(A note by Canon Jackson explains his omitting some of the text.) "This letter, a few sentences of which being of a purely private kind I have withheld, is taken from a copy in the handwriting of Margaret Cavendish Harley, the celebrated Duchess of Portland, found among her papers at Longleat. The original letter is probably the one described 'as private and affectionate' among the Duke of Northumberland's Papers, v.III. (See *Third Report of the Historical Commissioners*, p.47)."

The book Catherine speaks of as having received from Hertford must have been his great poem of marriage, *Epithalamion*, which he had had bound for her, the last verse of which would suggest his meanings:

*Song, made in lieu of many ornaments
With which my love should duly have been deckt,
Which cutting off through hasty accidents,
You would not stay your dew time to expect,
But promist both to recompens,
Be unto her a goodly ornament,
And for short time an endless moniment.*

We must take notice of the sentence somewhat dealeated, "brats so fast one after another", and "with the blessed increase of children we shall altogether be beggared"; and the previous sentence, "I say no more but be you merry as I was heavy when you a third time came to my door and it was locked." These seem to show that she was again going to have another child. (Collin's early *Peerage* records Catherine as the mother of three children by Hertford.) She must have conceived this child soon after little Thomas was born on February 11, 1563.

The Plague

The plague which had been raging in many places in England had at last reached London, and the district near the Tower was

²"Wulfhall and the Seymours," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural Magazine*, Appendix, XV, 192.

badly infested with it. A prayer to God for their deliverance is recorded in French in Hertford's Bible. (We have no date but it was probably written in July or early August, 1563.)

*Dieu tout puissant pere de toute consolation Que te mercie
tres hublement at tres affectueusement de ta grande misericorde
et bonté infinie qu'il t'a plu monstrar en l'endroit de ma femme
et moy en la delivrant hors des grands dangers d'enfantement et
de maladie. Aussy ennous envoyant à tous deux les benedictions
des euvres des tes mains; te priant Seigneur Dieu, la consoler et
fortifier en santé et patiences et aussy les peties creatures nos deux
fils avec ta divine et chere protection et benediction. Par laquelle
nous voyons bien que tu ne veux nous laisser l'âme desesperer
de ta grande misericorde et bonté infinie; mais, come pere, nous
voul . . . faire cognaistre ton affection paternelle. Il te plaist encore
nour chastier de tes verges pour mieux nous faire te recongnaistre
et ta puissance absolue. Ainsy nous scavons bien que c'est en ta
seule puissance de rendre ton euvre de grace . . . en la fin du
tour accompli et parfait. Pour à quoi parvenir nous te prions
tres-humblement que comme it t'a pleu nous mettre en la mauvaise
grace d' ELIZABETH nostre Reyne et maistresse; ansi qu'il te
plaist luy mettre en l'esprit ta vertu de douceur et clemence, qui
es accoustumé de pardonner les fautes à tous ceux qui de bon cuer
les reconnaissent. Vuielle donc regarder et pitier nous les dictes
personnes ayant esté de longue maus(?) et estant encore batues des
plusieurs tes verges . . . Seigneur, autant ou plus rigoureuse que
jamais comme de l'affliction d'esprit de . . . et plusieurs autres
calamités. Console nous donques selon que tu cognois que nous
en avons besoing, et ne nous faizant profiter tes chastimens à nre
correction. Confirme nous en bonn patience, moderez ta rigueur
selon ta sainte ordonnance, faiz que nous puissions jouir luy
. . . ”³*

Hertford's work on the study and creation of his new stanza and the beginning of his great allegorical work for the guidance of courtiers framed on the pattern of the chivalry of King Arthur, must have been well started at this time. As he prays God for his benediction on the work of his hands, he probably was deeply engaged on this great poem, *The Faerie Queene*. We can find no other work of his, with the exception of some gloves he made for

³Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Appendix, XV, 193.

the Queen, which would rank a prayer to God: we conclude that he was busy on his great poem. Later we will explain his alias of Edmund Spenser.

Not only did Hertford pray to God in this devout way for His protection and blessing, but he also wrote a letter to the Council telling them of the danger to his wife and child and himself from the plague which was raging all about the Tower, and begging them to do something about it. Others, their friends, were frantically imploring Cecil and Leycester to get these cousins of theirs out of the Tower.

A letter to Robert Dudley by Lady Willoughby, Dutchess of Suffolk, is frantic in its appeal: "to get her cousins out of the Tower."

"Nowe mee good lord evene for Gods sake thenke on my poore cussen, and speke for him to the quene majeste, hows (whose) most honorable charette I troste wol for God's cawse consider the poore man and his miserable estayt /I pray you pardon my tho I be so bolde so often to trobele you mor than any other; your gentlenes towards me is the cawse off it/ for others have so moche to do that the same (they seem) always wyre (weary) off me, and truly I do not blame them tho the be so, for I am even wyre of me selfe in thys mater. Never the lyes I send master Treaserer vere gentel to my also howe (who) hath promised me faythefule to do his beste when so ever it shal plese you to cal un him; and for the rest of our godfathers for Crestes sake speke to them yor sellfe and helpe that my poor cossen war out of the Tower, and she and I wtal ther cheledren, shal acording to our dutes pray for the quenes mayeste/ and nyxte for our ownle helper under her/ helpe, helpe, helpe, helpe my good lord that it was don.

yor poor humble suetter,

K. SUFFOULK.⁴

⁴Katherine Willoughby d'Eresby, Dutchess of Suffolk, was in part the great Chamberlain of England, which was an hereditary office. She was a step-grandmother to Catherine, and Catherine and her sister Mary both remembered her in their wills. She had been the fourth wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. After his death in 1545, she married Richard Bertie and was a zealous supporter of the Reformation. They were compelled to make their escape abroad when Mary became Queen. On Elizabeth's succession, they returned to England. Longleat Papers, No. 8.

This letter must have had some effect, as Hertford and Catherine were delivered out of the plague-threatened Tower shortly after Lord Robert received it. The Council, acting at the command of Elizabeth, sent the following letter to Lord John Grey, which we print in full as showing how strictly she was to be kept: At the same time the Queen ordered Hertford to be placed with Sir John Mason.

"The Lords of the Council to the Lord John Grey"

"From a Minute of Sec. Cecil."

"After our hartly Commendations to your good Lordship.

"Although it may seme strange unto you that without any former knowledg gyven you, the Lady Catherine your Lordships Neece, is appoynted to be removed out of the Towre to your House; yet we dout not but ye will thynk the Cause reasonable, whan ye shall understand it to be thus. The Queen's Majesty having Consideration that the Towre of London is envyroned with the infection of the Plage, for the Danger that might ensue to your Nece ther, hath bene pleased of hir Compassion, to grant that she shuld be removed from thence, as uppon much humble Suyte hir Majesty hath granted the like to the Erle of Hertford; and meaning not that she shuld be at any other Liberty, but to be free from that Place of Danger, thought best, in respect your Lordship is a Nobleman, and of grave Consideration to regard any Trust committed to yow by hir Majesty, to committ the Custody of the said Lady to yow hir onely Uncle and Next Coosyn. And thus hir Majesty willed us to shew you the Occasion of her sending to yow, and hath commanded us also to wryte further unto yowr Lordship, that hir Plessure is, the said Lady, shall remayn with yow and yowr Wiffe, as in Custody, not to depart from you untill hir Majesty's Pleasure shall be further knowen, nether to have any Conference with any Person being not of yowr Howshold, without Knowledg of yowr Lordship or yowr Wiff. Which hir Majesty meaneth she shuld understand of yow Lordship, and observe, as some Part of hir Punishment, and therein hir Majesty meaneth herein to trye hir Disposition how she will obey that which she shall have in Commandment. And surely of owr owne Parts, for that we wish she shud not long lack hir Majesty's Favor, but recover it by all good Meanes, we hartly pray yowr

Lordship to have regard, that she use hir self there in your Hous with no other Demeanor, than as though she were in the Towre, untill she may atteyne more Favor of hir Majesty; For we must lett yow know that which is trew, hir Majesty hath at this present ment no more by this Liberty, but that she be out of the Towre from Danger of the Plage. And so we pray yowr Lordship lett hir playny understand.”⁵ (August 22, 1563)

⁵State Papers of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley and now remaining at Hatfield House, by Samuel Haynes, Rector of Hatfield.

CHAPTER VII

Catherine Goes to Pirgo

“THE journey to Pirgo, notwithstanding it was performed in one of Elizabeth’s own coaches—a ponderous vehicle, that required four Flemish cart-horses to drag it along the ill-kept roads—must have been very fatiguing for a woman in Lady Catherine’s delicate condition. Pirgo, too, though a fine old mansion, dating back to Edward III’s time, and surrounded by a moat, did not present many comforts even for those days: it is described as ‘very draughty, damp and cold.’ Lord John Grey had lately made some alterations, but they do not seem to have been very important. The gardens of Pirgo—and this may have been some consolation to the prisoner—were exceedingly fine; and the Park was one of the grandest in Essex.”¹

To welcome Catherine and her little boy Thomas was the wife of Lord Grey, Mary Browne Grey, daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, and his former wife “the Fair Geraldine,” now Lady Clinton. Lady Clinton was thus the stepmother of Mary Browne Grey and aunt of Catherine Grey. These were probably two of the bravest and noblest of the unsung ladies of that period.

Their delight at Catherine’s delivery out of the infected Tower with her little Thomas is reflected in a letter to William Cecil by Lord John Grey, who most enthusiastically thanks him for sending him his niece. The only records we have of Catherine during her stay in Pirgo are through the letters of Lord Grey to Cecil.

“Good Cowsigne Cecill: What cawse all we have to thinks ourselves bounden unto you, the livelye facte of your great friendship in the delivery of my Nyece to my custodye are sufficient pledges and tokens for our bondage unto you duringe our lives; and although I can justyle lament the cawse of her imprisonment, yet can I not lament thus far forth her being there, because I see

¹Davey, *Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*.

yt hathe ben the onelye meanes wher bye she hath seen her selfe, knowen God, and her dewty to the Queene; which when it shall farther please the Queenes Majestie to make triall of, I doubt not but my sayinge and her doinges shall accorde; in which meane time I shall accordinge to my Lord Robert's lettre, and yours, directed unto me, se all thinges observed accordinglie. Assure your selfe (cowsigne Cecill) she is a penitent and a soroful woman for the Queenes displeasure, and most humblye and heartly desires you to fynishe that your friendshipp begonne, for oftenyninge of the Queenes favor in the full remission of her faulte. This with my wyves commandatyns and myen to you and my good lady (our cousen) your wyfe, I byd you most heartely farewell. From Pyrgo the 29th of August, 1563.

By your lovyng cousine and assured pourer frynd dowrying lyffe.

JOHN GREY.

"To my very loving cowsigne Sr William Cecill, Knight Chiefe Secretarye to the Quene's Matie."²

Catherine, too, on her removal to Pirgo wrote a letter to Sir William Cecill, her cousin:

"Good Cosyne Cecill: After my very hartye commendations to my good cosyne your wyfe and you, wyth lyke thanks for your greate frendshipp showed me in thys my Lords delyverye and myne, wyth the obtaynyng of the Queens Majesties most gracious favor thus farforth extended towards us, I can not but acknowledg my selfe bounden and beholdyng unto yow therefore; and as I am sure you dout not of myne owne deare Lords good will for the requitall thereof to the utmost of hys power, so I besich yow good cowsyne Cecill, make the lyke account of me duryng lyfe to the uttermost of my power; besecheng your father frendshyp for the obtayning of the Queens Majesties most gracious pardon and favor towards me, wych wyth upstretched hands and downe bente knees, from the bottom of my hart, most humbly I crave. Thus restyng in prayer for the Queene's Majesties long raigne over us, and forgevnes of myne offence, the enjoying of my owne deare Lord and husband, wyth assured hope, througe God's grace, and yowr good helpe, and my Lord Robert, for the enjoying of the

²Ellis, *Original Letters*, ser. 2, II, 275-6.

Queene Hyghnes favor in that behalfe, I byd you, my owne good cosyne, most hartely farewell, from Pyrgo the third of September.

Your assured frend and cosyne to my small power.

KATHERYNE HARTFORD.

"To my very loving Cowsine Sir
William Cecyll knight chief
Secretary to the Queene Majestie
give theis."³

Catherine's health evidently did not improve with her change of residence for we have the following letter from Sir John Grey to Cecil, dated September 20, 1563:

"My good cowsigne Cecill: The only desire and care that my ladye hathe of the Queenes Majestie's favour enforsethe these fewe lines, as nature bindeth me, to put you in remembrance, of your offered frendshipp and great good will, already showed, to the full perfectinge of the Queenes Majesties favour in my neece. I assure you cowsigne Cecill (as I have written to my lorde Robert) the thought and care she takethe for the wante of her Highenes Favour, pines her awaye: before God I speake it, if it come not the soner she will not longer live thus, she eateth not above six morselles in the meale. If I siae unto her, 'Good madam, eate somewhat to comfort your selfe,' she faules a wepinge and goethe upp to her chamber; if I aske her what the cause is she usethe her selfe in that sorte, she answers me 'Alas Unckell, what a liffe is this, to me, thus to live in the Queenes displeasure; but for my lorde and my childerne, I wolde to God I were buried.' Good cowsigne Cecill, as time places—and occasion maybe serve, ease her of this woofull greiffe and sorrowe, and rid me of this liffe, which I assure you grevethe me even at the hearts rootes. Thus beseeching God in this his visitacion, to preserve us with his stretched out arme, and sende us, merely to meete, I salute you and my ladie with my wives most hartey commendacions and mine. From Pirgo, the XXth of September.

"by your lovyng cousin and assured pourer frynd
dowryng my lyfe."

JOHN GREY.

³Ellis, *Original Letters*, ser. 2, II, 277-8.

Undoubtedly Lady Mary Browne Grey, with Lady Clinton and Mrs. Cousen, (nurse to Catherine), prevailed upon Catherine to write to the Queen and Lord John wrote to Cecill enclosing her letter for advice. Here is John Grey's letter, with that of Catherine's (Letter to the Queen,) following:

"My good Cousen: I have heerin enclosed the coppie of my neyses letter to the Queenes Majeste wherein I am to crave your fryndly advyes and counsell (before yt be delyvered to my lord Robert) howe you lyke yt; for yf you wyll have onni thyng amendyd theer I pray you note yt and my man shaull bryng yt backe to me agayne. For I wold be lothe theer shuld be onni faute found with onni word theerin wrytten. Good cousen Cecill as you may contynew your fryndshipp to the furtherauns of the Queenes Magestys most gracyous favor and merse towards her. I assure you she hath emputed no smaulle part of her well spedying unto your assured frendshippe, wyche I am shure neither she nor I neyd not to request the contynuauns thereof. Thus besechyng you to make my hearty commandatyons to my good lady, my cousin, your wyfe. I take my leve of you for this tyme. From Pyrgo the 7th of November, 1563."

"By your lovyng cousins and assured frynd to my
small power."

JOHN GREY.⁴

(Enclosure of Catherine's Letter to the Queen:)

"Lady Catherine's Petition to the Queen."

"I dare not presume Most Gracious Sovereraigne, to crave pardon for my disobedient matchinge of my selfe, without your Highnes consent, I onely most humblye sewe unto your Highenes to continewe your mercyfull nature towards me. I knowledge myselfe a most unworthye creature to feale so muche of your gracious favour as I have don. My just felt miserye and continuall greife dothe teache me dailye more and more the greatnes of my faulte, and your princelye pittie encreaseth my sorrowe, that have so forgotten my dewtie towards your Majestie. This is my great torment of minde. Maye it therefore please your excellent Majestie to license me to be a most lowlye suter unto your Highenes to extende towarde my miserable state your Magesties further favour

⁴Ellis, *Original Letters*, ser. 2, II, 279.

and accustomed mercye, which uppon my knees in all humble wise I crave, with my daylye prayers to God, longe continew and preserve your Majesties Raigne over us. From Pirgo, the Vyth of November, 1563."

"Your Majesties most humble bounden and obedient subjecte."

CATHERINE HERTFORD.⁵

Evidently Lord John Grey reported dutifully to Sir William Cecil each month on the condition of Lady Catherine. Here is his December letter:

"The augmentinge of my neeces greiffe in the want of the Quenes Majesties favour enforsethe me (besides my dewyte in nature) everye waye to declare and recomende unto you, her Miserable and wofull state; this thre or foure daies she hath for the moste parte kept her bedde, but altogether her chamber, in suche wise as I thought once I shulde have ben driven to have sent for some of the Quenes Phisicians; and I never came to her but I founde her either wepinge or els sawe by her face she had wept. Wherefore good cowsigne Cecill, for the mutuall love which ought to be betwixt Christen men, and for the love wherewith God hath loved us, beinge his, procure by some waye or meanes, the Quenes Majesties farther favour towards her; for assuredlye, she never went to bed all this time of her sicknes, but they that watched with her muche dowed howe to fynde her in the morninge, for she is so fraughted with fleame by reason of thought, wepinge and settinge still, that many times she is like to be overcome therewith so as if she had not painefull women about her, I tell you trewlye cowsigne Cecill, I could not slepe in quiet. Thus with my harty commendations to you and to my good ladye my cowsigne I wishe you the same quiet of minde as to myselfe. From my howse at Pirgo the Xij of December, 1563."

"By your loving cosine and assured frynd to his power."

JOHN GREY.⁶

It is quite possible that Catherine had her uncle John Grey enclose the following letter to her cousin Cecil, as the date is the day following his letter:

⁵MS. Lansdowne 6, 37.

⁶MS. Lansdowne 6, 43.

Lady Catherine, Countess of Hertford, to Sir William Cecil

"What the long want of the Queens Majesty's accoustumed favor toward me hath breade in this myserable and wretched body of mine, God only knoweth, as I dayly more and more, to the torment and wastying thereof, do otherwyse feale then well able to express: wych if it shuld any long tyme thus contynew, I rather wyshe of God shortly to be buryed in the fayth and feare of hym, then in thys contyuall agony to lyve. As I have wryten unto Lord Robert, so good cousyne Cycell, do I unto you. I must confess I never fealte what the want of my Prynces favor was before now, wych by your good means and the rest of my Lords ous obtaynes. I shall not requyre any of you, if it faull through my default, to be a means for the restetucyon thereof; so myndfull, God wylling, I be not to offend her Hyghnes. Thus desyryng the contynuance of your frendshyp I most hartely byd you farewell, good cousyne Cycell, praying you to make my harty commendacyons to my cousyne your wyfe. From Pyrgo the Xiiij of December. (1563)

"Your poore cousyne and assured frend to my
small power."

KATHERYNE HARTFORD.⁷

⁷MS. Lansdowne 6, 44.

CHAPTER VIII

John Hales

A very important figure, John Hales, whom we have mentioned before now, enters the story of these unfortunate lovers.

Hales was one of the many literary friends of Catherine's father, the Duke of Suffolk, and knew both Jane and Catherine Grey when they were children, as he was connected with the Astley College patronized by the Duke. He was commonly called "club-foot-Hales" because of an infirmity caused by the accidental dropping of a dagger on his foot when he was a boy.

Sometime during Henry VIII's reign, John Hales, who was an officer in the chancery, went with the Commissioners who were inspecting the confiscated Abbeys and Monasteries in Warwick and he became delighted with the Franciscan or White Friars at Coventry. Upon his return he petitioned Henry VIII to buy the property as he wanted to establish a free school there. He was allowed to buy it and he converted it into a residence, starting his school in the church attached, using the choir stalls for the student's benches.

For some undisclosed reason, probably religious, the citizens did not like Hales and an astute lawyer, finding that Hale's deed only covered the ground and not the chapel building, bought it from over his head. Hales then turned the St. John's Hospital, which he had also bought, into his school.

Hales was a defiant Protestant and fled overseas during Mary's reign. When he returned to England after Elizabeth came to the throne he addressed a remarkable oration to her, which was presented to her in manuscript.

On 12 January, 1564, he wrote a pamphlet in favor of the House of Suffolk, in the event of the reigning Sovereign dying without issue. He was indicted by a jury of Middlesex, (that at Westminster), who charged him with "contradicting the Archbishop of Canterbury's sentence against the Earl of Hertford's causes for his wife." Also he "presumptuously and contemptuously

did debate with divers persons concerning the right, title, limitation and succession of the Imperial crown of England and did, without license, distribute copies of a pamphlet on this subject." The name of the pamphlet was *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crowne Imperiall of England*.¹

The pamphlet was no sooner read at Court than the Queen and others not of that faction took great offence, and on the author being discovered he was committed to the Fleet Prison. Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper was suspected of having a share in this publication and he would probably have lost his office had it not been for the skillful intervention of William Cecil, who was also thought to have had a hand in the writing of it. But Cecil managed not only to free himself, but likewise contrived to shield both Bacon and Hales who were only kept under restraint.

In the meantime other things happened, as we will see by the following letter of Sir John Grey to Sir William Cecil:

"I preceive by my wiffe that Newdegate shewed you bokes or bills of my Lorde of Hertford's charges here for my Ladye in the which one parcell thereof is that my Ladie shude paye 80 li a month for herself and her folckes here.

"Well, cousin Cecil it is not the first time that Newdigate hath both abused and misused me, with his slanderous reports to divers others besides you. He hath, with no small bragging words, told my Lady Clinton, 'that if he were my Lord of Hertford he would not bear it at my hands, that his wife should send my letters either to the Queen or Council without his knowledge, and that he would make me repent it.'

"What other unseemly words he spake, my Lady Clinton can tell: whether this be good counsell given to my Lord (Hertford), considering the great charge by your letters, I received with my lady (Catherine) I make you judge. I would my lord (Hertford) had good counsell about him, for I hear of his own nature he is well disposed. But it is neither Newdigate nor my lady (Dutchess of Somerset) under whose government my lord now resteth that shall make me disobey the queen's Majesty's commandment in the charge committed to me, nor yet fail those rules (my duty reserved) which in nature I owe my neice; albeit that Newdigate hath persuaded my lord that if I had been he at the Court and at libertie

¹Hist. Mss. Com. Cal. of Hatfield Papers, Addenda, part XIII, 66: Harleian Mss., 550.

ere nowe, and how that all I have done hath been altogether hindrance. But because you shall truly know what charge my lord is, and hath been at with my lady, since her coming hither, I have herein enclosed true inventory, besides my lady's whole furniture of her and hers, with hangings, bedding, sheets, drapery and plate, for neither she nor her little boy hath one piece of plate to drink, eat, or keep anything but of me; which though it cannot be much, yet is as much as I have. And of the cat there is no more but the skin, which hitherto I have thought well bestowed.

"However it hath ben taken hence since my wifes last beinge at the Court with you.

"I learn from Hanworth that you have ben verye plaine with Newdigate, from which tyme my lady hath received 20 li and I heare saye she shall have beddes and shetes sent her, but as yet they be not come. And whereas my wiffe tolde you that my Ladye had nothings to sende any frende of her this New Yeres tide, it is most trewe, for my Lady Clinton was faine to geve my wiffe a pair of silche hose to deliver my Lady Knowles in her name, and perchance by this bill it may seeme to you that this allowance is sufficient for my Ladye this halfe yere she hath ben here. But if you knew howe hardlye she was furnished of all thinges when she came hither, you wolde thincke it as little as maye be and it might have pleased Newdigate as well to have tolde you of her bare cominge hither as he hath tolde you of her charge here. For he took the Inventorye of all she had when he left her here, and I could send it to you, but I am ashamed for that it was so bare. Thus desiring the continuance of your assured frendshippe, the whole howse of Pirgo from the bottom of the heartes salute you."

From Pirgo, the XX of January , 1564 ns.

"By your lovyng cousin and assured frynd to my power."

JOHN GREY.

"Postscript:—I pray you to have in remembrance that my Lady here maye be allowed some wine either of the Queenes store or otherwise by bill impost as it shall best seeme good unto you."² The women of the household evidently asked for this wine for

²This letter was originally taken from MS. Lansdowne 7, f. 110 & 119. My copy is taken from two sources, as both omitted parts of the letter, and I did not have access to the MS. Lansdowne folios. The two sources were Cooper, *Arabella Stuart*, II: Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*, p. 237.

Catherine. We do not know if Elizabeth allowed it, or that she received it.

Soon after this above letter the Inventory of the charge of Lady Catherine and her retinue was made out and dated January 24, 1564. We include this as it gives some light on her servants and their rate of pay:

"January 24, 1564. Received by me, John Woode, steward to the Right Honourable my L. John Graie, at the hands of George Ireland, for fourteen weeks diet unto my Lady Hertford and her train, after six pounds, sixteen shillings and eight pence the week, and in full payment of all her Ladyship's said diet unto this day, the sum of four score fifteen pounds thirteen shillings and thirteen shillings four pence on, besides 57 li 4s 9d which I received of Mr. Edward Stanhope in full satisfaction of her Ladyship's diet until the 17th of October last. In witness whereof I have under subscribed my name this 23rd of January 1563 (1565 ns.) at Anno Regne-Regine E, sext.

	li.	s.	d.			
	95	13	4			
		by mee John Woode.				
		S	d.			
My Lady	66	8				
Her son	13	4	li.	S.	d	
	-----		4	11	8	
		S	D			
William Hampton	5	0				
Her nurse (Mrs Cousen)	6	8				
Mrs. Woodeforde	6	8				
Mrs. Isham	6	8				
Her lady's groom	5	0				
Nowell her man	5	0				
My Lady's two launders	10	0				
Page (Edmund?)	6	8				
Lackey	5	0	S.	d		
	-----		56	8		
				li.	S	d
				56	18	8

"Rec. of Mr. George Ireland the 23rd of January 1563 (1564

ns.) which I stand for at our next recokning, 4 li-11s-8d by me John Woode.

"Endorsed (copies of my Lady's diet at Pirgo last for 14 weeks. 23 January 1563 os.) 1564 ns."³

From this last letter of John Grey to Cecil we learn many things about Catherine and Hertford that we did not know before. We learn first that Hertford, for the six months that Catherine had been at Pirgo, was under the custody of his mother and his step-father, Francis Newdigate, at Hanworth. This was probably for the convenience of his trials in the Star Chamber. He also had little Edward with him, and we know from Catherine's letter to him that some of her servants had gone there with the little boy.

We also learn that Newdigate had delivered Catherine and her servants to Pirgo without proper household equipment for their use.

Undoubtedly Hertford would have been stricken with grief over this as we know that he loved Catherine as few women have been loved in this world. We also learn that Lady Mary Browne Grey had visited the Court, and as she was doubly related to Cecil's family and Catherine's as well, that she had made herself felt. This visit must have been sometime in early January. It is quite possible that Lady Clinton went with her.

From the Bill or Inventory of Expenses we learn some of the names of her servants that we did not know before. These last items have much to do with the reconstruction of what must have happened during these tragic months of 1564.

These letters of Sir John Grey certainly show that Catherine was not only physically sick but that she was in great mental torture. Hertford and the children were well and she had often before been separated from her husband, yet as the months go on they show how she gradually left off eating, finally keeping herself to her chamber and her chair and at last her bed when Sir John visited her. The only explanation of the affair is that she was going to have another baby, it having been conceived just before she left the Tower.

It would be a very easy matter for her nurses to keep her condition from Sir John Grey. Mrs. Cousins could keep her in bed and covered with bed clothes, during the latter part of her pregnancy, as he mentions in one of his letters. There can be no other

³Lansdowne Ms. 7, f. 110.

explanation of what proceeded to happen in what a later historian called the "strange case of the Earl of Hertford's marriage." Also, an old geneology states that "Catherine had three boys and a girl." Also, Thomas Wright in his *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, I, 69, (a series of original letters selected from the unedited private correspondance of the Lord Burghley, Earl of Leycester, the secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher and most of her distinguished persons of the period) says, that Catherine Grey, "according to the Peerage, became the mother of three sons."

If Catherine had a girl it must have been a premature birth after the birth of Edward, as we have very definite dates for the births of Edward and Thomas in the Tower.

CHAPTER IX

"Our Willy's" Birth

The Author's Deductions

As we know Lady Mary Browne Grey visited the Court and her cousin Lady Cecil and her daughter, the wife of Lady Cecil's brother. Before she left Pirgo there had been anxious and frequent consultations between Lady Grey, Lady Clinton, Mrs. Cousins, and the other women of the household.

Mary Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon, the second wife of John Shakespeare, was visiting her relatives, the Joseph Shakespeare; at Havering bowers, a very short distance from Pirgo. As she was so closely related to Mrs. Cousins, being a stepsister, she was a very frequent visitor at the Park. Mary had left Stratford-on-Avon because the plague was raging with great virulence there. As she expected a baby in March she fled to this unpolluted corner of the country. Mrs. Cousin's older sister had been the first wife of John Shakespeare and had had a son by him whose name was William Shakespeare. At the time of this sister's death this child had been taken back to Mrs. Cousin's home and had been apprenticed to old Mr. Cousin in the family manor of Rowington, Barlichway Hundred, Company Warwick. This boy was now about thirteen years of age.¹

Mary's baby was expected shortly before Catherine's. Why not get Mary for a wet nurse? Why not have Mary take him back to Stratford and have him christened as William Shakespeare, as then at least his initials would be the same, W. S.

So Lady Grey and probably Lady Clinton as well, went to

¹The name of William Shakespeare is found in Dom. Corr. 1569, LXI, under date of Sept. 23. "Certificate of the names and arms of trained soldiers within the Hundred of Barlichway, Co. Warwick, taken at Alcester, before Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Ewd Greville, and Tho. Spencer. The name of William Shakespeare occurs in the list of soldiers of the town of Rowington." Rowington was very near Stratford. This Dom. Corr. 1569 is in C.S.P. James I, 1611-18, p. 234. This muster was probably taken on account of an uprising in the North because of Mary Stuart's affairs.

London to see what could be done through consultations with the powers there.

What would the unrelenting Elizabeth do to these wretched lovers? Would she in her terrible wrath behead Catherine and Hertford or would she kill the baby? These things they decided should not happen if their efforts could prevent it, and they did mean to prevent it.

Lady Mary Browne Grey had fought for and saved her husband's head when Queen Mary had beheaded all his brothers and Lady Clinton had Irish blood. They were well fitted to solve the case if that were possible.

When they arrived at Court, Lady Grey probably revealed the situation to the Cecils. They undoubtedly also had a talk with Hertford and Sir Edward Stanhope, Hertford's great lawyer uncle, and Lord Robert Dudley.

After talking and scheming and rejecting one plan after another they finally all came to the conclusion that the child must be bastardized in order to save both Catherine's and its life. Having reached this conclusion they decided to adopt Mrs. Cousin's plan as the best one that they could devise.

Sir Edward Stanhope must have advised them that they might have trouble with this scheme as a child bastardized only owned, or had an inalienable right to, the name by which he was christened.

But fortune might change! Elizabeth was always sickly, and should she die, the people would demand Catherine to be their queen, as they then seemed so anxious to do. Then Hertford and Catherine could reclaim their son. Fate might turn in their favor at any time. At any rate they had to do something and this seemed the best solution to their dilemma.

Mary Shakespeare's baby came in March and again, as had her other children, it died. Mary thus had plenty of milk and could have nursed the two babies had that been necessary. It was not too difficult to keep Sir John in ignorance of what was going on. Probably as soon as Catherine's baby was delivered, Mary Shakespeare took it to her relatives so that any crying would not give the plan away. One of Catherine's three nurses could have accompanied Mary Shakespeare to help care for the infant.

It must have been a terrible time for Catherine, as she had had no reply from Elizabeth to her Petition of November 7. Her only

thought and hope was that if only her dear Ned and their children could be saved, she would then care little what happened to herself.

Of course Hertford was living in agony, thinking about what might happen to his beloved Catherine should their plan fail. For by this time he realized that it was really Catherine who would have to pay the supreme sacrifice, as she was the rightful successor to Elizabeth's throne, or so all Protestants thought.

The baby thrived and Mary nursed it as if it had been her own; at times she almost felt that it did belong to her. Catherine was somewhat comforted when she heard about the greedy way the baby took to its food.

As spring arrived and the roads were getting better in April and as the baby was now able to travel, they decided not to wait any longer in getting him safely away to Stratford where they had decided that Mary should have him christened.

It was decided to pass by Hanworth which was on their way and leave little Thomas and his nurse there, as these two, Edward and Thomas, were to be placed in the care of Hertford's mother by order of Elizabeth.

How they traveled, I can not find out, but it may have been that since little Thomas and his nurse were along Lord Grey sent them in his coach, as Thomas must be delivered in style at Hanworth. Coaches were rather large in those days and could have easily taken in the three women. (For I feel sure that Catherine would have sent one of her laundresses along to help Mary Shakespeare with the baby.) Nowell, her man, and probably Edmund Page as well rode beside the coach on horseback.

How Lady Grey and Lady Clinton must have prayed God to safely guide these pilgrims and keep the baby from all harm and also guard the great secret!

When they reached Hanworth, which was just beyond London, undoubtedly Hertford was there to greet little Thomas and to take a quick look at the infant, safe in Mary's arms.

I feel sure also that, since he could make himself almost invisible by means of disguise and some money, he accompanied them on their way to Stratford and witnessed the christening. As he was such a devoted Bible student, he must have been reminded of Mary and Joseph with little Jesus on their journey into Egypt probably also with his poetic fancy, as he rode along the road he

wove in fancy, which tended toward the classical, the likeness of his babe to the little Amadis of Gaul and hoped for his infant as good a fate as Amadis had had.

Undoubtedly Hertford, as soon as he could feel safe in doing so, gave Mary Shakespeare a sizable sum of money, after she had weened little William Shakespeare. He was always a very generous man, as will be seen later.

After the christening on April 26, they found that Stratford was still infested with the plague so they decided to have Edmund Page guide the little train of travelers on up to Astley, an estate still belonging to Catherine. There they turned Mary and little William over to Catherine's old governess, Mrs. Astley—a sister-in-law to the Mrs. Astley who had been governess to Elizabeth, but a far different kind of woman—who still lived there. Astley is just six miles north of Coventry, where John Hales had established his school for boys. Mary Arden Shakespeare also had relatives at Fillongley or near by.

Sometime after the baby was safely at Astley, John Hales and Hertford thought that the child's name should again be changed so that no trace of him could be found. They decided that the new name should be John Smith. Hertford had had a great, great aunt Dorothe, who had married Sir Clement Smythe, knight, and the Seymours had always had many members of the descendants of this knight employed in the different manors and country places that they owned. One of these was Robert Smith, chaplain to Hertford at Wulfhall who was, if needs be to become the supposed father of this infant John. So the great bastard was safely hidden from Elizabeth's prying eyes. So successfully hidden that he is still a mysterious personality.

As soon as the baby was thus safely hidden Cecil and Lord Robert broke the news to Elizabeth, and this time her wrath was a hurricane in its violence. But as the ensuing are recorded facts I will end my deductions here. They will nearly all be proved true sooner or later.

CHAPTER X

Elizabeth's Anger

TROUBLE! Nothing that had gone before was equal to this. But as the baby was bastardized and only Hales and Hertford knew his new name, Elizabeth would not reveal that in spite of her imprisonments and hard treatment of Hertford and Catherine they had again successfully defied her. Cecil and Lord Robert were probably told later, but at the time they could not tell her anything about the child and she was not at all anxious to have it known that these lovers had again flouted her fines, her Tower and her imprisonments!"

Cecil with his wily touch publicly blamed her anger entirely on John Hales and his pamphlet.

At any rate, Elizabeth took violent action against both Catherine and Hertford. This happened around the days between May 15-27, 1564; for on May 4 Hertford had written Lord Robert Dudley, and sent it by his brother Henry Seymour from Hanworth.

"But he hoped through his mediation to be restored wholly to the Queen's favour."¹ Again on May 7, 1564, he wrote another letter to the same effect. On May 15, he wrote to Lord Robert that "The Queen's continued displeasure overwhelmed him. Begg that he will intercede on his behalf."²

On "20th of May, 1564, Lord Robert Dudley and Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Hertford. Desiring him to send 114 L. to Pirgo, to defray the charges of Lady Catherine Grey while in the custody of Lord John Grey her uncle."³

This last is an important item as from this time Catherine is wholly under the charge of the Crown. In other words, Hertford can no longer pay her expenses. She is the Queen's prisoner. She was also ordered to be placed in the care of Sir William Petre at Ingatetone, distant from Pirgo about ten miles.

On May 26, 1564, the records show an order:" (Privy Council

¹C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1564.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

to the Lieutenant of the Tower,) committing the Earl of Hertford to his custody and discharging him of Fr. Newdigate, who is to confine himself to his own house." How long he remained in the Tower before he was committed to Sir John Mason's custody I do not know.

We will now take up the Hales affair, which took place about the same time the other incidents were happening to these lovers.

"Francis Newdigate to Mr. Sec. Cecyll." (Apr. 23, 1564).

"I wold gladly speke with you againe, partly for Conferens had betwene Mr. Hales and me, upon Mr. Ashams Talke of my Lorde Roberts offred Frendship, and of his Booke matter; and that, accordyng to his olde Humore the Skotish Matter to be a Hyndrans to our Sute; and of the Skotish Quene's Inclination to be at the Queen Majesty's Devocion; and that the Voice went, my Lord Robert was in good Forwardness that way. And After, in Talke what was to be done in our Sute, (Hertford's) I declared my Lady's Grace (Hertford's mother) Answers were such at Courte for my Lord, as I feared some farther misliking, and that we sholde hear somewhat done this Terme by Judges or Commissioners, eyther in his Appeale or in this Booke matter; for otherwise surely her Grace shoulde have gotten my Lord to the Court. (From this we know that Hertford was at Hanworth) After, Mr. Hales wrote to me from London, and I to him, and he to me, of misliking My Lord's complaynt and misliking of me, and his coming to Hanworth; so as at that Tyme Mr. Hales seemed in Myne Opyinion very moch to mislike with my Lord of Hertford. After Mr. Hales wrote me from Winsor, how frendly my Lord Robert used him, and how much you were Frende to him, and to our Cause; and in what good Towardnes the misliked Person was, with such like Passage; of all which and such like Conference and Discourses or writings, I besech you make the best, if they be spoken of. And for this cause of fynding so gracious Favor of the Prince by my good Lord Robert and your Meanes, I thought yet more dutyfull to utter them myself, then tary to be charged of others informings. Mr. Hales wylled me at my Brothers, to give my Lawyer his Booke, to note agayne some Cases against the Booke: And I promised and spake for some direct Cases for him. This St. Georges Day, 1564.

Alwayse yours at Commandment,

⁴Haynes, *Burghley's State Papers*, p. 411.

F. NEWDIGATE.⁴

From the above letter it seems to be plain that not only is Newdigate meddling in the matter of Mr. Hale's "Booke," but that he is not maintaining a close watch on Hertford, whose custodian he was. Hertford could easily have made the journey to Stratford, as I have deducted.

*"Queen Elizabeth's Extemporaneous Speech in Latin at
Cambridge in August, 1564."*

Translated is: "Yet will I leave some famous monument behind me, whereby both my memory shall be renowned, and I, by my example, may excite others to the like worthy actions; and make you all more ready to pursue your studies; Ist. The increase of good letters; which I much desire, and, with the most earnest wishes pray for." Prophetic words! For from her great acts of persecution arose those two greatest English poets: Spenser and Shakespeare.

To go back to the Hales trouble, we include a letter from Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith, dated 27 April, 1564:

"He says, 'Here is fallen out a troublesome fond matter. John Hales had secretly made a book in the time of the last Parliament wherein he hath taken upon himself to discuss no small matter, viz. the title to the crown after the Queen's Majeste. Having confuted and rejected the line of the Scottish Queen, and made the line of the Lady Francis, mother to the Lady Catherine, only next and lawful. He is committed to the Fleet for this boldness, specially because he hath communicated it to sundry persons. My Lord John Grey is in trouble also for it. Besides this, John Hales hath procured sentences and counsels of Lawyers from beyond seas to be written in maintenance of the Earl of Hertford's marriage. This dealing of his offendeth the Queen's Majesty very much. God give her Majesty by this chance a disposition to consider hereof that either by her marriage or by some common order, we poor subjects may know where to lean and adventure our lives with contentation (contention) of our conscience.'"⁵

"9 May, 1564. Same to same.

"Sir William Cecil says that he himself is not free from suspicion 'because some of those committed upon the occasion had access to him in their suites'. In this matter, I am by commandment

⁵C.S.P. Foreign, Spanish, Eliza., 1558-67.

occupied, whereof I could be content to be delivered: but I will go upright, neither *ad dextram nor ad sinistram*.' ”⁶

Here Cecil speaks in terms of his favorite study, genealogy.

On 11 May, 1564 Smith replied to Cecil's letter:

“Is sorry that in this calming of foreign matters there should at home arise a storm. But if by that occasion the Queen should marry so that her subjects may have some hope of succession, or to clear these doubts and fears that trouble many men, as John Hales, and those that have meddled in those matters. Has been asked many times, and of late by the Prince of Mantua, if God should call her without succession of her body, who should be the right inheritor? He always answered as he thought, viz., that he could not tell, and that he thought the sword should be the judge.”⁷

On 27 June, 1564, Guzman de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador to England, wrote to King Philip: “A great friend of Lord Robert has been to visit me on his behalf and has informed me of the great enmity that exists between Cecil and Lord Robert, even before this book about the succession was published, but now very much more, as he believes Cecil to be the author of the book and the Queen is extremely angry about it, although she signifies that there are so many accomplices in the offence that they must overlook it and has begun to slacken in the matter.”⁸

The book in favour of Lady Catherine's claim was written, with the knowledge, if not the help of Sir Nicholas Bacon and Cecil, by John Hales. . . ” He was committed to the Fleet and detained for six months for his share in the publication; Bacon was reprimanded; and Lord John Grey was kept under arrest until Catherine's death.” We might add here that Throckmorton, Ambassador to France, was also under suspicion of having aided this venture. He was Hertford's uncle.

The news written to Philip must have gotten around the Court circles in Madrid, for Cecil received a letter from Challoner, dated September 2, 1563, from Madrid, in which Challoner says, “Is sorry for the accident of Lady Catherine's case, and also for Mr. John Hales, his friend.”⁹

⁶C.S.P. Dom., 1547-80.

⁷C.S.P. Foreign, 1564-5, p. 130.

⁸C.S.P. Foreign, Spanish, Eliza., 1558-67.

⁹C.S.P. Foreign, Dom. Eliza., 1564-5.

In September of 1564, Elizabeth created Lord Robert Baron of Denbigh and immediately afterward, Earl of Leycester. It was shortly after conferring this honor that Elizabeth offered him to Mary Queen of Scots for a husband. It is doubtful that this was more than a gesture as Elizabeth would never have allowed him to marry a rival, as Mary Stuart certainly was.

Hales, Cecil and Newdigate were all provoked at Hertford for getting his wife into this last terrible trouble. No wonder he wrote on October 15, 1564, in his depressed state to Leycester, from Mr. Mason's house. (Mr. Mason, as you will remember was his severest critic, or at least it seems that way from the letter we have printed before) The letter read as follows:

October 15, 1564.

Gunoldsby (Mr. Mason's house in Clerkenwell.)

"Although these late mishaps have made me silent, yet do I not mistrust but your noble nature continues your friendly working for me. I must build upon your promise of most earnest friendship, and as I mean faithfully to perform the service of a perfect well-wisher, so I beseech God's work in your heart to be earnest and friendly towards me and my lamentable cause.

"To make my new suit to you, I cannot but renew my old desire of your aid to remove Her Majesty's heavy displeasure; no greater comfort could happen to me than the recovering her favour, which depends wholly on your honourable and friendly dealing with her on my behalf. Besides my inward repentence, *if my land or living might purchase pardon for my offence, I would gladly part therewith.* My weary cause provokes me to be tedious and therefore I end, hoping more in your good and noble nature to do good in my cause, than in any deserts I have or am able to offer you."¹⁰

Poor Hertford! Not only has he been taken from his wife and children, received his huge fine, had his land distrained, but now he is so desperately unhappy that he would gladly lose everything of a worldly nature for a chance to comfort his wife. Few men have loved so greatly.

Besides his residence of Hertford House in Cannon Row, London, and Tottenham Lodge, Hertford owned Wulfhall in Wiltshire, his paternal home, and his place in Elvetham, Hampshire.

¹⁰C.S.P. Dom., Addenda E, p. 551. (Copied from the original, in the possession of the Marquis of Hertford with the original cover.)

He also owned according to an inventory made by Lord Winchester (Treasurer), at the death of his Father, Somerset, the following Manors and Estates by the award of the Master of Wards and Liveries: This was probably dated 18 October, 1564.

<i>Manors</i>	<i>Estates</i>
Collingborn Domer	Savernake Forest
Collington Sutton	Burbage
Collington Kingston	Darell
Pewsey	Westcote-alias Dormer
Scalborne	Eston Warren
Escorte Marbleboro (Marlbo- rough) cum Barton	The Hundred of Sylkeley Knoll
Easton Bradstock	Site of Amesbury Priory
West Grafton	Borough of Amesbury
East Grafton	Littlecote Pasture
Westcombe	
Bedwyn	

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¹¹According to the *Seymour Annals* by St. Maur.

CHAPTER XI

Elizabeth's Rage Continues

ALTHOUGH Lady Catherine had been ordered to be put in the custody of Sir William Petre at Ingatestone, Essex, about ten miles from Pirgo, she did not leave Pirgo until November, 1564. Probably Lady Grey and Lady Clinton protested to the Queen, Cecil, and the Council that she was too ill to travel even that short distance. Meantime Lord Grey was held in custody at the Court.

"In Nov. 1564 (it must have been near the last of the month) Cecil wrote (Sir Thomas Smith) with characteristic discretion, 'I have also been noted a favourer of my Lady Catherine's title, but my *thruthe there in* is tryed, and so I rest quiet, for surely I am and always have beene circumspect to do nothyng to make offence. The Earl remaineth with Mr. Mason and my Lady Catherine with Mr. Petre.'"¹

Cecil again wrote to Sir Thomas Smith on December, 1564: "The Queen's displeasure continues toward my Lord Hertford and the Lady Catherine and my Lord Keeper (Nicholas) Bacon, and John Hales is still in prison."²

"Cecil wrote Sir Thomas Smith on December 15: 'The Queenes Majesty fell perillously sick on Saturday last, the accident cam to that which they call diarrhoea. We feared a flux. She is somewhat weakned, but in helth and will attend hir affayres after Satyrday, which is tomorrow, assure you. She is clearly hoole, but for the tyme she made us sore afrayed. Thanks be God for both. For of both we take good. Warned by her sickness, and comforted by hir recovery. XV Decemb. 1564, yours assured. W. Cecil.'"³

That Elizabeth suffered an illness, after every time she did a cruel thing to Catherine is well recorded in recent books.

It is very hard to understand the great hatred for Catherine Grey that Elizabeth held. That it was personal as well as political we have observed before in this story. She was probably piqued

¹Locke, *The Seymour Family*.

²*Ibid.*

³Ellis, *Original Letters*, II, Ser. 2.

by her great beauty and attractiveness as well as her learning, and annoyed that Hertford preferred Catherine to her and her court, and displayed his love in the most outright way. Then too, many cruel and headstrong people dislike goodness in others, and that Catherine was incapable of real wrong or cruelty is quite evident. But above all, Catherine had an unsullied birthright!

I feel that Elizabeth hated her father in her younger life and that it did not lessen after his death, and she was determined to thwart his will in regard to the succession. She had some reason for the hatred of the Seymour family other than her youthful romance with Admiral Thomas Seymour, in that Hertford's aunt, Jane the Queen, was the immediate cause of the beheading of her own mother, Anne Boleyn, and had also been able to supply Henry VIII with a male heir to the throne.

Probably Hertford resembled not only his fine father, the Duke of Somerset, but his uncle Thomas as well, and Elizabeth knew and resented from her own experience the temper and willfulness of those Seymours through whose veins the much diluted blood of Hotspur ran. In no authority have I found an instance of Hertford having been, like so many of his friends, a flatterer and cozenor of Elizabeth, although his letters to her are written in the affected manner of the day.

That Hertford was handsome is undoubted, as he resembled his great father in features as well as in disposition much more than he did his mother, Anne Stanhope. He had his father's executive ability and a gentleness and pity for distressed people, which was a quality that his father possessed in great measure. From all accounts Hertford was a very fine, chivalrous, tender and lovable person.

We can find no reliable portrait of Hertford. His portrait in Mr. Doyle's *Official Baronage* (1885) is taken from the effigy in Salisbury Cathedral on his and Catherine's tomb. There is a small portrait of him in the hands of his third and last wife, clasped to her breast, in her portrait at Longleat. That he was not more than medium size is evident from his sobriquet, "Little Lord Hertford," as applied in a letter of 1605 in Winwood's *Memorials*, II, 52. He probably had hazel or gray eyes and auburn hair and his heritage was pure English. The Duke of Somerset was a great opponent of enclosures, and wrote and preached against them as did Hertford, Hales and Shakespeare.

The portrait of Catherine is a fine one and you can judge of her beauty for yourselves. She had that inward beauty of spirit and kindness, and also a keen sense of humor. Her one fault was that of jealousy, as we have recorded. She was very lovable and a beautiful and talented young woman.

"Letter on February 4, 1565, from Edward, Earl of Hertford to his cousin Sir Nicholas Throckmorton from Sir John Mason's; Gunoldsby, Clerkenwell."

"Now that I have obtained license I may no longer leave you unnoticed, or remain your debtor for your good report of me in France and your friendly care of such of my friends as, since your coming over, have moved your good remembrance of me to my Lord of Leycester; whereby I assure myself of the continuance of your goodwill, so that I may now well think the sorrow I had of troubles there was not without cause, nor my joy in vain when I heard of your delivery and safe return to England, with so good credit, and to a place where such a friend might stand me in so good stead; therefore in place of thanks and further congratulations, let me open to you my hard hap, with my earnest desire of your further friendship. But why should I go about to trouble you with particularities as to what way you may work for me, or where my greatest griefs depend. Whereas *my lamentable case is hidden to none*, nor none judge thereof better than you, who have been tossed with and tasted so bitter troubles, though none of so long continuance as mine, yet of sufficient extremity; therefore my only desire is that I may feel you to remain where heresay tells me you are. As adversity tries the true friend, so shall you ever find me no less yours than you may now bind me."⁴

"The Spanish Ambassador writing on April 28, 1565, to Philip II tells him that he, De Silva, thinks that Mary Stuart is already married to Darnley as Lady Margaret is imprisoned. Also that Lethington the Scotch Ambassador is in possession of a copy of Hales's book written in the interest of Catherine in the matter of succession, and that it mainly consists of two points: first as to whether King Henry's will was valid or not, as in it, Catherine is appointed amongst others as his successor; and secondly, the question of the Scotch Queen being an alien."⁵

"On the 4th of June, 1565, there was a conference on the

⁴C. S. P., Addenda E., p. 557.

⁵Cal. State Papers—Foreign, Spanish Eliza.

marriage of Mary Stuart by the Privy Council: Present, Lord Keeper (Bacon), Lord Treasurer (Winchester) Earls of Derby, Bedford, Leycester, Lord Admiral Chamberlain, Controller, Vice Chamberlain and Secretary; Cave, Peter (Petre) and Mason."⁶

One of the recommendations was "That some remission of the Queen's displeasure to the Lady Catherine and to the Earl of Hertford be shewed, that the Queen of Scots thereby may find some change, and her friends put in doubt of further proceedings therein."

From another source we find the following: "Camden says it was also resolved that the Lady Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford should now receive some contenance at Court, as being the only persons the Queen of Scots seemed to be 'jealous of as co-rivals to her in point of succession.'"⁷

King Philip II sends instructions to De Silva on June 6, 1565, from which we take some sentences (Of course this was meant for the Catholics who were in favor of Mary Stuart):

". . . They must, however, be very careful how they proceed, as it is to be feared that as they have named (probably the Queen of Scots) without the consent of that Queen, who will do all she can to upset their pretentions and harm them in every way. One of the worst blows she could strike at them would be to appoint another successor to the crown in the coming Parliament, such for instance as Lady Catherine Grey, who married the son of the Duke of Somerset, which would be done with the connivance of Cecil, who was a retainer of the Duke, and some other heretics who desire this. Or the succession might be declared in favour of the Earl of Huntingdon, who is married to a sister of Lord Robert, for which reason the Queen might incline to this candidature and oppose that of Lady Catherine and her husband, the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland (Robert's father) having been open enemies. Finally you will direct your earnest endeavors by all means in your power, to the end that the Queen shall not declare any successor at all if she will not appoint the Queen of Scotland and Lord Darnley, and no doubt this end may easily be accomplished as her own tendency has always been against the appointment of a successor."⁸

Lady Margaret was sent to the Tower on June 10, 1565, and

⁶C. S. P. Foreign (Spanish), 1564-5, p. 387 et passim.

⁷Craik, *Romance of the Peerage*, II, 352.

⁸C. S. P. Foreign, Spanish.

Mary Stuart openly married Lord Darnley, Lady Margaret's eldest son, at Holyrood on July 26, 1565.

The wily Queen Elizabeth visited Coventry this year on one of her Progresses. She arrived there on August 17 and was welcomed by the Mayor and citizens with the guilds showing their pageants.

The Recorder of Coventry, John Throckmorton, greeted her with an Oration and after this was over the Queen "alighted at the Free-School, and went into the Library, and made a present of some money; thence she rode unto the White Friars (John Hales's residence) where her Grace lay Saturday and Sunday nights. On Sunday the Mayor and all the Council dined her Majesty." This banquet probably took place in that most interesting St. Mary's Hall, built in the early 15th century by the united guilds. It was seventy feet long and thirty feet wide and thirty feet high, and was the great pride of Coventry."⁹

I feel sure that Elizabeth arranged this Progress to see just what John Hales was up to and if he had the Seymour bastardized baby anywhere in his care. But Hertford had been too smart for this precious babe to be discovered by Elizabeth or the inquisitive ladies and gentlemen of her entourage. Of course Hales was still under detention at his home.

While Elizabeth was on this trip, Lady Mary Grey, Catherine's young sister, who was in Elizabeth's Court, married the great Sergeant Porter secretly. Mary had a crooked back and was very ugly. "They say the queen is very much annoyed and grieved thereat. They are in prison."¹⁰

Sometime during the preceding year or two Hertford's sister Anne, who had married Ambroise, Earl of Warwick, died and on November 11, 1565, the Earl of Warwick married Anne, eldest daughter of the Earl of Bedford. This was a sad event for Hertford.

In April of 1566, Sir John Mason died suddenly in his home at Gunoldsby, Clerkenwell, but Hertford evidently remained under the custody of Mrs. Mason until at least June 21, as he wrote a letter from there to Cecil on that date in which he "complains of the continuance of the Queen's heavy displeasure towards him, and that his brother Henry Seymour bears a part of the penalty."

Hertford, while in Clerkenwell, may have made the acquaintance at this time of Sir Arthur Gorges. This suburb of London was

⁹Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, I, 192-198.

¹⁰C. S. P. Simancas 1558-67, p. 468.

one of the Gorges' country places and was this year the birth-place of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, later acknowledged by historians to be the "Father of American Colonization." He was a nephew of Sir Arthur Gorges. Probably Hertford was allowed some latitude in walking and exercising for the sake of his health, and thus these two men may have met there at this time.

In early May, 1566, Catherine's aged guardian Sir William Petre of Ingatestone died and she was then removed to the care of Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield Hall, Essex, who was some connection of the Seymours. We have no records concerning her imprisonment here but the chances were that she was as unhappy as she had formerly been, being separated from her beloved Ned.

Hertford was now put under the custody of Sir John Spencer at Althorpe, Northamptonshire, and this must have been a great consolation to him as at Althorpe was one of the finest libraries of the time. As Sir John Spencer was one of the wealthiest noblemen of that period, his house and surroundings must have been of comfort to this much abused man. He was not far from Coventry and John Hales, and also Astley Castle, near where his babe of two years was being raised by Catherine's former servants.

On "June 19, 1566 James VI (of Scotland was born to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland,) at Edinburgh, *inter horam 10 et 11 matutins.*" according to "Cecil's chronology."

During this period De Silva kept King Philip II informed of everything that was said or thought in England on these much debated subjects of the succession and of Elizabeth's marriage intentions.

As we do not have English records of this especial kind we are using these Spanish records:

"14 September, 1566. Cuizman De Silva to Philip II:

"It is believed for certain that Parliament will meet although some people doubt it. They think that if the Queen does not marry or proclaim a successor they will not vote her any supplies. . . . The heretics are furiously in favour of Catherine although somewhat divided. Some wishing for the Earl of Huntingdon, who is the man to suit them best . . ."

Same to Same—

"12 October, 1566.

"I am told that the Duke of Norfolk will espouse the cause of Catherine, who is now in prison, and is a sister of Jane, in the

matter of succession, whilst Leycester will advocate the claims of the Queen of Scotland. No doubt Cecil has persuaded the Duke with whom he was very friendly to this; with the idea that the daughter of the Duke may marry Catherine's son (although they are both children) but, as I have already said I do not believe that anything will be done in the matter of the succession; and it is only quite possible that it may be proposed in Parliament for the purpose of putting pressure on the Queen about the marriage, and may afterwards be abandoned or delayed in consequence of the many difficulties it presents."

Same to Same—

"26, October, 1566.

"The discussion about the succession still goes on in Parliament, and the Queen is extremely annoyed as she fears that if the matter be carried further they will adopt Catherine, both she and her husband, the Earl of Hertford being strong Protestants. . . . I have always pointed out to the Queen the grave difficulties which might result from such a nomination, and the peril in which she and her affairs would be if Catherine were appointed her successor, contrasted with her security if she had direct heirs. She quite understands it, and three days ago she told me that on no account would she allow this nomination to be discussed. . . . She told me . . . they had offered her votes of 250,000 pds. on condition that she agree to it, but she refused, and said that she would not accept any condition, but that the money should be given freely and graciously, as it was for the common good and advantage of the kingdom and the defense of Ireland. She is quite determined to concede nothing in this matter of the succession, although she wishes to dissemble and let them talk in order that she may know what are their opinions and discover the lady of each one's choice, by which she alluded to the Queen of Scotland and Catherine.

Same to Same—

"13 November, 1566.

"It appears that they claim the right to proceed in the appointment of a successor to the crown, and in this case, although the Scotch Queen has a large party in the House of Lords, it is thought that Catherine would have nearly all of the members of the Lower Chamber on her side. It seems therefore that everything tends to

disturbances, but I do not believe the matter will be carried forward."¹¹

The adherents of Mary now published their protests in a paper: (1566?) "Allegations in the behalf of the high and mighty princess, the Lady Mary, now Queen of Scots, against the opinions and books set forth in the part and favour of the Lady Catherine and the rest of the issues of the French Queen, touching the succession of the Crown."¹²

The first attempt to overthrow the validity of the Will of Henry VIII came when Lord Paget asserted in a Parliament, during Mary's reign "that the Will by which King Henry the father of the Queen appointed as his heirs, after his own children, Frances, the mother of Jane and Catherine, had not been signed by his own hand; and was consequently invalid, and without force as regards the appointment of Frances and her heirs as successors, because Parliament ordered that the successors after the King's children, should be those appointed by his Will signed with his own hand." The quotations here above given are from a letter sent to Philip II by Guizman De Silva on 16 December, 1566.

Into these hot and bitter discussions regarding the succession fell a bombshell of news. Darnley had been horribly murdered in the night of February 9, 1567, near Glasgow! The Protestants thought that Mary was guilty, while the Catholics put the blame on Bothwell, the future husband of Mary Stuart. We will not continue this discussion as the story is so well known to everyone. We will only give the reactions of Elizabeth as reported by Guizman De Silva to Philip II, and the actions of some of our characters at this time:

"London 17 February, 1567. On the night that the King of Scotland's death was known here, Lord Robert sent his brother, the Earl of Warwick, to the Earl of Hertford, Catherine's husband, to offer his services in the matter of succession, and Lord Robert himself went to see the Dutchess of Somerset, the Earl's mother, with the same object, and made friends with both of them contrary to his former action as he has shown signs of desire to help the Queen of Scotland. Here, however, opinions change from hour to hour."¹³

¹¹C. S. P. Foreign, Spanish 1558-1567 p. 580 et passim.

¹²C. S. P. Dom. 1547-1580. p. 287.

¹³C. S. P. Eliz. Spanish, 1558-1567, p. 601.

De Silva was deceived by Leycester's expert diplomacy, of which he was a great master, in this matter, as we know from the correspondence we have given, and more to come, that Leycester was one of the greatest restraining forces and mediators between the factious forces in England at this time and will undoubtedly be acknowledged in time. On February 26, 1567, Silva writes again to Philip:

"After writing this I had an audience with the Queen this afternoon ostensibly to speak of a certain matter concerning your Majesty's subjects, although principally to speak about the Scotch affairs, and find out her opinion in regard to them (the murder of Darnley) and if she had any further particulars. She spoke of the matter with much apparent sorrow, and said 'she thought it extraordinary, but cannot believe the Queen of Scotland to be to blame for so dreadful a thing notwithstanding the murmurs of the people.' I told her I thought the rumours were set afloat by people who desired to injure her (Mary) and make her odious in this country in regard to the succession, but I agreed with her that the thing was incredible, and advised her (Elizabeth) to be on the alert to prevent undue elation of the opposite party who were strong and might cause trouble, meaning that of Catherine, although I did not mention her name. She tells me 'she had already taken precautions by certain signs and words she had used to exculpate the Queen of Scotland, and says she is not sure that the Queen (of Scotland) had left Edinburgh as Cecil told Melvin.' . . . Eliza. takes extra precautions in regard to keys to her bedrooms etc."¹⁴

Again, on April 26, De Silva writes:

"Certain Catholics say they are sure Bothwell cannot be culpable and that the Queen was in no way cognizant of the murder, but that these heretics wish to cast blame upon her in order to benefit Catherine's affairs, as that Queen is Catholic, and they wish to defame her and separate her from her many friends here."¹⁵

After the murder of Darnley, supposedly by Bothwell, most people thought Mary was seized by him and taken to Dunbar Castle. After three months and six days from the tragic death of her husband, she publicly married Bothwell. This so incensed the Scottish authorities that they seized her and forced her to abdicate

¹⁴C. S. P. Eliz. Spanish, 1558-1567, p. 601.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

on May 23, 1567, in favour of her young babe James, who was solemnly crowned King of Scotland on July 29, 1567.¹⁶

Catherine and her sister Mary had inherited many of the lands of their father and their grandfather the Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in Leicestershire. Among these lands were Broadgate Park and Astley College, which is here mentioned in a warrant from Queen Elizabeth: "The Queen to the Master and Council of Wards and Livories. Warrant to Permit Lady Catherine and Lady Mary Grey, daughters and co-heiresses of Henry, Duke of Suffolk and Frances, his wife, to receive the rents and profits of certain lands late parcel of the possessions of the College of Astley, Co. Warwick." This was dated June 1567, from Richmond.¹⁷

"7 June, 1567: Edward, Earl of Hertford writes to Leycester, Milmay and Cecil. 'Is most bound to the Queen for her favourable acceptance of his mother's suit, and for her intention to take 700^{lb} a year till the 10,000^{lb} be paid.'"¹⁸

¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷C. S. P. Dom., 1547-1580, p. 294, 310.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

CHAPTER XII

Catherine's Death

Sir John Wentworth of Gosfield Hall, who was the current custodian of Catherine Grey, died in September, 1567, and the Queen ordered Sir Owen Hopton of Cockfield Hall, Yoxfield, County Suffolk, to take her under his charge. The order was dated October 2. On the same day a warrant was issued to Mr. Roke Greene to deliver Catherine to Sir Owen. On October 3, Mr. Greene wrote Cecil: "Represents the inconvenience it will be for him to take charge of Lady Catherine Grey." However, on October 11, Sir Owen Hopton wrote to Cecil that he had made arrangements to take charge of Lady Catherine.

That both Sir Owen and his wife seem to have liked and admired Catherine is evident, as the lovely picture of her which we present here was probably painted while she was with them, and it still hangs in Cockfield Hall at last accounts. Catherine had an inward beauty that shows even in this picture, where her eyes are downcast, possibly as they had become dim through her ceaseless weeping. The picture represents a lovely, simple, and devout young woman and one can not blame Hertford for his deathless love for her.

Late in December of 1567 Catherine was stricken with a fatal illness and probably Hertford received word of her desperate plight, for from a letter of Guizman De Silva's to the King of Spain we have the following: "29 Dec., 1567. I am informed that they have again increased the strictness with which they have imprisoned the Earl of Hertford, Catherine's husband. They are possibly afraid of some movement in his interest." The truth probably was that Elizabeth had ordered this added restraint, knowing his ability to evade guards and get to his beloved wife. But as Hertford was in Northamptonshire and Catherine in Suffolk, it would have been almost impossible for him to have made his way there without discovery.

Sir Owen wrote to Cecil on January 11, 1568, regarding Catherine's illness. He said, "She has kept her bed three days. Requests permission for Dr. Symonds to visit her again."

But this time nothing could be done to save the life of much abused Lady Catherine Seymour. She died on January 27, at nine o'clock in the morning. We have a most interesting and pathetic account of her last hours, which we give in full:

"Catherine Grey: 'The Manner of her Departing' "

"All night she continued in prayer, saying of prayers and hearing them read by others, sometimes saying them after others, and as soon as one Psalm was done she would call for another to be said; divers times she would rehearse the prayers appointed for the Visitation of the Sick, and five or six times the same night she said the prayers appointed to be said at the hours of death, and when she was comforted by those that were about her, saying 'Madam be of good comfort, with God's help you shall live and do well many years', she would answer, 'No, no, no life in this world, but in the world to come I hope to live ever; for here is nothing but care and misery, and there is life everlasting;' and then seeing herself faint, she said, 'Lord be merciful unto me, for now I begin to faint,' and all the time of her fainting, when any about her would chafe or rub her to comfort her, she would lift up her hands and eyes unto heaven and say, 'Father of Heaven, for thy son Christ's sake, have mercy upon me.' Then said the Lady Hopton unto her, 'Madam be of good comfort, for with God his favour you shall live and escape this; for Mrs. Cousen saith you have escaped many dangers, when you were as like to die as you be now.' 'No, no, my Ladie, my time is come, and it is not God's will that I should live any longer, and his will be done, and not mine.' Then, looking upon those about her vi or vii of the clocke in the morning she desired those that were about her to cause Sir Owen Hopton to come unto her, and when he came he said unto her, 'Good Madam how do you,' and she said, 'Even now going to God, Sir Owen, even as fast as I can; and I pray you and the rest that be about me to bear witness with me that I die a true Christian, and that I believe to be saved by the death of Christ, and that I am one that he hath shed his most precious blood for; and I ask God and all the world forgiveness, and I forgive all the world.'



Lady Catherine Grey. Taken from an original portrait at Cockfield Hall, Suffolk. Engraved by permission of Sir John Blos, Bart. 1540–1568.

"Then she said to Sir Owen Hopton, 'I beseech you promise me one thing: that you yourself, with your own mouth, make this request of the Queen's Majesty, which shall be the last suit and request that ever I shall make unto her Highness, even from the mouth of a dead woman; that she would forgive her displeasure towards me as my hope is she hath done; I must needs confess I have greatly offended her, in that I made my choice without her knowledge, otherwise I take God to witness I had never the heart to think any evil against her Majesty; and that she would be good unto my children, and not to impute my fault unto them, whom I give wholly unto Her Majesty; for in my life they have had few friends, and fewer shall they have when I am dead, except Her Majesty be gracious unto them; and I desire Her Highness to be good unto my Lord, for I know that this my death will be heavy news unto him, that her Grace will be so good as to send liberty to glad his sorrowful heart withall.' (Elizabeth did not release Hertford for nearly two years after Catherine died). Then she said to Sir Owen, 'I shall further desire you to deliver from me certain commendations and Tokens unto my Lord', and calling unto her woman, she said, 'Give me the box wherein my Wedding Ring is,' and when she had opened it, and took out a Ring with a pointed diamond in it, and said, 'Here Sir Owen deliver this unto my Lord, this is the Ring that I received of him when I gave myself unto him and gave him my faith.' 'What say you, Madam,' said Sir Owen, 'was this your Wedding Ring?' 'No, Sir Owen', she said, 'this was the Ring of my assurance unto my Lord, and there is my Wedding Ring,' taking another Ring all of gold out of the box, saying 'Deliver this also unto my Lord, and pray him even as I have been to him, as I take God to witness, I have been a faithful wife, that he be a loving and a natural Father unto my children, unto whom I give the same blessings that God gave unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.'⁷ And then she took out another ring with a Death's head, and said, 'This shall be the last Token unto my Lord that ever I shall send him; it is the picture of myself.' The words about the Death's head were these, *While I lyve yours*, and so looking down upon her hands, and perceiving the nails to look purple, said 'Lo here he is come,' and then as it were with a joyful countenance she said, 'Welcome Death' and embracing herself with her arms and lifting up her eyes and hands unto heaven, knocking her hands upon her breast, she brake forth and said, 'O Lord for

thy manifold mercies, blot out of thy Book all mine offences.' Whereby Sir Owen perceiving her to draw towards her end said to Mr. Brockeham, 'Were it not best to send to the Church that the bell may be rung?' and she herself hearing him, 'Good Sir Owen let it be so.' Then immediately perceiving her end to be near, she entered into Prayer, and said, 'O Lord into thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit,' and so putting down her eyes with her own hands she yielded unto God her meek spirit at nine of the clock in the morning of the 27th of January, 1567 os. 1568 ns."

The three blessings are to be found in the *Bible*, *Genesis*. It is the last one, God's blessing to Jacob (chapter XXXV, verses 9, 10), in which we are mainly interested. It goes as follows:

"And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padanaram and blessed him.

"And God said unto him, Thy name *is* Jacob: thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and he called his name Israel."

This last blessing seems to me to indicate that the third son, little William's name had been changed, and this was Catherine's way of letting that fact be known to her friends. She was a great Bible student as were most of the Protestants of that day. This may seem like drawing a long bow, but it certainly is a strange coincidence that she should give three blessings to her children, and that the last one should have had his name changed. She also sent three rings, the last one a death's head. One is on Shakespeare's tomb. One must remember that there had been absolute secrecy about this last child.

It is probable that Sir Owen carried out her commission to him and delivered her rings and messages to the Queen, giving Catherine's children to her, very soon after Catherine's death. He must have also delivered the tokens and this document, "The Manner of her Departing" (probably written by the clergyman, Mr. Brockeham, who was there at her bedside), to Hertford at Althorpe.

The Queen's copy was probably delivered to Cecil, and Strype later found it among Cecil's papers and carefully placed it among the Harleian Mss., where it is No. 39, f.380. A copy is also to be found in Ellis, *Original Letters*.

That Elizabeth held Catherine a Crown prisoner from her removal from Pirgo (where my contention is that a third son was

born) to her death is certain for the records show that there were from the Queen to the Exchequer, by a Warrant of February 6, 1566, orders to pay Sir Owen Hopton 76^{lb} for the heralds' expenses at "the interment and burial of our cousin the Lady Catherine lately deceased, daughter of our entirely beloved cousin Lady Frances, Dutchesse of Suffolk." What a slap at Catherine, even after death!¹

Lady Catherine's banners were "A target (that is, a coat of arms) of England and four standards of arms, two France and England quarterly, a bordure, gobone argent and azure."

Another item of expense paid by the Crown was dated March 10, 1568, "Warrant to pay for the diet of mourners, and cering the corps of the Lady Catherine, household and funeral expenses—140^{lb}."²

In the *Popular History of England* by Charles Knight it is stated that a "Great chest of Catherine's with the royal arms of England on it is still at Cockfield Hall."

Where Catherine's body was temporarily buried I have not been able to find out, but that it was finally placed in a joint tomb with Hertford's (which Hertford had erected in Salisbury Cathedral, near his ancestral home at Wulfhall, Wiltshire) is certain as on the tomb he had the following tribute engraved:

". . . And also of his most dearly beloved wife Catherine, Daughter and heiress of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and Frances, daughter and heiress of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk by Mary, sister of Henry VIII, Queen of France, and by descent the great-granddaughter of Henry VII. Incomparable consorts (Catherine and Hertford) who experienced in the vicissitudes of changing fortune, at length in the concord which marked their lives, here rest together.

"She was a woman of exceptional quality, of honour, piety, beauty and constancy, the best and most illustrious, not only of her own but every age. Piously and peacefully she expired the 27th of January, 1568."³

There is no record I can find that the Earl of Hertford was allowed to attend the funeral of Catherine, nor do we find any expression of his deep suffering after the loss of his beloved wife.

¹C. S. P. Dom., 1547-1580, p. 304-308.

²*Ibid.*

³This tribute follows that of one to Hertford who did not die until April 6, 1621, which we will give when we record his death.

Probably, as Catherine feared, he suffered as only such a devoted lover and poet could suffer. His friends at Althorpe probably did their best to comfort him; but undoubtedly as was his nature he applied himself to his beloved studies and work on his great poems.

For the Spanish Ambassador's ideas of Elizabeth and Catherine's death, we again quote his letter to Philip II:

"6 February, 1568. 'I have already written that Catherine, the wife of the Earl of Hertford, was indisposed. The illness took a turn as to prove fatal, and she is dead. She leaves two sons, aged six and four years respectively. The heretics mourn her loss as they fixed their eyes on her for the succession in any eventuality. The Catholics are pleased and are already beginning to say that the children are not legitimate owing to Catherine's having married against the law. I am told, however, that in her will she has again left the necessary declarations to prove her marriage. The Queen expressed sorrow to me at her death, but it is not believed that she feels it, *as she was afraid of her*, so that both on this account and on the Scotch side she is now without misgivings.'"⁴

From the *Annals* of the Rev. John Strype, the most authentic authority on the Tudors and the nearest in point of time to them, we find this notation on Elizabeth, 1568: "The Queen was this year (but at what time of it, I cannot say) suddenly taken with a terrible fit of sickness, that threatened her life, and was brought to the very point of death, in human appearance. This put the Court and the whole realm into great consternation: and, together with her bodily distemper, she was under great conflicts and terrors of mind for her sins."⁵

Probably Elizabeth was as usual suffering from her unjust treatment of Catherine.

⁵Strype, *Annals* I, Part II, 267.

⁴C. S. P. Spanish, 1568-79, p. 4.

CHAPTER XIII

Hertford at Althorpe

WE have no letters or records of how deeply Hertford suffered from the death of his beloved wife. But probably as Catherine says in her last statement, it must have been very hard for him to bear. The many devoted friends he had made at Althorpe, who had come to consider him with affection, doubtless did what they could to make Catherine's loss more bearable. There were six married daughters of Sir John Spencer and as Hertford had known some of them in childhood he felt at last among friends. His old friend Lord Strange, now Earl of Derby, had married one of these daughters. Lord Strange had been with him when they had been hostages in France during the reign of Edward VI. The other daughters had married Lords Hunsdon, Monteagle, Compton, and Ellsmere. Sir John Spencer's wife was Katharyne Kirton, daughter of Thomas Kirton and sister of the wife of Charles Cavendish. Cavendish was the son of Bess of Hardwick, of whom we will hear a great deal later in our story.

Althorpe had belonged to the Spencers for generations, but it was not the only property belonging to this estate. Sir John had inherited an estate near Snitterfield, Wormleighton, which had belonged to his grandfather Sir John Spencer, for whom he was named. John Hales also owned property at Snitterfield and some interest in our story is connected with this place.

Hertford's grief was thus somewhat ameliorated by the affection of these friends of his. However, he was greatly irked at the publicity which his every act, move, and word he spoke was subjected—for he was really a great student and poet whose inner life had to be quiet and devout. His letter to his uncle Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (February 4, 1565) where he says, "*My lamentable case is hidden to none*" shows his distaste of this continual talk about Catherine, his sons and himself quite forceable. Thus for a long time he had been considering how open to the world and its observations he was to everyone. So I think that at

this time he decided to take an alias for his career as a poet and also to plan for his boys, as well as the other members of his family. He probably could not bear to send out to the world his innermost thoughts as expressed in his poetry, tangled up with his and Catherine's long history of grief.

Also under a pseudonym he would at least be free from the Queen's inquisitiveness and vengeance. The idea grew and undoubtedly the Spencers suggested his adopting their name. But his connection with them would be too obviously apparent. However, they had a relative who had died in 1559 by the name of Edmund Spencer, and as the initials would be his own he finally decided to use this name for his alias. As this young man had been about his own age and had led a rural life, probably near Snitterfield, he fitted in with Hertford's poetic ideals. We have a portrait of this dead Edmund Spencer, which is classified in the New York Public Library, Print Dept. as our poet Edmund Spenser. However, when I had the picture photostated the negative showed the name "Edmund Spencer, obit 1559" in a half circle above the portrait. It is very faint—but it is there, above the best known of the "Shepherd" Edmund Spenser portraits. We reproduce this portrait here.

Hertford had found how successful the name of John Smith had been for concealing his baby and was encouraged to adopt this plan for his great works, which he now had under way. To make his assumed identity more convincing he probably approached the head of the administrators of the Robert Nowell Fund, as we have noted Catherine's man was a Nowell, and they allowed him the use of some of the funds as a scholarship to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The Merchant Taylors' School was quite near Cannon Row, London, and probably Hertford knew the head of the school well. At any rate he is registered as "Edmund Spensore of the Merchant Taylors' School, at his going to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge." The date of the benefaction was 28 April, 1569. It was about the date of Hertford's release from his imprisonment at Althorpe.

Elizabeth had again shown her dislike of Hertford or rather his family, the Seymours, in that she continued her punishment of him until about the middle of 1569. That he went to see Hales and his beloved infant is certain, although we have no record of it,

naturally. William, or John Smith, was now nearly five years of age and was perhaps put under the care of Hales in his school at Coventry where he could have more and better instruction. The youth was extremely gifted and loved learning and especially music. Hertford visited Wulfhall or Tottenham in Wiltshire, his chief residence outside London.¹

His two sons were being brought up by his mother, but probably with his advice. Edward or Beauchamp was now eight years and Thomas about six years of age. That they were pupils of William Byrd, the great music master, is certain. Byrd lived not far away from Hanworth in Harlington, Middlesex County, at this time. Probably they also had some of the best tutors of the time for they were under the Queen's direct commandment.

Shortly after Catherine's death Mary Stuart, her rival to the succession, landed on May 16, 1568 at Workington, Cumberland; and on July 15 was removed to Bolton Castle in Yorkshire. In October the conference about her affairs shifted to London. On October 21 she gave the first sign of assent to a suggestion of a divorce from Bothwell as she knew that the Duke of Norfolk wanted to marry her. On October 26, she was charged as a conspirator in the murder of Darnley. On December 15, 1568, the Spanish Ambassador, Gueran de Spes, in his fortnightly letter to Philip II, says: "The Council is sitting at Court, night and day, about the Queen of Scotland's affairs. Cecil and the Chancellor would like to see her dead, as they have already a King of their own choosing, one of Hertford's children."

By January 26, 1569, Mary Stuart was removed from Bolton Castle to Tutbury in Staffordshire, where proposals were conveyed to her for a marriage to the Duke of Norfolk, to which she gave a graciously conditional consent; but the discovery of the proposal consigned the Duke of Norfolk to the Tower. Then an outbreak of insurrection in the North, headed by the Earl of Northumberland and Westmorland with the burning of the Protestant Bibles and other devotional books in Durham Cathedral, caused Elizabeth's officers having Mary Stuart in charge to remove her to Coventry. At that time Coventry was a walled city.

Because of the uprising mentioned above, a muster of young soldiers was undertaken by the Queen's orders. Leicester evidently

¹In a letter of Hertford's on November 20, 1573, to Sir John Thynne he mentions this visit of his: *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* XV, 192.

ordered one to be taken in Warwick for we have a record of part of it:

"Dated September 23, (1569), "Certificate of the names and arms of trained soldiers within the Hundred of Barlichway, Co. Warwick, taken at Alcester, before Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Edward Greville, and Tho. Spencer." (Dom. Corr., 1569, LXI.) ² The name of William Shakespeare occurs in the list of soldiers of the town of Rowington.

I have already spoken of this young cousin of Mrs. Cousin's of the Manor of Rowington, near Stratford-on-Avon, and here is the record of a William Shakespeare of near-by Stratford in 1569!

Mary Stuart on November 28, 1568, was again moved and this time to Sheffield Castle, where she remained under the guardianship of George Talbot, Sixth Earl of Shewsbury, for fourteen of her eighteen long years of imprisonment in England. (Talbot was married to Bess of Hardwick; he being her fourth husband and she his second wife.)

Evidently Hertford now considered his children well settled and he decided to attend the University of Cambridge, for we find him there in December 1569, as the following letter shows:

Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne.

"24 December 1569. *Emmanuel*. (Cambridge)

Sir John Tyn. Harty commendations remembered. I send you your desired case of daggs (pistols) with their furniture. They are good of proof double charge as your man can tell you. I send you also a book dedicated to the Rebells, as well and as pithily penned as I ever red any, wrytten per Thomas Norton my old scolmaster. I know you will like it very well, but the oftner you reade it the better. Our newes thankes be God, that the Rebells are fled, but this certainly is not yet known . . . (There was probably more of this letter that Jackson, the editor, did not print.)

"Y. lov. fr.

E. HERTFORD"³

Thomas Norton had written in December 1569: "To the poor decyved subiectes of the North Country, drawn into Rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmorland." They had

²This item was evidently misplaced or overlooked by the persons who calendared the State Papers, or by somebody unlawfully using these papers of 1569, and it was subsequently placed in the C. S. P. Dom. James I, 1611-18, p. 234.

³Wilt. Arch. Mag., XV, 195.



Portrait of Edmund Spencer, a relative of Sir John Spencer, shown in the PRINT ROOM OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY as that of the poet—Edmund Spencer. The proof is found in the picture, where in faint lines above portrait is shown the name Edmund Spencer; Obit 1559. Our poet supposedly died in 1599. The poet took this alias in 1568 shortly after his wife's death in 1568.

"purified Durham Cathedral" by burning the versions of the Bible and the books of public devotion, and for this they were soundly rated. Thomas Norton was a lawyer and poet and had as a boy entered Protector Somerset's services as an amanuensis and quickly proved himself a scholar. In 1561 he completed, with his friend Sackville, *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*.

That Hertford, on his arrival at Cambridge, proceeded to put his scheme of a double existence into practice seems evident. He had to be the Earl of Hertford, because of his extensive holdings of lands, the law proceedings that went with them, and the many letters and complaints that would be addressed to him: thus he probably enrolled in Emmanuel College in 1569 under his own name, as we see from the preceding letter to his father's old steward Sir John Thynne of Longleat. But under his nom-de-plume, Edmund Spenser, he entered Pembroke College this year, as a sizar. He probably knew John Young, Bishop of Rochester, or he knew some friends of his, who was then head of Pembroke and Hertford probably confided to him his plan; for we know that Spenser entered Pembroke under this name in this year. Emmanuel and Pembroke are very near together; only one street, Downing, separating them.

At this time it was the custom of all rich young men of the nobility to have many servants attendant upon them, so it would have been easy for Hertford to arrange matters. He could have had trusted servants at one or both places. His scholarship was equal to this task, for as we have noted he had been a great student all of his life. He was also capable of carrying out the plot (having studied those of tragedies and comedies) and would know just how to conduct such a scheme so that his true identity would not be found out in Pembroke. His object in this matter, as we have said before, was to publish his poetry and become known as a poet under the name of Spenser and not under the name of Hertford—the father of sons who were candidates for the throne.

As Spenser he probably dressed as a countryman or a rustic such as a shepherd, the role he had assumed. While as Hertford he dressed like a courtier, an elegantly dressed man of London with beruffled sleeves, trunks, a short coat and long hose. It would have been a matter of but a few minutes, with the help of his trusted servants, to change from a rustic to the man of the world, for he was an actor of some skill.

As he had probably confided to John Young his scheme, Young was in a position to help him should trouble arise. Thus he and John Young became very great friends as we will after a time note. That this was an audacious plan, there can be no doubt, but as we have said before he was an audacious and resourceful person.

During this year at Pembroke, Spenser contributed some of his early translations of Petrarch and Du Bellay, *Visions* and *Sonnets*, to *Theatre of Worldings*, which was published by Van der Noodt, who did not credit Spenser with the authorship of them, but later, Spenser republished them and so reclaimed them.

Spenser made a lifelong friend of Gilbert Harvey while he was at Pembroke Hall. Harvey was interested in rhetoric and later became a lecturer on this subject there. His correspondence with Spenser gives intimate details of Spenser's personality, and probably is the only reason that his own name survives. However, his later quarrels with the authors Greene and especially Nash, belonging to the so-called "Fellows of Shakespeare," as the group is now called, throws much light on his character, which seems to have been that of a bigoted critic, a precise and vain person with not much understanding of poetry or even tragedy. We can well understand Nash's bitter quarrel with him later. However, Spenser must have found something in him that either helped him or gave him some cause for avoiding his ideas.

I believe that Hertford continued at Emmanuel during this year, but I have been unable to find a list of the students there during 1569.

But the world would not forget his sons, for the Spanish Ambassador writes on January 15, 1570, to the King of Spain: "The Queen of England, although she will not declare a successor, is bringing up with more state than formerly the two children of Hertford and Catherine."

CHAPTER XIV

Hertford's Fine

DURING 1570 and 1571 we find the Queen bothering both the Earl of Hertford, and his mother, the Duchess of Somerset, and her (now) husband Newdigate, about their lands which belonged to the Protector. We also find Hertford trying to settle the lands that Catherine and her sister Mary had inherited from her father's estate.

The Queen's order to Hertford's mother was: "June 15, 1570. Surrender to the Queen by Francis Newdegate, Esq. and the Lady Ann, late Dutchesse of Somerset, of all their right and title to the manors of Mochelney, Drayton, Weston and Fifehead, Co. Somerset, and the manors of Berwick and Kingston, Deverall Co., Wilts. Attested by John Vaughan."¹

That the Spanish were getting more and more disturbed by the case of Mary Queen of Scots and the Catholic situation in England comes out into the open on February 25, 1570, when Pope Pius V in his Bull *Regnans Excelsis* formally excommunicated Elizabeth, depriving her of her "pretended right" to the English throne. This Bull was read in Sarum Cathedral by Bishop Jewel.

Sometime during this year Lord Pembroke, the former enemy of Catherine, fell dead in court. The notice in the Calendar of State Papers says, "a great loss to many and a gain to some; all of the faction of Lord Hertford's triumph at his death. The Queen of Scots, Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Leycester have lost thereby." Who thought that the Earl of Leycester was not a great diplomat?

On June 10, 1571, Hertford writes Cecil: "His continued sorrow for the want of the Queen's favour," and the "endeavoring to bring in question a great part of the title of his lands." But on November 26, Sir Walter Milmay, Treasurer, writes that he "has taken order in the case of the Earl of Hertford's causes."

¹C. S. P. Dom. Eliz., 1547-80, p. 281.

"By a statute of the 13th year of her (Elizabeth's) reign (1570), it was made high treason for any person to affirm, 'that the reigning prince, with the authority of the parliament, is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the descent and inheritance thereof.'" Probably this was to restrain the amount of discussion between the followers of the "two ladies," Mary Stuart and heirs of Catherine.

John Hales, who had been under restraint for many years, was quite ill in 1568 when he was summoned to appear before some court in London, and he wrote Cecil that he could not go except by means of some horse cart or litter, and that he was still under the Queen's order not to leave his house without license from her. He evidently did not improve and early in 1572 he died. Hertford probably had to go to Coventry to make some provision for the guardianship of young John Smith, now nearly eight years old. It is my belief that Hertford's trusted and educated servant, John Combe, was assigned that duty.

The atmosphere of Cambridge for his poetic labors must have agreed with Spenser, for although he complains "of not being well," we still find him going on with his reading of philosophy and rhetoric, studying Italian and French and developing his stanza. Spenser took his bachelor's degree in May, 1572, at Pembroke and continued his attendance there. It is also recorded that he took the degree of M.A. at Cambridge (Emmanuel) in August, 1571.

John Hales left in his will. "To the Corporation of Coventry his White Friar's School and enough property so that the annual sum accruing could pay a school master to teach grammar 20^{lb} per annum, 10^{lb} to an usher, and 2^{lb} 12s to a music master who was three times a week to instruct such of the scholars as might be desirous of learning to sing."

It was during this month of August, 1572, that the terrible Massacres of St. Bartholomew began in France. It so frightened the English Protestants that their first thought was to execute Mary Queen of Scots. In Paris the dreadful carnage began on the morning of August 24, then spread to other cities: Meaux on the 25th; La Charite on the 26th; Orleans on the 27th; Saumur and Angers on the 29th; Lyons on the 30th; Troyes, September 2; Bruges the 11th of September; Rouen the 17th; Romans the 20th; Toulouse the 23rd; and Bordeaux on October 3. Neither age nor

sex was spared and the slaughter was estimated at from 10,000 to 100,000 persons.

The news of these Massacres on the eve of the marriage of the Prince sometimes called King of Navarre (later King Henry IV of France) to Marguerite, sister of Charles IX, must have been a terrible shock to Hertford as he was a devout Protestant and a long time friend of Navarre. Sir Philip Sidney (the son of his old friends, Sir Henry Sidney and his wife, Leycester's sister), who was there in Paris to witness the marriage and attend the festivities of the marriage, were shocked.

We have a letter or statement of Hertford's concerning the great fine the Queen had placed upon him, set by the Star-chamber, for marrying Lady Catherine Grey, and sent in 1573 to Secretary Walsingham who was now joint State Secretary with Sir Thomas Smith:

The Statement of Hertford's Fine

"somme set upon me in the Star-chamber was fivetyne thousand pounds, my lands never being distrained therefore, tyll a little before my coming to the Tower. At that tyme her Majesty released ten thousand pounds of the five-tyne thousand. After, when I was at Tower and made sute for the release of my poore Tenants pitifully distrained for the remain demaunded, wch was five thousand pounds, her Majesty sayd she would have one thousand and payd afore she would releaze any part of the sayd five thousand pounds. Whereupon was payd in, one thousand one hundred, fourscore and seven pounds (1187^{lb}). Shortly after, her Majesty cut off one thousand pounds more. So as ther remaineth to be payd two thousand eight hundred and thirtyne pounds (2813^{lb}) which my trust is her Ma'ty will eyther wholly cut off or at the lest, the greatest part; if it may please her Ma'ty to remember the whole somme was first set but *for terror*, as also my humble retourne out of France upon the first cawll, my patient abiding her Ma'ty heavy displeasure in prison *ten years lacking one moneth*, my sondry grete losses in sayd space, by my officers, and lastly sithense her Ma'ty's most happy favor restored, my diligent attendance and arredinesse these full six years, to do any service commaunded which I shall be more able to performe when I may find some frute of her Ma'tys favorable speaches and good opinion;

her Ma'ty's gracious dealing in his behulf being more worth unto me then ten tymes the valew of the remain.

"Otherwise contrary to my owne disposition I shall be enforced to leave her Ma'ty's comfortable presence by renewing my sute of travel, where, in letting my land to most advantage, abating my maintenance I may take order to pay my credit at home and at my retourne be able to serve her Ma'ty, whear now for want I cannot show my affectionate mind if her Ma'ty should any wayes employ me. (Endorsed) A Remembrance of the Earl of Hertford for M. Secretary Walsingham."

Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State, had caused the sum of 1,000 pounds to be taken off and now Secretary Walsingham had another 1,000 pounds taken off this year, 1573, "leaving in 1579 a remnant of about 1813^{1b} for which certain manors continued to be distrained; but ultimately the whole of the remainder was remitted, and a true copy of the warrant of release is at Longleat."²

As Walsingham had long been the Ambassador of England in Paris, he knew of all of the intrigues that the Spanish Jesuits and Catholics were hatching around Mary Stuart, whom he believed guilty of treasonable plotting against England. Probably he had told Hertford at this time of his need for trained and active spies to counteract their attempts on the life of Elizabeth. Hertford in turn may have told him of his dream of creating a school of literature and acting in England, utilizing his own young sons and young members of his extensive family. Hertford evidently deplored the atmosphere of the Court for the young men of genius. As the preceding statement seems to imply, Hertford confided his troubles about his lands and inability to raise the funds necessary for such a purpose, and so Walsingham helped him to get some relief for his estate. The Earl of Leicester was certainly anxious to provide entertainment for the restless and amusement-loving Elizabeth and her Court.

(It must have been sometime during 1573-74 that Hertford told Walsingham about his talented child John Smith, and how he had hidden his identity and place of concealment from the fury of the Queen.)

To show what a gossipy place the Court was at this time we give the following letter which Gilbert Talbot wrote to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

²Jackson, Wilt . Arch. Mag., XV, Appendix XI, 190.

"May 21, 1573: My Lo. Treasurer (Lord Burghley) even after the ould maner, delythe with matter of ye state only, beareth himself very upryghtly. My Lo. Leicester is very muche wt her Matie and she shewth the same great good affection to him that she was wonte; of late he hath indevored to please hir more then heretofore. There are towe sisters nowe in ye Court that are very farr in love wt him, as they have bene longe; my Lady Sheffield and Frances Haworth; they (of like stryving who shall love him better) are at great warres together, and the Queine thinketh not well of them, and not the better of him; by this means there is spies over him."³

These sisters were the daughters of William Howard of Effingham, Admiral, The Earl of Leycester is supposed to have married the former and the Earl of Hertford the latter in 1582. Their father William Howard, Lord Effingham, took the Queen's part against the Northern Earls in the rebellion of 1569.

We have an abstract of a letter from the Earl of Hertford to Sir John Thynne, Kt., dated November 20, 1573.

"Wants to know if Blagrove will let him have the Parsonage of Bedwyn, if his offer of good will when the Earl of H. (Hertford) first came to Wulfhall from Sir John Spencer's be not cold. But if Tottnam be summer friends as the Proverb sayeth, and then otherwise he doth determine to sell it, then you know what little cause we have to trust his heretofore pretended offers. . . . I pray you write me also what you know of Seymour Castle in Wales. What tyme my grandfather sold it to whom and for what price."⁴

On February 2, 1574, the Earl of Hertford was admitted a member of Gray's Inn. Evidently he wanted to study law. Certainly he needed to know something about it with all the troubles at law he had already encountered.

Just about this same time he was appointed one of the Judges of the Duke of Norfolk—for his plot to marry Mary Stuart. Hertford was a Puritan and also his sons were candidates for the throne according to the Protestants. What a position this was in which to put a nobleman!

Coventry as well as Cambridge was visited by the plague this year and probably Hertford took his youngest son William Shakespeare (or John Smith) abroad to escape it, for we have in the

³Nichols, *Progresses*, I, 328.

⁴Wilts. Arch. Mag., XV, 196.

Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Addenda, an item dated Antwerp September 3:

"Edward Harcourt, servant to the Earl of Arundel, tells me that he has secretly brought over to Louvaine a young gentleman, one of the next heirs apparent. Harcourt is gone to Spain; he was great when here with Lord Edward Seymour (half brother to Hertford) who is going to Italy and wants me to go with him."⁵ This "young gentleman" could not have been either Edward Beauchamp or Thomas Seymour, his brothers, as they were still under the Queen's care, living with the Duchess of Somerset at Hanworth.

John Smith, therefore, may have gone to Italy and stayed there with his father or he may have remained in France. At any rate, whichever he did he would at least have learned some French and Italian. Hertford could have also perfected his languages and (have bought) some of the classics of those countries.

It was in this year of 1574 that Leycester decided to license players for the stage (otherwise they might be troubled by the law), having in mind his coming entertainment for the Queen at Kenilworth. James Burbage seems to have been the first to procure a patent for a company to perform under the Earl of Leycester's patronage. James Burbage was undoubtedly from the family of that name living on part of the estate of Hertford near, if not part of, Tottenham Parke. This estate had been allotted to him by Lord Winchester, Master of Wards and Liveries, after his father's death—as we have noted before. As late as 1607-8, a James and an Anthony Burbage were living there. Also we have a letter from Sir Thomas Smith to Sir John Thynne, which shows the close connections of the Burbage men to Hertford and Thynne: "London, dated 12 June, 1567. Here is a proper young man of the Middle Temple of myne acquaintance who is desirous to be toward you as your Sollicitor here in London. I suppose he is not unknownen to you, For you have of his nere Kynsmen about you. If your sollicitor (who is welthy and therefore as it is thought will seke his ease), do forsake the travaile & office, he doth offer unto you his service. And thinketh the rather my commendation to be accepted unto it. His name is Ninian Burbage. . . . T. Smith."⁶

⁵C. S. P. Dom. Add., Sept. 3, 1574, Antwerp.

⁶Longleat Papers Nos. 3, 6, freeholders, Downton Hundred. Aubrey & Jackson, *Wiltshire Coll.*, pp. 369-80, 1672, says that the author believes that part of Tottenham Park is in the parish of Burbage.

Queen Elizabeth made a Progress into the West of England and evidently visited Longleat, where "A Jewell called a Phenix, set with one great emeralde, fifty othr diamonds and Rubies, with an appendant Peril at the same which my Master gave to her Majesty being at Longleat 29th September, 1574. Bought of Henrie Pope of London for 140.^{lb}"⁷

"On October 1574 Charles Stuart, 2nd son of the Earl of Lenox, at nineteen, with his mother Margaret, Countess of Lenox, went to pay a visit to Scotland. On their way north they stopped at Hardwick with Bess (Countess of Shrewsbury whose husband was the present guardian of Mary Stuart at Sheffield) who promptly married her daughter Elizabeth Cavendish to him at Ruffold, Nottingham, on February 2, Elizabeth was furious and punished their mothers with a long imprisonment."⁸

From the Spanish sources it was reported that she also separated the young bride and groom as well. But at any rate the young couple managed to consummate their marriage and their first and only child, Arbell Stuart, was born sometime before November 10, 1575, when she was christened at Chatsworth. Arbell's sponsors were William Cavendish, her mother's brother, and Mary Talbot, her aunt, wife of Gilbert Talbot, heir of the Earl of Shrewsbury. It is interesting to note that Catherine Grey had been the god-mother of Elizabeth Cavendish, Arbell's mother.

⁷From an old account book at Longleat: *Wilt. Arch. Mag.*, XV, 263.

⁸Cooper, *Lady Arbella Stuart* I, 15; *Lodge Illustrations*, II, 123.

CHAPTER XV

Concealed Wards

THERE are three letters from the Earl of Leycester to Lord Burghley dated May 1, June 18 and June 21, 1575, that have considerable to do with our bastardized William Shakespeare, or John Smith, as he is now named:

Concealed Wards

"My L. Where at your late being here, I conferred with you about the nomination of such as would be put into the graunt for her Matie touching *Concealed Wards*, &c. your L. then named old *Mr. Walker*; and I named my friend *Mr. Townshend* this berer, whom you L. did allow of: I have synce talkyd with him; and ys at my request very well contented to use his name, and take any frendly peanes for me; and as he ys every way a very suffycient man, so I had sundry ways very good prooffe, as well thereof, as of his dyscretion and judgement in his doings, besyde those I have thought good to send to your L. to talk withall; and to lett him understand your pleasure touching this matter, yf ther be any thing that you shall think good to impart, bycause he ys to joyne with him that you appoint for the said servyce."

The letter of June 18 follows, the (first part about the Queen, and her houses, health etc: . . . "For the graunt of her Majesty touching the *Concealed Wards* etc., as I have to thank your L. for the friendly dealings, so will I be no whit the less thankfull than I have promised; and thereof your L. assure yourself, though it please you to refer it to my consideration. It shall be even as I offered your L. at first, and so shall your own dealers be the doers as myne. And as I know your L. charge be as myne, and as your place requires, so wold it did lye in me, or may lye in me, to help better yt; as you shall sone find, when the occasion shall offer. . . ."

June 21. "My L. Hit hath pleased her Matie to signe the book of *Concealed Wardes* as hit was sent by your L. Fayne wold her

Matie have yt but during my lyfe; which, as I told her Matie, being only a casuall thing, I wold by no means deal withall; neither could I yet tell what benyfytt wold or should grow to me. Sure I was, yf any should, her Majesties person was best and surest. Now being done as it ys, I have thought good to send it to your L. that you will see assurances made from such as are named ganter to us, which I refer to your best dyscretion, as also what you shall think meete to consider of, for the use of their names, as far such as shall follow her sewte. For which cause I have sent John Dudley (Earl of Leycester's brother) to attend your L. and what order you L. shall think best, I wyll assent unto it. Or whether you will make your profe first against the next Terme, to see what they will deserve."¹

We see by these letters about the *Concealed Wards* from Leycester to Burghley, that they in turn had concealed their own names from the affairs by using those of "old man Walker" and "Mr. Townshend."

"Old man Walker" was probably living at Stratford-on-Avon or near by and Mr. Townshend was Justice of Chester and the father of Hayward Townshend, author of *Historical Collections*.

I do not believe that Burghley ever told his son Robert Cecil about these concealed wards, as later evidence shows that Robert did not know Shakespeare's identity. "Old man Walker" and Mr. Townshend must also have held the secret. But later William Shakespeare knew well "Old man Walker," or his son who may have inherited this charge, for we find that they were great friends at Stratford before Shakespeare's death, as he left 20 lbs. to his grandson William Walker, whose godfather Shakespeare was. Also we find Henry Walker "citizen and minstrall" selling the site for the Blackfriar's Theatre. Probably Hertford had used Walker as a go-between in this transaction.

My thought is that Hertford had already formed a plan for starting a school for poets and writers and combining with this the study of acting.

Of course, under pen names, plays had been going on long before this time; but the players were more or less strolling fellows—Children of the Chapel and young University students. There

¹These letters from Nichols, *Progresses* I, 524-5. Concealed wards were not an invention of Leycester and Burghley, as there is a record of a Nathaniel Brent, concealed under the name of "John Buston" about 1498-1531.

were so many young students at the colleges who were talented both in writing and acting that Hertford felt the standard could easily be raised and playwrights could test out their work and serve to amuse the nobles as well as the common people. Henry VIII had loved pageantry and pomp and Elizabeth inherited this characteristic.

Walsingham, whom he told about this scheme, was a great master of espionage and counter-espionage activities; not so much against the Catholics generally as against the Catholics who were the tools of Spain and the Pope. He evidently approved the idea: people trained to be actors would make the best spies and he could select from the cleverest of them for his great system, by their adopting additional aliases.

One has only to go through the Calendar of State Papers, during the years, commencing with his administration as Secretary of State and continuing down through the term of Sir Robert Cecil, to find the tremendous activities of these armies of spies and their methods of conveying information, which might enlighten the heads of the spy or espionage systems of to-day. Walsingham had scores of these agents scattered through every capital of Europe and attached to every important person, including the Pope himself. The records are also full of warrants to cover their expenses.

The Spanish were not bad at espionage either; as were the young priests, called "seminarists," trained at Douay, France, by Cardinal Allen, who also drew his personnel from the students of the Free Schools and Universities in England. It was, however, the Jesuits who were the boldest and most ruthless. Some of their outrages are only now coming to light, after three hundred years.

Spenser seems to have spent at least part of this year at Pembroke Hall writing parts of his *Shepherd's Calendar* and his *Faerie Queene*, as well as studying for his M.A. Perhaps his trip to Italy had given him new inspiration for his *Hymns and Visions*. If he, as Hertford, had gone to Italy and had taken little John Smith with him, they must have spent a great deal of time in going to the theatres and buying books. The youngster must have had great delight in seeing the plays and listening to the music that he so loved and learning to speak Italian, which probably would have been easy for him because of his background in Latin.

In 1575, Leycester was to entertain the Queen on her Progress

to Kenilworth, at which Gascoigne provided the masque, *The Princely Pleasures*, and Sir Philip Sidney *The Lady of May*, which some authorities say was given at Wanstead. Sidney also took part in the Tournament.

As many of the authors and writers attended these functions, it is possible that Spenser and Harvey may have also attended. Little John Smith may have gone along, as Kenilworth was so near Coventry and John Hales's School. It is also possible that Edward Beauchamp and his brother Thomas attended, in their grandmother's company. It was usual at this time for the young to attend Court functions, and Beauchamp would have been fourteen and Thomas thirteen years of age, *and they were the Queen's wards*. This is so well known an event that we will not describe it further. We have, however, an account of it, perhaps not so well known, which the Spanish Ambassador wrote to the King of Spain:

"The Queen, who is now at a Castle belonging to Lord Leycester, called Kenilworth, has been entertained with much rejoicing there, and it is said that whilst she was going hunting on one of the days, a traitor shot a cross-bow at her. He was immediately taken, although other people assert that the man was only shooting at the deer and meant no harm. The bolt passed near the Queen but did her no harm, Thank God." Again, in his letter of July 25, he tells the King: "There is nothing more said about the prisoner they took at Court . . . and no one dares to mention the matter, which, indeed, few people understand." Probably this instance explains Leycester's severity toward Warwick people.²

Sir Henry Sidney had again been appointed to command in Ireland, late in 1575, and he probably urged his old time friend, Hertford, to go with him. Hertford as Spenser had received his M.A. at Pembroke in 1575 and was free to go, but he could not manage it until early in 1576. His son Edward, Lord Beauchamp, was to be entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, at Christmas time and Hertford probably wanted to see him installed. Naturally all of the sons of Catherine Grey would enter this college as their great-great-grandmother (mother of Henry VII and Countess of Richmond) had founded it.

Probably Hertford, when he took Beauchamp to Cambridge, visited his mother at Hanworth and saw his younger son Thomas

²Sir Henry Sidney had married Elizabeth, Robert Dudley's sister, so Sir Philip Sidney was his nephew. Dudley's brother Ambroise had married Hertford's sister Anne, so they were all kinfolk.

at Court. Anyway, he sent Queen Elizabeth a New Year's gift of "payre of Braceletts of gold being 20 pieces, whereof 16 sett with blacke stones and four small perles in a Troche."

While up in that part of the country, he probably also visited his beloved son John Smith at Coventry. Hertford's half-brother Edward, Lord Seymour, lived at Coventry and with John Combe was looking after this young genius. Hertford found John Smith deep in music and poetry composition, for even at this early date he was writing hymns, poems and lyrics. The boy loved the country and its forests, fields, and streams, as well as the simple country folk. Nature was his great teacher, and as he heard the birds sing he would imitate their notes on his flute or by his voice. That he had an attendant that loved him and that he loved goes without saying, for at this time every young gentleman was provided with a tutor or companion to accompany him everywhere. (As I have said before, I believe that this companion was John Combe, as he was listed as a retainer of Hertford's at Tottenham Court in 1583.) John Smith was undoubtedly a choir boy at St. Michael's Cathedral; he may even have played the organ there, as he was an accomplished organist later.

That Hertford visited Ireland, in the character of Spenser, is supposed as in that character he was so deeply moved that he wrote *View of the Present State of Ireland* in which he speaks, through Irenaeus, as if he had seen the execution of Murrough O'Brien, which took place at Limerick in July, 1577.

Sometime during this year Hertford was placed on the Commission for the Peace of the County of Wiltshire. Also John Smith, now fourteen years of age, was selected a scholar at St. John's College, Oxford. He was one of the earliest students sent from the Free School of Coventry, (John Hales's School) through the Sir Thomas White Foundation, to that College. At this time St. John's College was rather new, having been established in 1555, and probably they were not so strict about the daily attendance of their pupils.

John Smith seems to have imbibed knowledge of every kind, especially that of nature, along with the very air he breathed. He had a fine groundwork in Latin grammar and an especially good foundation in the mechanics of music, that is, composition of it, and of poetry. He probably had a manuscript copy of Richard Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, which was not published

until 1589 and then anonymously. The Puttenham family was related distantly through marriage with the Throckmorton family, and that in turn to the Seymours—kinfolk again!

Charles Stuart, married to Elizabeth Cavendish and father of Arbell Stuart, died sometime this year. Elizabeth was greatly grieved and started to get the father's inheritance. This Earldom (Lenox) had been granted by the Earl of Mar (then Regent) by an *Act of Parliament under the Great Seal of Scotland*, 8 April, 1572, to Arbell's father "Lord Charles and his heirs forever." When Queen Elizabeth interested herself in Arbell's mother's attempt to obtain the wardship for her tiny daughter, the Lord Regent Mar would not consent. After Arbell's father died, the Earldom was made to devolve upon his uncle Robert, Earl of Caithness, who resigned it to James, in favor of Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny. He was created Duke of Lenox in 1581. To him James wished to marry Arbell, but Elizabeth would not consent.³

The Areopagus Club

In 1578 was formed the "Areopagus Club," a group under the patronage of the Earl of Leycester, of poets and writers. Its members besides Spenser, who I am convinced was its activating force, were Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Fulke Greville, Sir Edward Dyer, Gabriel Harvey, John Lyly and others. The name of the club was taken from the hill of Ares, near the Acropolis at Athens, which had been the meeting place of the "Upper Council," the highest judicial tribunal of that city, with general supervision in political and religious matters.

This Club was evidently to be a nucleus consecrated to the improvement of English poetry, drama and music. It is probable that the new school that Spenser hoped to found was to be assisted and helped by the efforts of these already established writers. It was similar in design to that already existing in France called the *La Pléiadé*, whose members were Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Pontnus de Thiard, Jodelle, Belleau, Baif, and perhaps Peletier Dorat and which was animated by a common veneration for the Greek and Roman Poets, and a desire to improve the quality of French verse.

³The Harleian MSS, 289, fol. 193, 200.

The Areopagus Club was probably enlarged greatly as the years went on and probably John Florio and Samuel Daniel as well as many others as they came along were added to its membership.

Besides his own great resources, the Earl of Hertford had many wealthy relatives and friends who would contribute funds for such a school or movement. I feel that Sir John Spencer, who was one of the richest men in England, Sir John Thynne, the Brownes, which included Southampton's mother, Sir Thomas Smith, and many of the great merchants of London who were so interested in education and learning at this time, would also contribute or pledge their aid. That Walsingham had warned him to keep the whole plan secret is indicated; for included in the school's efforts was a school for actors, from whom Walsingham hoped to draw some actors to serve as spies to counteract those that Rome and France were sending into England in the plots to take the Queen's life—among other terrible things. A part of the program was for the students to take a very solemn oath to protect the Queen's life and the security of England. (Later I will mention my reasons for making this statement.)

Fired with enthusiasm after the Areopagus meetings, Spenser thought to go and visit his great friend, John Young, who had been head of Pembroke Hall and to whom he had confided the secret of his alias. Young was now Bishop of Rochester, and made Spenser his secretary. Here it was that he finished *Shepherd's Calendar*. The modern students of Spenser state that he intended Ruffyn, one of the characters in it, to depict the Bishop of Rochester as *Episcopus Roffensis*. Spenser must have been at Rochester in 1579 as in his *Calendar* we find the fable of Ruffyn's dog and the wolf: the dog may have been intended for the old Roman Catholic Bishop, Thomas Watson, who was committed to Young's custody in February, 1579.

The alias of Thomas Watson for one of the young poets, probably Beauchamp, may have been arranged at this time, for "Watson" was one of the earliest of this newer school to create musical and poetical compositions, which were printed later. Rochester was not far from Penshurst, Kent, which was the family home of Hertford's great friend Sir Henry Sidney, to whose young son, Philip, Spenser had become so attached.

Undoubtedly John Smith stayed at Oxford for most of 1578,

and then was allowed to transfer himself to St. John's, Cambridge, where his brothers Edward Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour were studying. He registered under the name of Thomas Morley, and studied languages, music and poetry. He received a degree of B.A. in 1579 after he had written his *Forest and Fancy* in prose and verse form.

But, *Our Willy* under another alias had also received a B.A. at St. John's. This was under the name of Henry Constable. He became a Roman Catholic and was in Paris along with John Dowland in 1581. Our Willy was an adept quick-change artist, which we shall see as our story develops.

Our hero had to have some name that identified him when he assumed the many aliases that he did, and after I found his father Spenser calling him *Our Pleasant Willy*, I adopted a shorter form, *Our Willy*, to identify him, even from his legal name of William Shakespeare.

BOOK II

CHAPTER XVI

Spenser in London

By Easter, April 18, 1579, Spenser was back in London in Westminster, sharing rooms with Gilbert Harvey (probably at Hertford House in Cannon Row) and holding conferences with him. A party to their talks was E.K., Edward Kirton, Hertford's solicitor. They evidently discussed Spenser's debut as an author. He had several pieces ready or nearly ready: *Dreams*, *Legends*, *Court of Cupid*, *Pageants*, *The English Poet* in prose, and the *Shepheardes Calendar*. It was finally decided to bring out the *Shepheardes Calendar* first, and to bring it out in classical style with introduction, notes and glossary by "E.K.", even as Muretus edited the first book of Ronsard's *Amours*. Edward Kirton wrote the introduction at once, or had started it earlier, as it is dated April 10, 1579, then started work on the notes.

Gilbert Harvey kept a Letter Book, in which he kept copies of letters he received and his replies. Those he received from Spenser are extremely interesting and amusing as they show a picture of Spenser visiting Leycester and preparing to go to Court under his patronage and that of Sir Philip Sidney.

I do not believe that Harvey knew the true identity of Spenser at this time. "Spenser dated his letters from Leycester House, gaily and energetically discussing technicalities of his art, and his progress, 'with some provision from his powerful friends'—certain—but the form of it is delightfully uncertain—going to Court in the train of Leycester, growing a pointed beard and mustachios of fashionable shape, and frightening his ever vigilant friend and mentor Harvey, by the light courtier-like tone in his reference to women." The studious pastoral poet from "north parts" had blossomed with surprising rapidity into the image of one of the gay fortune-seeking adventurers who crowded the Court of the Virgin Queen in those stirring times.

Certainly an adequate disguise was necessary for Hertford, for although it had been nearly twenty years since he had been at

Court, yet there were many, many sharp-eyed people who might recognize him unless he was very careful. He probably wore the actor's heightening shoes or boots, as his height would be quite noticeable, he having been called in the old days, "little Earl of Hertford." He probably had to get some sort of semi-rustic new clothes from his tailor. He had to face that lynx-eyed nemesis of his, Queen Elizabeth, and the fox-eyed Burghley, who had disliked him since the episode of the last baby. That he acted his part of an Italianized, Frenchified gallant of rustic style must have proved successful for we do not find any suspicions about him.

Leycester was at this time still in the good graces of the Queen; but shortly after this the Queen learned of his secret marriage in 1576, to Lettice Knowes, the widow of the First Earl of Essex. Elizabeth became aware of it through the gossip of Simier, an emissary of the Duke of Alençon. This marriage had not at the time of Spenser's visit become the scandal that it did later, when Elizabeth would have put Leycester in the Tower except for the pleas of Sussex, Leycester's rival for royal preference of her gratuities.

Alençon was ugly, dwarfish, and half the Queen's age; but she flattered him and called him her *grenouille* and Simier her *petit singe*. Sir Philip Sidney remonstrated with her in such plain terms that she forbade him the Court and he retired to his home in Wilton to write his *Arcadia* in January, 1580.

Spenser, being a good Puritan, thought he would take a hand. In sympathy with Sir Philip, he could not resist this opportunity to protest. His protest took the form of a fable using the Queen's fashion of naming everyone by a nickname. The fable was about an ape and a fox and he brought them to the Court of beasts. The ape *Alençon-Simier* and the fox Burghley, who was believed to favor the marriage. The misrule of the animals after they had stolen the lion's skin shadowed the fate of England under a French-king consort. The tale was circulated in manuscript under the title of *Mother Hubbard's Tale*. Spenser was duly snubbed and the manuscript was recalled, but not before it had come to Burghley's ears. Spenser's discomfiture afterward is told in *Virgil's Gnat*, killed by the man whose life he had saved. Evidently Burghley had penetrated Spenser's alias.

The Shepheard's Calendar was licensed on December 5, 1580. It was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney by "Immerto" and published

anonymously. In 1581 a second edition was published as it became very popular.

Spenser went to court several times, but I do not believe he wrote much about it to Harvey, as Leycester had sent Harvey abroad soon after the Court episode, so he would not have known much about this part of Spenser's activities.

It must have been while Hertford was at Court as Spenser that he met a cousin of Elizabeth's, Frances Howard, a sister of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, and one of the two sisters who had been in love with Leycester. The two decided that they would marry when Spenser returned from his approaching trip to Ireland as the secretary to the Lord-Deputy of Ireland. He probably felt that his sons needed a home as they were nearing their majority and would be the better for the influence of a fine woman.

In 1579 Elizabeth enforced for the first time a general compliance with the "Act of Uniformity to the Established Church." This created quite a flurry among the Catholics. Many went overseas. We have told before of Dr. Allen's school at Douay, France, and how pupils had been recruited from the English colleges and grammar schools. Soon these new priests from Douay, joined by a few that had now joined the Order of the Jesuits, began thronging back to England in the disguises of captains and serving-men; sometimes even donning the cassock of the English clergy, preaching and reclaiming the English to the old faith.

Lord Oxford (Lord Burghley's own son-in-law) was reconciled to this faith, as well as many of the old English peers. Campion, formerly of St. John's, Oxford, and Parsons, once of Balliol, Oxford, were chosen by the Jesuits to head this assault on the Established Church. They were very active and fairly successful. Elizabeth's government retaliated by huge fines, imprisonment, and confiscation of property of these recusants, as they were called, when they failed to attend public worship.

But if the fierce religious struggle was at hand, men felt that behind this religious struggle, which was just a prelude, lay a fiercer one which was the invasion of England by the King of Spain. This was intensified by the discovery and occupation of South America and the West Indies, and the looting of these countries of their immense wealth of gold, silver and precious stones which had been enriching Spain for some time. It was the huge financial gain resulting from these discoveries that gave Spain such a seem-

ing mastery over the situation.

To break through the Catholic monopoly of the New World, to kill Spaniards, to sell negroes, to sack gold ships, was now the ambition of the great sea dogs of Devon and the south coast of England.

The great story of how they "sing'd the beard of the King of Spain," as they called it, is so well known that it is not necessary to tell it here. At the same time, Walsingham was stepping up his activities to foil the efforts to free Mary Stuart; and to counteract the schemes of the Jesuits to assassinate Queen Elizabeth and her officers which had become increasingly evident.

Spenser stayed in Ireland for two years at least, as there is nothing I can find in the public records of any activity by him or Hertford during 1580, 1581—a very unusual thing. He probably came home in 1582 with Lord Grey de Winton, who was a close neighbor of Hertford's, both living near Salisbury, Wilts. Hertford may have sent over as his understudy his half-brother Lord Seymour to impersonate him in Ireland as Spenser. Lord Seymour was undoubtedly under the alias "John Lyly", the author of *The Anatomy of Wit*, 1579 and *Euphues and His England*, 1580.

Spenser, while in Ireland, was intimate with Ludowick Bryk-skett, who lived almost, if not on Hertford's property, and wrote *Discourse of Civil Life*, translated from the Italian of Baptisto Grialdo. This book was published in 1606 and in the Introduction there is found the famous passage concerning the *Faerie Queene*. Barnabe Googe, who was one of Cecil's employees in Ireland, was also one of Spenser's intimates. He wrote *Eclogues* and *Sonnets* and *Foure Bookes of Husbandrie* (tr. from Heresbachius) 1577. Spenser speaks of him as "Harpahn" in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

Renovations at Tottenham

Before Hertford had left England for Ireland he had issued orders for the renovation of Tottenham Park, probably in view of his approaching marriage, as letters mention the construction of the "High Walk," "the Low Pond Walk," "the Stables, Orchard conduit house in Dec. 1581, by Thomas Langford, the great landscape architect of the time.

Hertford must also have given orders to his solicitor, Edward Kirton regarding the printing of several books; for when William



Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.

Shakespeare, under the initials W.S., Gent. finished his revision of Hales' book, *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England; A compendium or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints of divers of our countrymen in these our days*, and brought it up to date, it was printed by T. Marsh, London 1581, and communicated by H. Wriothesley, Esq. M.P. (Southampton). As his first task, "Our Willy" had to publish his beloved master's work to the world. It was dedicated to "the most vertuous and learned Lady, my most dear and Soueraigne Princess Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, Defenderesse of the Faythe etc."

"An alias or double name cannot prejudice the honest."

Sometime during the busy years of 1575-1578, Our Willy then under the alias of John Smith had managed to study music in England under both Tallis and Byrd, the then outstanding musicians of that day. He probably studied church music with Tallis and lighter songs and lyrics under Byrd. And from both of them he learned everything that could be taught about the different forms of musical composition. They both had had the patent for printing music. He probably studied singing as well, as he was a renowned singer later.

As it is impossible to keep separate the personality of this young man from the different aliases that he assumed from time to time, as he went forth to battle the foes of England as a spy-actor and spy-musician: we have therefore resorted to the name his father called him at a later period and have named him "Our Willy" to differentiate him from the many aliases and pseudonyms under which he operated. I believe that even today spies assume many different aliases in their work.

How much Walsingham had to do with the almost fantastic changes of aliases and activities of "Our Willy" it would be futile to try to say, but his influence must have been of paramount importance as that seems the only feasible explanation for "Our Willy's" doings. He continued these activities under different Secretaries of State until his death.

Sometimes he assumed the role of a Catholic and at others that of a Protestant, as suited his assignment. He also assumed the role in one instance of an atheist. Whether it was Walsingham's idea or on his own initiative he always seems to have regis-

tered at some college, usually giving his age as older than he was; a few times as younger.

We first find him under the name of "John Dowland" as lutenist to the English Ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Cobham, where he spent part of 1579 and 1580.¹

Evidently this name "John Dowland" was chosen by himself and was to honor his old friend John Dowland, the blacksmith at Tottenham Lodge his father's estate in Wiltshire. In Paris he could study the French school of writing, music and acting. All the books of Europe were to be had and could be sent to England to his brothers.

If this seems an impossibility, it must be remembered that he had his whole time to give to the profound study of music, literature, poetry and acting, with unlimited industry—composition being his whole life, also that he was a very great genius which means extraordinary fecundity of expression. His very existence had to be kept hidden from the Catholics as well as the Protestants and their clever spies, due mainly to the fact that the followers of Mary Stuart were plotting Elizabeth's assassination, and also because of Elizabeth's insensate displeasure with his father; also he was one of the sons of Catherine Grey, the Protestants' candidate for the throne. His father was always generous in allowances to his family, so there were no money troubles.

"Our Willy", still resolved to assume another alias in 1581, entered Corpus Christi College as "Christopher Marlowe." Here he started to write the first part of Edward II. We have one hint as to his disguise: he was supposed to be slightly lame and to be an atheist, which made it hard for him to double for some of his other aliases.

Another alias of "Our Willy" was "Thomas Campion". Although this character is found much later in our story, yet we find a trace of him about this year, 1581-82.

But because Spenser-Hertford was in Ireland and "Our Willy" in Paris we must not forget the other interesting personalities of our story living and dying in England.

The Earl of Shrewsbury was suspected by the Catholics of being a Puritan as he allowed himself to be entertained with stage plays in one of the great halls of Sheffield Castle. Mary Queen of Scots

¹Letter from John Dowland to Sir Robert Cecil, Nov. 10, 1595, which will be included in the text under that year.

was probably there. The company of actors was that of the first licensed players of 1574, (Leycester's) and the item speaks of Robert Wilson being there as one of the players of the company.

In 1581, under the name of Thomas Watson, was published a Latin version of the *Antigone* of Sophocles, with an appendix of Latin allegorical poems and experiments in Latin metres. In 1582 came the *Passionate Centurie of Loue*. These were eighteen-line English poems (called sonnets), reflecting classical and French as well as Italian influence and being in some cases translations. This is "Thomas Watson's" most important work.

I think this was the first effort of Beauchamp (Edward Seymour) in using this pen name for experimental work of various kinds. "Thomas Watson" was supposed to be "Amyntas" in Spenser's *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

While Hertford was still in Ireland, Lord Monteagle, a descendant of Catherine's grand-aunt Mary, sued for lands belonging to Charles Brandon, and also from Lady Catherine and her Sister Mary, who he claimed had died without issue. Of course Hertford's lawyers hastily entered a countercharge in the name of Edward, Lord Beauchamp, denying that Lady Catherine died without issue and claiming she was lawfully married to Hertford, by whom she had issue, himself. This lawsuit with many others followed Hertford and his heirs during the rest of the years of his life.

The Second Earl of Southampton died on October 3, 1582, leaving Mary Browne, Countess of Southampton, his wife. She was the niece of Mary Browne Grey, wife of Sir John Grey, who had been the custodian of Catherine Grey at Pirgo. The Countess of Southampton had a young son, Henry Wriothesly, now Third Earl of Southampton. This young Earl of eight years became the royal ward of Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral. While a ward of the Lord Admiral he undoubtedly knew well the young sons of Hertford, who was soon to marry the Admiral's sister Frances Howard.

CHAPTER XVII

The Year of Marriages

AT the beginning of 1582, Arbell's mother died and her grandmother, Bess of Hardwick, became her guardian, and as such she began to press the infant's claims to her father's estates. Her first letter, dated from Sheffield which was the Castle where Mary Stuart was kept, Jan. 21, 1582, is addressed to Burghley and Leicester, her cousin, telling them about the death of her daughter and appealing to them for "pity upon her poore Orphan Arbell Stuart." The second letter is to Burghley alone and says, "nowe my good Lo. I hope her Majestie vpon my most humble suitt, will lett that portion whiche her Matie bestowed on my daughter and juell Arbell remayne wholue to the child for her better education." Again in the latter part of her letter she refers to "my sweete juell Arbell." Arbell was just six years of age.

On June 10, the Earl of Hertford married Frances Howard daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham and sister of the Lord High Admiral.

I presume that this time Hertford obtained permission of the Queen for this marriage, as Frances was her relative and dear friend—or so it was pretended. It had been thirteen years since Catherine's death. The ceremony must have taken place at her father's home at Croydon.

That Frances Howard loved Hertford dearly is evident from her actions when Elizabeth again put him in the Tower. I feel sure that Frances knew the whole story of William Shakespeare-Seymour and that she welcomed him at Elvetham with joy, when Hertford gave his great entertainment for the Queen in 1591.

Of course Hertford's nearness to the Lord Admiral becomes evident and explains the Lord Admiral's patronage of the company of players, of whom Shakespeare was an actor and owner, after Leicester's death. It also explains the intimacy between the Seymour boys and young Southampton, which lasted through their whole lives, as we will show as time goes on.

Earlier in our story we see Frances and her sister Lady Sheffield both in love with Leycester. Lady Sheffield claimed that she married him. She afterwards married Sir Edward Stafford, who became Ambassador to France and she always retained a strong hatred for Leycester.

On the very day that Hertford and Frances were married, June 10, 1582, we have a letter written by Mr. Robert Tutt (who was evidently in charge of Hertford's two sons, Beauchamp and Thomas) from Hanworth, to Hertford:

"My humble dutie unto your honor remembered. It may please the same to be advertised that Her Grace (Lady Somerset, Hertford's mother) remayneth still troubled with the cough which with her age maketh her feble and weak. Her Grace will not desire your Lo. retorne, but yet I know, willing enough to see your Lo. here, neyther requests a Buck, but will take more (in) thankful part one Buck voluntarily sent, especially at thys time of the yere, than a leash hereafter. And although your LP dothe conceyve, that it is no meat for Her Grace, being as she is, yet to have it in her house and to pleasure her neighbors and friends with venison at this tyme of the yere is no small pleasure. Those pinates whereof your L. maketh mention, Her Grace receyveth to ripen the flewme. Touching My Lord Beauchamp and Mr. Thomas, they continue for their dispositions after one sort. They have read my fellow Smith's last letter in Latin, to Her Grace; and afterwards put the same into English for her Grace, as your LP. willed; with my L. Beauchamp Her Grace had special speeches, to what effect I know not, but without all doubt for his great Good if he have a prepared mynde to follow grayve and sound Counsels. Her Grace made him fetch his books, entitules 'Regula Vitae' & out of the same to read the chapters 'De Veritate et Mendaciis.' Your L. shall do well in wonted manner to acknowledge her Grace's great care of them and their well doing.

"Now if your L. hath any meaning that Her Grace shall visit Totnam this summer, then it is necessarie your honeur acquaint my fellow Ludloe with your L. determination therein: that all necessities may be thought upon and provyded in tyme."¹

From the above it is evident that neither Hertford's mother, nor his sons, attended his marriage to Frances Howard. It is also evident that she was cognizant of Beauchamp's attraction to his

¹Wilts. Arch. Mag., XV, p. 200.

cousin, Honora Rogers, and she evidently warned him against a marriage without the Queen's consent, and pointed out his father's long imprisonment for a like offence. But Beauchamp was a chip off the old block and he stole a marriage with Honora, his beloved cousin, on July 11, 1582.

Of course Elizabeth was furious as she always was at anyone getting married. But what business of hers was it since she had refused to recognize him as a legitimate heir to the throne, or even a legitimate child of Catherine and Hertford?

The Queen placed Beauchamp under the guardianship of his father at Tottenham Lodge, as his letter to Walsingham shows. (28, September, 1582): "Lord Beauchamp to Walsingham." "His being with his father was trouble to him (his father) and disquietitude to himself. His grief groweth upon him daily for the want of that which he would gladly enjoy. If he had offended Her Majesty, it causes a far greater grief, as he had no mind to offend in what he had done. Desires to be delivered from his father's custody."²

Whether the Queen separated the couple I have not been able to find out, but probably she did as that was her wont.

Not only was Beauchamp rudely dealt with but the match-maker for Mary Seymour (his aunt) and Andrew Rogers, Mr. Thomas Howard, came in for a rough reprimand, but Howard denies that he had anything whatever to do with Beauchamp's marriage.³

Thomas Rogers in 1589 under the alias of Nicholas Bergen was one of Walsingham's cleverest spies. He may have been the younger brother of Andrew Rogers, Mary Rogers, Seymour's husband. He may even later have belonged to the school, not yet started, and used the name of Nicholas Breton for his literary output. He was probably an intimate friend of Thomas Nash.⁴

That Hertford, as soon as he could do so after Catherine's death, gave substantial proof of his gratitude to Mrs. Cousin or Cousens for her devotion to the being he had loved most on earth, in her trouble and sorrow, seems to have been certain, as formerly he probably had rewarded Mary Shakespeare for her care of his beloved infant.

²C. S. P. Dom. Eliz., 1582.

³All of the above was taken from C. S. P. Dom. Eliz., 1582.

⁴Eng. Hist. Rev. v. 29.

Marriage of Soldier William Shakespeare

We now come to the troublesome marriage of William Shakespeare, soldier—as I contend, from the record of his muster in 1569.

That this marriage was not recorded is evident as it has been searched for by hundreds of scholars during the last one hundred years at least. But there is a record of a *bond* being issued for the safety of the Bishop of Worcester (Whitgrift) for the issuing of a marriage license to “William Shagespeare and Anne Hathway.” As this Bond is very important to the proof of my story, I am giving it in full:

“Bond of Marriage—28 Nov. 25 Elizabeth” (1582)

“Noverint univered per presentes nos ffulconem Sandells de Stratford in comitatu Warwick, agricolam, et Johannem Rychar-son ibidem agricolam, teneri et firmiter obligari *Ricardo Cosin* generoso, et Roberto Warmstry Notorio publico, in quadraginta libris bonae et legalis monetae Angliae, solvend lisdem *Ricardo* et *Roberto*, haered execut, vel assignat, suis ad quam quiden solu-clonem bene et fideliter faciend, obligamus nos et utrumque nos-trum per se pro toto et solid, haered, executor et administrator, nostros firmiter per praesentes sigillis notris sigillat. Dat. 28 die Novem, anno regal dominae Eliz. Del gratia Angliae, Franc, et Hibernial reginae fidei defenser etc. 25. The condition of this obligation ys suche, that if hereafter there shall not appere any lawfull lett or impediment, by reason of any precontract cousanqui (ni) tie, affinitie, or by any other lawful meanes whatsoever, but that William Shagspere one thone partie, and Ann Hathway of Stratford in the disces of Worcester, maiden, may lawfully solem-nize matrimony together, and in the same afterwarde remaine and continue like man and wiffe, according unto the lawes in that behalf provided: and moreover, if there be not at this present time any action, sute, quarrel, or demaund, moved or depending before any judge ecclesticall or temporal, for and concerning any suche lawfull lett or impediment: and moreover, if the said Wil-liam Shagspere do not proceed to solemnizacion of marriadg with the said Anne Hathway without the consent of hir friendes; and also if the said William do, upon his owne proper costes and expenses, defend and save harmless the right reverend Father in God, Lord John Bishop of Worcester, and his offycers, for licensing them the said William and Anne to be married together with

the one asking of the bannes of Matrimony between them, and for all other courses which may ensue by reason or occasion thereof, that then the said obligation to be voyd and of none effect, or els to stand and abide in full force and virtue."

To this instrument are attached the rude marks of Sandells and Richardson and a seal which bears two letters "R", and another, imperfect, which seems to be an "H." They were probably the initials of Ricardo and Roberto—*Ricardo Cosin*, the provider of the forty pounds of the bond, and Roberto Warmstry the Notary public, with the two farmers Sandells and Rychardson, as witnesses.

As will be noticed, this *Bond* does not state that William Shagspere lived in Stratford, but only that Anne Hathway was a resident there. As we have said before, there was living in 1569 a William Shakespeare at Rowington in the Hundred of Barlichway, County Warwick, whose name is included in the list of trained soldiers taken by Sir Fulke Greville, Sir Edward Greville, and Thomas Spenser at Alcester that year.

It should also be noted that *Ricardo Cosin* was a party to this Bond, probably its guarantor for the forty pounds, As we have said before a *Mrs. Cosin* was Catherine's devoted nurse, who probably suggested the name of William Shakespeare for the little bastardized baby, christened by Mary Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon, April 23, 1564. We do not know what relation she was to this *Ricardo Cosin*, but she was evidently a close one.

This soldier William Shakespeare was old enough to have been a trained one in 1569, he was undoubtedly anxious to wed Anne Hathway before he had to return to duty in 1582, as she was pregnant. He did not have time to have the banns read three Sundays before he rejoined his company, which explains his rushing away to get a license from the Bishop at Worcester.

The first child of this marriage was Susanna, and the Parish Register shows that when she was baptized in May 1583, she was recorded as being the child of William Shakespeare and Anne Hathway.

That this "soldier" William Shakespeare returned home again in the spring of 1584 is certain; for Hamnet and Judith, twins, were baptized May 25, 1585.

That this soldier, William Shakespeare, was also home long enough to engage in the famous deer-stealing incident seems evident. And certainly the lampoon stuck in Sir Lucy's gate



Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.

smacks strongly of the soldier's doings rather than that of our gentle poet and greatest dramatist. That he left Stratford-on-Avon in 1585 seems to be taken for granted by everyone who has studied the matter.

As we can find no other records of this "soldier" he probably perished in the Low Countries, and as he was one of Leycester's band he may even have been with him until 1586.

CHAPTER XVIII

Hertford's Ordinarie of Household

BUT to get back to "Our Willy." In the Calendar of State Papers there now begins, in 1582, a perfect flood of spy letters which it is not the object of this study to discuss unless one of the spies is "Our Willy" or one of his "packe". There is one record of a brother of Campion the priest, which we interpret as "Thomas Campion," one of the aliases of "Our Willy." From this it would seem that he was in Paris for at least a part of this year. But later this same year we find him under his name of "John Smith", preacher, as lecturer at St. Paul's in London; and at the same time, under his musical alias of "Thomas Morley" acting as organist in the same cathedral.

During the winter of 1582-3 the Earl of Hertford seems to have been living at Tottenham Lodge, Wilts., as appears from the next paper: "A Note of the Names of the Ordinarie of Household," there, "dated viij Januarie 1582-3, viz:"

Mr. Robert Smyth (Chaplain)

Robert Tutt (in charge of Edward Beauchamp and Thomas)

George Ludloe (head steward of Tottenham)

Michael Siddenham (Hertford's personal servant, first mentioned in 1560)

Thomas Langford (the restorer of the grounds)

Gilbert Prynne

Henry Rookes

Jack Lewes (may have been John and a spy for Elizabeth)
see 1591—Thomas)

Thomas Hidden

Thomas Mondaye (may have been father of Anthony Mundaye, poet and spy)

George Bollinge

John Piedall

Thomas Davis

Smyth, keeper of the Parke

Thomas Gaskyn, slaughter-man
 John Dowlinge, smyth (probably name used by "Our Willy")
 Tom Cooke
 Henry Francis, cook's new boy
 John Combe (see monument at Stratford, John-a-Combe)
 Jack Hunton, a kitchen boy
 Groomes of your Lordship's stables
 Richard
 Florrey
 Hopkins
 Barthelomew
 Warren
 Thomas Westcott
 Davy Ricche, farrier
 Thomas Hewes, ale brewer
 Thomas Warren, ostringer (falconer)
 Gilbert, the beer brewer
 Barnaby, the baker (see Barnes, Barnaby, Barnfield 1569-1609)
 Cusse, the boy of the bakeshop
 Hugh, boy of the wardrobe
 John Connye
 Connie's wyffe
 Connie's boy
 Jack, the falconer's boy
 Edmonds, Robert Tutt's man
 James, Mr. Ludloe's boy
 Southerne, Mr. Smith's boy (see poet by that name, Catholic,
 probably an alias of "Our Willy.")¹

Sometime during the years before 1580 the Earl of Hertford had been building a church at Easton Royal, as the Registers commence in 1580. It was probably built to honor the tomb of Hertford's grandfather.²

As our chief personalities lived, or had a home, at Tottenham Lodge, we will give a description of the Parke there by Aubrey & Jackson:

"Tottenham Parke is a most parkely ground and romancy pleasant place; several walks of great length of trees planted. Here the Duke of Somerset hath his best seate, which is now (1672)

¹Wilts. Arch. Mag., XV, 198; Longleat papers.

²Add. MSS., 5495.

to be made a complete new pile of good architecture. Both in the Parish of Bedwyn Magna." (The editor believes that part of the Tottenham Parke is in the Parish of Burbage.) "About a mile from Great Bedwyn is Wulfall . . . Here is a very long barne of . . . bays and 3 porches of timber and thatch; in this barne then, 1536, hung with tapestry, was the wedding kept for Queen Jane."³

To go back to the household of the Earl of Hertford at Tottenham Lodge, heading the list of "Names of Ordinarie of Household" is that of Mr. Robert Smyth. He was the tutor to young Beauchamp and Thomas, and we have a letter which he wrote to the Earl of Hertford reporting, as I imagine, the work of Young Thomas Seymour:

"R. Smyth to Edward Earl of Hertford", dated 30 Jan. 1583.

"Bi this bearer (my singular good Lord) I have sent two such as I could, to mynd, the one longer, the other shorter, more would I have sent but that *omnuim rerum est satietos*; I feare theise be to much. The names of suche bokes are herein enclosed, as apperteine to such purpose.

"The argument of the first titled boke is; the Poet meaning to extoll the praise of Isotta dawghter to the prince of Arimimiusu and married to the Duke of Florence he feineth Jupiter to have been ravished wyth her excellemt beauty. His first epistle conteyneth Jupiter's wowing. The second Isotta her modest and matronlyke refusall, the third Jupiter's reply wherein '*precibusq minas regaliter eddit.*' But as appeareth by the others following '*Nil pece, nil pretio, nil valet, ille minie.*'

"For she told hyr husband who writeth to Mars to defend him from Jupiter's wrath. And Mars to Phoebus to take his parte. Jupiter wrytes it to Saturne, and Saturne to Luna to steal her away by night. Mercury calleth a counsel of the gods wherein yt is determined that Pallas and Venus should be sent with this ambassage; that Sugismunde should enjoy Isotta peaceably as long as she ys mortall and after Jupiter to have her when she s immortall. The peace being thus concluded Luna and Juno gratulate the earth for joy of the peace concluded.

"What story was meant that I told whether of Cephalus or Procris or Hippomanes and Attalanta or Linceus and Hipernestra, I know not. If I misse the title of the boke of Questions theise are some of theime. A lady loving two at a banquet she toke

³Aubrey & Jackson, Wilts. Coll., pp. 379-382.

from one a garland and put it on her heade; to the other she gave a garland which before she had upon her head. The question ys, whether (of the two) she loved better.

"Another, whether yt be better for a woman to marry a wyse man, a stronge man, or a riche man. Another, whether the lover is more passioned in presence or in absence. Thus, with '*Jucumdum est amare si cures ne quid insit amari.*' I take my leave—Wolphall, 30 January.

"Yor L. most bounde and humble.

"R. SMYTH."⁴

From this slight report of R. Smyth to Hertford as to the boy's knowledge of the classics it is evident that he had studied them and had some imagination in constructing a romance in that fashion. Of course the two boys, Edward and Thomas, had travelled abroad during their vacations from Cambridge in the summer. In fact they may have gone in 1578 and again in 1580 with Robert Smyth and Robert Tutt, their man of affairs. I fancy that Hertford had them also produce some of their translations.

Also on the list of "Ordinarie of Household," at Tottenham Lodge we find the name of John Combe. This seems to be the man who, with his brother William, owned the College at Stratford-on-Avon, and who I feel sure was the close companion of "Our Willy" during his younger days. That he and William Shakespeare, poet, were the best of friends is familiar to all Shakespeare students. But we will take up his part of our story later.

As I have already told of the secret society of the Jesuits formed in London under Father Campion and Father Parsons in 1580-81, I need only tell you of its later history. A young man, Anthony Babington, was a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury when Mary Stuart was placed in Shrewsbury's custody. He was about nineteen years of age at this time. He had been brought up a Catholic, and was serving Mary Stuart as a page, to whom he became exceedingly devoted. After the execution of Father Campion and the hasty going overseas of Father Parsons he retired to Dethick, Derbyshire. He later went abroad where he joined Thomas Morgan, a man who had formerly been a secretary of Shrewsbury's.

These followers of Mary Stuart in Paris were planning the assassination of Elizabeth, the freeing of Mary Stuart, and the invasion of England by Philip of Spain. This caused the Council

⁴Wilts. Arch. Mag., XV.

to start war preparations. These Jesuits also had a group in Scotland, from which place the invasion might come.

An item in Thorpe's Scottish State Papers (VI, 1543-1606) has this to say about Thomas Morgan: "He had been the Earl of Shrewsbury's secretary and who became a tool of Mary Stuart and devised 40 different ciphers for her. He was stationed in Paris. And although he was in the Bastile he helped to organize the Babington Plot in 1583."

Whether the Ardens of Parkhall, relatives of Mary Arden, were connected with the Babington plot, or whether it was just one of their own, certain it is that they were mixed up in a plot against the Queen's life. "The son-in-law of Edward Arden, John Somerville, 'a rash and hot spirited young gentleman,' instigated by Hall the family priest, had formed the design of going to London and assassinating Queen Elizabeth with his own hand. He started on his journey in November 1583, but talked so incautiously by the way that he was arrested, conveyed to the Tower, and under the threat of the rack, confessed everything, accusing his father-in-law as an accomplice and the priest as the instigator of the crime. All three were tried and convicted, their fate being probably hastened, as Dugdale states, by the animosity of Leicester against the Ardens. Somerville strangled himself in prison, and Edward Arden was hanged at Tyburn."

There was also the Throckmorton Plot, which had been getting more intensive during 1583—having the help of Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador to England, which climaxed in October of 1583, when Francis Throckmorton was arrested, but not before he had sent the so-called "Casket Letters" to Mendoza. This led to the expulsion of Mendoza and the wrath of Philip II. Throckmorton and his co-conspirators were tried in 1584 and executed in July of that same year.

There is a "Statement by Att. Gen. Popham, showing that the conspiracy of Throckmorton for the liberation of the Queen of Scots and toleration of religion, may be traced to the Earl of Northumberland. Implications of the Earl in the secret meetings with Charles Paget when in England at Petworth. Connection between the Earl, Lord Paget, Charles Arundell, and Robotham."⁵

That "Our Willy" was very active as a messenger from Walsingham to Ambassador Cobham in Paris in June of 1583 we find

⁵C. S. P. Dom., 1581-90.

from the Calendar of State Papers for that year. A letter from Cobham to Walsingham follows: "In respect of the service Mr. Charles Smythe does to the Queen, and at his request, I have given this satisfaction to the bearer hereof, *his son*, 'as' to deliver him these letters: the rather that I hear he is very honestly inclined. Paris, June 21." (1583)

And on the same day: "I have at this instant dispatched Mr. *Smithe* with letters to you; and make account he will arrive long before this, because he takes the post. Paris, June 21." (1583)⁶

Walsingham visited Scotland in 1583 to interview King James, and probably took "Our Willy" with him, either under the name of "John Smith" or "Henry Constable." This seems to be evident as there are many indications that "Our Willy" in one of these aliases visited Scotland this year.

We have two other letters: "Dec. 15, 1583. Stafford to Walsingham. I received yesterday by 'Mr. Constable' your packet touching Paget and Arundel, which must needs make me more diligent if possible . . . not more careful, being not possible . . . Thus assuring you that my cousin 'Constable,' for being my cousin, for his own sake, and especially for your recommendation shall have all the favour I can show him, Paris."

The other letter is dated December 27, 1583: "Stafford to Walsingham . . . My cousin 'Constable' would needs persuade me yesterday that he met Lord William Howard disguised like a serving man . . . I take the Scots to be the only Italians this side the Alps."⁷

That Mary Stuart was becoming a real hazard to the life of Elizabeth was getting more and more clear to the Queen's Council. The climax seemed to come in December of 1583, when Mary Stuart laid before the French Ambassador her first complaint of the slanders spread by Lady Shrewsbury, Bess of Hardwick, and her sons who were ultimately compelled to confess the falsehood of their imputations against the Queen of Scots and her keeper, the Earl of Shrewsbury. "It was probably at this time, when a desire for revenge on her calumniators made her (Mary Stuart) think the opportunity good and safe for the discharge of such a two-edged dart at the Countess of Shrewsbury and the Queen that Mary wrote, but abstained from dispatching, the famous and

⁶C. S. P. Eliz., Foreign, 1583; Addenda, pp. 377, 378.

⁷C. S. P. Eliza., Foreign, 1583-4, pp. 269-70, 282.

terrible letter in which, with many gracious excuses and professions of regret and attachments, she transmits a full and vivid report of the hideous gossip retailed by Bess of Hardwick regarding her (Elizabeth's) character and person at a time when the reporter of these abominations was on friendly terms with her husband's royal charge."

On July 1, 1584, Walsingham and the Council decided to relieve Shrewsbury of his long custody of Mary Queen of Scots. This was probably to break up some of her secret lines of communication with her confederates in Spain, France and Scotland.

If this malicious letter ever reached her it must have chafed the royal blood of Elizabeth in no ordinary degree. Mary reported the alleged speeches of Bess of Hardwick, charging Elizabeth with licentious amours, physical defects, absurd vanity, folly, and avarice. Probably, as this letter had never been sent to Elizabeth it was found by Burghley and Walsingham among Mary's papers which were taken in 1585 when she was under the charge of Sir Amyas Paulet. (After a time spent in Tutbury she was then living in Chartley.) Paulet, under the guise of taking her on a hunting party, took her away from Chartley. While she was gone her papers were confiscated and probably along with the casket letters and other incriminating documents they found this letter. Although Queen Elizabeth probably never saw the letter, it was among the Cecil papers preserved at Hatfield House in 1840.⁸

Evidently Burghley and Leycester kept several secrets from Elizabeth and this confirms my belief that the whereabouts of the third child of Hertford and Catherine never came to her ears, for we find her later very fond of Shakespeare and his acting.

We now go back to the doings of "Our Willy" during 1584.

On April 15, 1584, the Smith's Guild of Coventry bought a new play called the *Destruction of Jerusalem* by John Smythe of Oxford, and received "for hys paynes for writing of the tragedys, xiiij li, vj s, viij d," or thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence. The tragedy was grounded on Josephus' *Wars and Antiquities of the Jews*, played in 1584 and again in Coventry, 1591. (Thus "Our Willy" early tried his hand at a Pageant for Coventry, where some objections had been made to an earlier play on the same subject.) There is a very fine copy of Josephus's *Wars and Antiquities of the*

⁸A. C. Swinburne in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed.

Jews, 15th Century, clean hand on pure vellum at Longleat, which seems to have been one of the repositories of the Papers and Books of the Earl of Hertford's family.⁹

Shortly after having sold the *Pageant* to the Smith's Guild, at Coventry, we find "Our Willy" in Paris, using his old alias of "John Dowland", under the care of Ambassador Stafford. He was writing and going on with his music, probably under his French masters and engaged in the composition of his poems of *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece* and other poems. Stafford had now another spy messenger for his letters to England, Michael Moody, as the State Papers reveal.

The next notice we have of his activities is when, as "John Southerne"¹⁰ (Gentleman, Catholic), "Our Willy" published his *Pandora; The Musyque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana*.

"It was dedicated to the right Honorable Edward Dever, Earl of Oxenford &c. June 20, 1584. *Mon cares patria, me caret illa magis*. London, for Thomas Hackette, 1584, 4 to." The volume consists of sonnets, elegies, odes, odellets, a stansee and two quatrains in French, as well as four epitapha which are said to have been written by the Countess of Oxford after the death of her young sonne 'Lord Bulbecke.'"

The Countess was Anne Cecil, eldest daughter of Burghley. This was "Our Willy's" first attempt at the sonnets that he afterward published under his alias of "Henry Constable," probably considerably improved, in 1592.

This alias was undoubtedly taken from the name of Mr. Smith's boy, "Southerne," in the list of servants at Tottenham Lodge in 1583.

A month before the publication of the above book, we find a letter in the State Papers dated: Paris, May 30, 1584, from Stafford to Walsingham:

". . . Wish greatly that her Majesty would send one to comfort him, (the King of Navarre) in his religion. Not to be too open, it might be done by somebody here. Either Mr. Bacon at Bordeaux, or my cousin 'Constable' here who would discharge it well and with little ast. and I think it might do a great deal of

⁹See Thomas Sharpe, *Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries*, for more information about this play.

¹⁰This alias was undoubtedly taken from the name of Mr. Smith's boy, "Southerne," in the list of servants at Tottenham Lodge in 1583.

good.”¹¹

The King of Navarre was greatly troubled at the state of France in the division of her people in religion. He had been an old time friend of Hertford's in 1560. His cousin, the now King of France Henry III, was the brother of Elizabeth's suitor the Duke of Anjou who had died. He was also a brother-in-law of Mary Stuart and a very corrupt monarch, and Henry King of Navarre was the next heir to the French throne. When Henry III was assassinated in 1589, the King of Navarre became Henry IV of France.

Leycester's intrigue with the Countess Lettice Knolles, widow of Walter Earl of Essex, resulted in a son born this year who was named the Earl of Denbig. Of course Bess of Hardwick, proceeded to arrange a match between this infant and Arbell. But before much could be done about it, the child died on July 19, 1584.

That the Catholics were watching Leycester and Bess of Hardwick comes out in a letter from Lord Paget to the Earl of Northumberland, dated March 4, 1583, and found in the Calendar of State Papers. It went as follows: “. . . the Queen should be informed of the practice between Leycester and the Countess (Bess of Hardwick) for the Lady Arbella.”¹²

¹¹C. S. P. Eliz., Foreign, 1584-5.

¹²C. S. P. Dom., Eliza., 1580-1590, p. 99.

CHAPTER XIX

The Association for Her Majesty's Defense

THE plots surrounding Mary Stuart and threatening the life of Elizabeth increased in violence as France fought its great wars between the Catholics and the Huguenots. Spain was disrupting the Low Countries and the desire of all the Catholics was to have a Catholic monarch on the English throne. It was a terrible time for Europe. England was overrun with spies of every conceivable kind. The Jesuits had been very active and the French Ambassador was hand in glove with some of the most important. In fact, he harboured Babington the night before he was arrested. It was for this reason that the "Association for Her Majesty's Defense" was formed by Burghley and Walsingham. It included a solemn oath to protect her and was signed by all the members of the Association, and the oath was very seriously adhered to in those days. Its strictness included that those taking it were obliged to swear to sacrifice even their wives and sweethearts before they could be untrue to the service of their country and the protection of the Queen's person.

The College or School at Stratford-on-Avon

It must have been during the spring and summer of 1583 that Hertford began to put into operation his idea of a school or college. There is very little I could find about this Combes College, but it is referred to in the Shakespearean literature and the history of Stratford.

My belief is that it was only a headquarters for the students, where they could get help with any difficulties in their compositions, and where they could get their money for their scholarships and expenses. But it too seems to be shrouded in the utmost secrecy. We do know that they used Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*, as they all seemed to conform to his instructions that the language used should be that of the Court or nearby London, as being the purest, or freest from the many regional dialects of England.

The members of the Areopagus Club probably contributed their previous work and advice to these younger pupils. And Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* must have been in the hands of these budding young poets and writers, for it is authoritatively stated by recent writers that he "exercised an extraordinary influence on the poets of his own and the following generations." Those were the days of scribes and copies were easily obtained. Undoubtedly there were books or manuscripts of all the classical writers, the older and more recent works of the French and Italian authors, and other source material.

That they all took the oath of the "Association for her Majesty's Defense" is sure, and I find evidence that under the most trying circumstances, "Our Willy," at least, kept it. These writers of both the earlier group as well as those of younger, using aliases, were mostly Seymours—a name and family most detested by Elizabeth. This is probably why they decided to use aliases and pseudonyms.

I have spoken of Lord Seymour, the half-brother of Hertford, as using the pen name of "Lyly." His brother John, another half-brother, used the name of "Barnabe Rich," who wrote in the style of his brother "Lyly." Hertford's own brother, Sir Henry Seymour, chose as his alias "Thomas Lodge." He was the gallant Commander in the Armada under Drake, along with his friend Commander Palmer.

Later their sons also assumed pseudonyms. Beauchamp after his earlier work assumed the name of "Robert Greene" and Thomas, his brother, took that of "Thomas Nash," and "Pasquil." "Michael Drayton" seems to have been the pen name of either the older son of Lord Seymour, or of that of his brother John Seymour, who was a soldier.

"John Marston" was the pen name adopted by the younger son of Lord Seymour, and he is easier to trace as his father, as I have stated, went to Italy in 1574 and married an Italian. What information that is available states that "John Marston's" mother was an Italian. "Francis Beaumont" seems to have been William Seymour, the third son of Beauchamp, as his dates are almost the same. "John Ford" seems to have been a relative of Chief Justice Popham. The others of this famous group seem to have used their own names.

The Packe

That these younger sons and students called themselves "the packe" and were closely related, and also had lots of fun among themselves, is found in a verse of "Thomas Heywood" (alias of Francis Seymour):

*Greene, who had in both Academies ta'ne
Degree of Master, yet could never gaine
To be call'd more than Robin; who had he
Profest aught save the Muse, serv'd and been free
After a seven-yeares' prenticeship, might have
(with credit too) gone Robert to his grave.
Marlo, renowned for his rare art and wit,
Could ne're attaine beyond the name Kit,
Although his Hero and Leander did
Merit addition rather. Famous Kid
Was called but Tom, Tom Watson, though he wrote
Able to make Apollo's selfe to dote
Upon his Muse, for all that he could strive,
Yet never could to his full name arrive.
Tom Nash (in his time of no small esteame)
Could not a second syllable redeem.
Excellent Bewmont, in the foremost ranke
Of the rar'st wits, was never more than Franck.
Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
Commanded mirth or passion, was but Will;
And famous Johnson, though his learned pen
Be dipt in Castaly, is still but Ben.
Fletcher and Webster, of that learned packe
None of the mean'st, yet neither was but Jacke.
Dekker's but Tom; nor May nor Middleton:
And hee's now but Jacke Foord than once was John.¹*

School of Actors and Spies

That the school of actors had their part in the spy system of Walsingham is quite evident from the records. That they were also students of poetry and drama is also evident. Walsingham used this group from which to select his special spies, as the gift of

¹English Shakespeare Soc. Pub., v.2.

acting and impersonation was the best asset a spy could have. That not all of these scholars were either actors or spies is also evident from the records, but many of them were.

The actor part of the scheme seems to have been located in Shoreditch, near the Theatre and the Curtain. James Burbage had erected the Theatre in 1576-77 and he and other members lived near by. Probably the activities of the young actors centered around this theatre as it was outside the city of London, but still near, and it was not difficult for them to reach it from London or even Stratford. Shoreditch was not so public and many of the persons connected with the theatre lived here; also, the strict laws of London were not in operation there.

Most of the actor-spy young men studied the composition of drama and poetry, probably as an occupation for their idle hours and as part of their alias when they were on their missions or detained in jail or elsewhere. The study of music was also one of their activities, but I will speak of this later.

Sanctuaries

As the spy-actors and writers had to have places where they could take cover, we are inclined to name the following as safe retreats:

Cannon Row, London, Hertford's house, next door that of John Thynne where, after the death of John Thynne, lived Carew Raleigh, second husband to widow Thynne and brother of Walter Raleigh; Stratford-on-Avon; or Old Stratford, Combe's College; Althorpe, home of John Spencer; Croyden, home of Frances, wife of Hertford; Titchfield, home of Mary Browne II, mother of Southampton; Cowdrey, also home of the Southampton's; Hanworth, home of Hertford's mother; Amesbury, favorite home of Hertford; Longleat, home of John Thynne and later Carew Raleigh; Elvetham, another home of Hertford; Pirgo, home of Mary Browne I, Lady Grey; Clavering, home of John Smith, "Our Willy" where he probably taught the arts of spying, acting and music; Tottenham Lodge, ancestral home of the Seymours, near Salisbury; Isle of Wight, where Nash took refuge with, Sir George Carey, Governor, and relative of the Spencers; Yarmouth, another place where Nash sought sanctuary with relatives.

My belief is that some arrangement for the printing of the output of these writers had also to be made and that many of the men near Stratford took charge of this and perhaps acted with a group of critics who decided what had to be revised or corrected. The cost of printing in that period would have been beyond the young students' resources and so that has to be explained. I think this item of expense was also covered by the patrons of the school. I think that Nathaniel Field and Barron Field may have been two of these critics, as well as being authors, and, in the case of Nathaniel, an actor as well.

John Combe

It has been rather difficult to find out much about this interesting friend of Shakespeare, John Combe.

The family of Combe figures in the history of Warwickshire, as the names of both Combe and Arden are found in the muster lists of Leicester, when he sent to his friends around Kenilworth to enlist five-hundred men for the army he was leading to the Low Countries.

"The Old College of Stratford was founded in 1051. After the Reformation the college came into the possession of the Earl of Warwick, later the Duke of Northumberland. He transformed it into a private residence, but upon his death in 1553 it came into the hands of the Crown. In 1535 the College held the Warder, five priests and four choristers when it was the College of the Church and was responsible for the Church being called the Collegiate Church. In 1547 the College was suppressed and for four years it seems to have been uninhabited. In Elizabeth's reign it came into her hands and she leased it to Richard Coningsby and he sublet it to John Combe, who lived there evidently with his brother William and his son Thomas.

In the *Names of the Ordinarie of Household of Hertford's Tottenham Lodge* is found John Combe, showing his connection with the Seymours.

The tradition of Shakespeare's writing an epitaph for his friend, John Combe, who had begged him to do so, and Shakespeare giving him the following verses would seem to prove the close connection

of the two men in teasing friendship:

*Ten in the hundred lies here in-grav'd
'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not sav'd
If any man ask, Who lies in this tomb?
Oh ho, quoth the Devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.*

"That Shakespeare and Combe were good friends to the end of Combe's life is sure; as Combe's will is extant, and in it Shakespeare, "Our Willy" is remembered by a bequest of five pounds and Shakespeare himself left his sword to Thomas Combe, John-a-Combe's nephew." It is also recorded that after John Combe's death Shakespeare wrote another epitaph:

*Howe're he lived judge not,
John Combe shall never be forgott
While poore hath memmorye, for he did gather
To make the poore his issue; he their father,
As record of his tilth and seedes,
Did crowne him in his later needes.²*

Finis.

W. SHAK.²

Queen Mary Stuart was removed to Tutbury during the first of 1585 and in Dec. again moved to Chartley under the guardianship of Sir Amyas Paulet.

There is an interesting story about Sir Philip Sidney, which happened in 1584-5. He had had a dispute with Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, and a duel was threatened. When Elizabeth insisted that Sidney make an apology to the Earl on account of his superior rank, Sidney refused to do so and Elizabeth banished him from the Court.

Sir Philip Sidney was interested in the discoveries in the north parts of America along with Sir George Peckham. In the Calendar of State Papers we find in the following letter to Walsingham that some unidentified person "has been informed by Mr. Anthony Brigham that he approves of the Western discoveries in America. Recommends the formation of a company and advises them to hearken to the offers of Sir Philip Sidney and Sir George Peckham. Dated 1583."³

²Mr. Halliwell discovered this in The Ashmolean Mss. "It must be remembered that in those times all interest was called usury, that is, money paid for the use of money."

³C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1581-90.

When he was banished from the Court he thought of his land in Virginia. "He had acquired 300,000 acres of land in Virginia, 'yet to be discovered.'" It was probably afterward called Arcadia and later abbreviated to Acadia. When Sir Francis Drake was sailing from Plymouth, probably in late 1585, Sidney and his great friend Fulke Greville fled to join him. But Elizabeth, hearing of this intention, caused a chase to be made after them and brought them back to Court "on their Allegiance."⁴

I have told of Beauchamp getting married to his cousin, Honora Rogers. Their first child, Edward, was born this year. According to my deduction he eventually took the alias of "Thomas Kyd." Honora's brother, Thomas Rogers, became interested in the acting, spying and poetry school. He was evidently very clever as a spy, using the alias of "Nicholas Bergen," and Walsingham considered him one of his best operatives as he sent him to France to spy on the English Catholics⁵ (He probably was the Nicholas Breton who wrote such fine verse and prose.)

In June 1585 the sister of Southampton married Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel. Southampton's mother had already married as her second husband Sir Thomas Henage, who later became important in that he chose the plays that were played before the Queen.

The Babington Conspiracy finally reached the stage in 1586 when the Queen's Officers felt that they had to act with swiftess. They rounded up Babington, Ballard and their companions and executed them on 20 September, 1586. These conspirators had heard Mass regularly at a house in Fetter's Lane, London. (Fetter's Lane was a frequent lodging of "Our Willy.")

Books and Printing

Sometime in the year 1586, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, established with the Star Chamber Rules for Registering Books and Pamphlets. This was an attempt to control the free publication of them without the sanction of the Bishops. Of course "The Packe" and the School of Poetry, Drama, and Allied Arts backers were disturbed and decided to do something about it. This was the direct cause of the issuing of the *Martin Marprelate Papers* published in 1588, which we will take up later.

⁴Stopes, *Life of Southampton*, (3rd. Earl of), p. 29.

⁵*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX, 301.

There was an official order from the Earl of Warwick, dated June 10, 1586, to Rowland Watson, directing him to draw up commissions for "William Reynolds, Her Majesty's Fletcher (maker of arrows) and the same as here-to-fore to "John Smith," John Starkey or any other."⁶

As the Earl of Warwick was in charge of the *Concealed Wards* of Leycester and Burghley, it is probable that this means these persons were among those wards. "John Smith" being "Our Willy," and John Starkey one of whom we will learn a good deal later.

In 1587, "Our Willy" began his real attempts to produce tragedies. He had been writing for many years under his different aliases but this year he produced his first efforts which he afterwards perfected, these under different names, but in this first attempt he wrote as "Christopher Marlowe."

These tragedies in blank verse had an immediate acclaim. But his work for the government as a spy somewhat interrupted his work at Cambridge where he had enrolled probably for a congenial atmosphere in which to write. (His disguise in this case was one of lameness.) His brother Thomas was also in Cambridge this year but in a different college. He had not yet assumed his alias as "Thomas Nash" and was known there as Thomas Seymour. "Marlowe" had in 1581 written the first part of *Edward II*. He obtained his B.A. in Corpus Christi College in 1584, but then his activity as a spy for the government became so important and he was absent so much that the Council had finally to interfere so that he could obtain his M.A. in 1587.

By this time he had finished his *Tamburlaine the Great* and probably most of *Doctor Faustus*. And in this year and probably part of 1588 under the only name that he legally possessed, William Shakespeare, he produced the first drafts of *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster*; *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*; and *The Taming of A Shrew*. But it is not worthwhile to speculate about the years in which these giants of the Elizabethan Age wrote their different plays, dramas and poetry; for all that we really have is the date of the printing or the performance of their plays. In fact, the great scholars of this and previous times differ so widely in their opinions that I am not at all sure anybody really knows. That the two brothers Thomas and William, were working in close relationship

⁶C. S. P. Dom. 1581-90 p. 334.

is evident, because after the faked death of "Marlowe," (perhaps I should say stage death) when he had been accused of being an atheist and he could no longer operate under that name, "Nash" took over and finished his works, as he did for "Robert Greene" his older brother.

As the tragedy of Mary Stuart's death drew nearer, the spies were exceedingly active, as most of the prominent people, both Protestant and Catholic, had one or more watching their actions.

Mary Stuart's Trial

On the September 25, 1586, Mary Stuart was removed from Chartley to Fotheringay in Northamptonshire, a strong castle, by a company with Hertford and the Lord Admiral, his brother-in-law in command. Her trial began on 14 of October, Mary there defended herself until the 15th of October. Then Elizabeth suddenly decided to transfer the trial to the Star Chamber. Here, on October 25, the Commissioners again met. As usual all the Peers of the realm sat in judgment. The Earls (Oxford, Hertford, Shrewsbury) and Lord Zouch, a Catholic and enemy of Chief Justice Popham, sat in judgment, along with the others. When the final vote was counted only Lord Zouch voted against the verdict of guilty.

"Our Willy" was evidently at Stratford operating under the name of Thomas Morley, the flutest, during part of this hectic year as in a letter from him to Walsingham, dated November, 1586, we find he "Objects to two gentlemen now in election for the office of Sheriff of Worcestershire, William Sheldon and William Childe, being both favorers of the Romish religion."⁷

Mary Stuart was notified of her fate after Elizabeth had signed the warrant for her execution on February 1, 1587, and her execution took place on February 8, 1587, after eighteen years of imprisonment. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury were her executioners, while all the Peers were present, including Hertford.

One is forced to contrast Elizabeth's treatment of Mary Stuart, who for all these years had been plotting against her life with the treatment of Catherine Grey, whose only offense or guilty action was getting married without her consent and having babies.

Elizabeth stands before modern readers of history as a downright unmoral and despicable coward for her actions in her affected reluctance to sign the death warrant of Mary Stuart. Her prompting

⁷C. S. P. Dom. 1581-1590.

to Secretary Davidson that Sir Amyas Paulet should be instigated to make away with the captive queen (which the "dainty and precise fellow" as Elizabeth termed him, refused to do); her feigned grief and indignation after the execution had taken place—throwing the blame on her ministers, Burghley, and the unfortunate secretary Davidson who placed the warrant before her for signature; and her treatment of Davidson afterward, so that she could tell James of her severe proceedings against the actors in the execution of his mother—all of this was over-acted and was disgusting hypocrisy, but it was typical of Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors.

The execution of Mary Stuart did not stop the plots against the life of Elizabeth. Finally, early in 1587, the Catholics in England and France and even the French Ambassador in England and the English Ambassador in France were involved. The plot was to take the life of Elizabeth either by laying a train of gunpowder where she slept, or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian device.

CHAPTER XX

James Asserts his Rights

KING James was not slow to assert his intentions to be declared heir apparent to the English throne, as the following letter shows:

"Instructions for Mr. Richard Douglas to communicate to him from us to our Servant Mr. Archibald Douglas. Dated 8 July, 1587. Gevin Falkland."

"Is to desire Archibald Douglas to travail earnestly that the King may be declared second person and heir apparent to the Crown of England, according to his undoubtedly right. If the Queen persist in her wonted obstinacy, that at least she may give a letter, subscribed with her own hand, acknowledging the King lawful and nearest successor to the crown, failing her bodily succession. Also for the further testification of her evil meaning, specially after the *infernal proceeding* against his dearest mother, that she may be moved to give the King some lands in England, chiefly in the north parts, of ample and sufficient revenue with the title of Duke. *That the Lady Arbella be not given in marriage without the King's special advice and consent . . .*"

(Signed) KING JAMES."¹

Young Arbell

Whether the Talbot family had brought Arbell down, as nearest relative to Mary Stuart, for her funeral; or whether the Queen had sent for her as a result of King James's message, I do not know. At any rate, under the care of her aunt and uncle, Lord and Lady Gilbert Talbot, she was in London in humble lodgings at Colman Street at this time.

"Arbell, a child of twelve was taken to Court and treated with some favour by Elizabeth, who thus brought her forward as a sort of foil to the pretensions of James," says Quadra.

There is also a letter of *Chateauneuf* French Ambassador to

¹H. M. C. Salisbury, III. This is a modern copy. Hist. Mms. Com.

King Henry III of France. Dated August 27, 1597, it goes as follows:

"... The Queen placed her (Arbell) in the seat of honour at dinner as her nearest relative. After dinner, when they had all withdrawn into a stately hall, her Majesty asked Madame de *Chateauneuf* 'if she had remarked a little girl who had dinner at her table'. 'She is my relation,' continued the Queen, and called Lady Arbell to her. Madame de *Chateauneuf* spoke much in commendation, and remarked that 'she spoke French very well, and seemed sweet and gracious.'"

"'Observe her well,' said the Queen, 'for she is not so simple as you may think. One day she will be even as I am, lady mistress here: but I shall have been before her.'"²

The Venetian Ambassador, some years after this visit, gives this report of Arbell's doings to the Doge of Venice:

"Now, some fourteen years ago, the Queen caused Arbell to be brought to the Court, intending to keep the maiden there as one of her ladies: but Arbell, though at that time still almost a child, showed such haughtiness of demeanor that only the first place could satisfy her pretensions, and on a certain day when going to the chapel, she of her own accord took the precedence of all other princesses who were following her Majesty, refusing to give way, although several times admonished thereto by the Master of Ceremonies—asserting 'that this was the least place that could now, God willing, be given her.' Upon which the Queen becoming wroth, had her sent back to live in private station, and neither at the leave-taking nor since, would her Majesty ever be persuaded to see her."³

Arbell evidently stayed in London during this troublesome time of the threatened invasion by the Armada. During the year she was a fellow-guest with Raleigh at Lord Burghley's. "She was then a girl of twelve, and came to them greatly impressed from having dined with her awe-inspiring kinswoman, the Queen, and was particularly happy because the Queen whose standards of scholarship were exacting ones, 'examined her nothing touching her book!' As they supped Lord Burghley praised Lady Arbell to Sir Walter, no doubt assuring her that if the Queen *had* examined her, she would have shown up creditably, for 'she had the French and Italian; played of instruments, danced, and writ very fair.' He

²Strickland, *Lives of the Tudor Princesses*, pp. 342, 343.

³C. S. P. Foreign, Venetian.

wished 'she were fifteen years old,' and roguishly whispered something to Sir Walter, who replied, 'it would be a very happy thing.'"

Elizabeth's tricks

An English priest, John Cecil, is recorded as stating the following in regard to Elizabeth and James: "The Fraud the Queen (Eliza.) put upon the said King of Scotland in the year '88, when the Spanish Fleet was making for England; for then the said Queen sent him an Ambassador into Scotland, whose name was Ashby, promising and assuring said King, that as soon as the Spanish Navy was pass'd by she would cause him to be proclaimed and declared her Successor in the Kingdom and would create him Prince of Wales; and moreover would give him the Estate which his Father had in England, with other matters of this sort to induce him to join her against the Spaniards; but as soon as the Danger was over the Queen made a jest of him, and would perform nothing, but said, that her Ambassador had exceeded his Authority."

Another trick by Elizabeth at this time is told by Scaramelli, Venetian Ambassador to England, in a letter to the Doge of Venice. Speaking of Elizabeth he says: "Her second and not less remarkable action now comes to light, for at the very height of the Spanish preparation against England in 1588, she of her own initiative dispatched into Flanders Robert Cecil, a little hunchback, and then in private life, but very wise; and he in simple traveller's garb, but with credentials from her, whispered to the ear of Alexander Farnese, that the Queen would give Arbell as wife to his son, Ranuccio, and with her the succession to the throne: the whole world has seen the results of that step." (Alexander Farnese, Duke of Palma, was Governor of the Low Countries for the Spanish King.)

"This last enigmatical phrase should presumably have reference to the failure of the Duke of Palma to join forces with the Duke of Medina-Sidonia. It is well known that immediately after, the Armada dropped anchor in Calais Roads in August 6, 1588, Farnese sent a courier to the Duke, declaring that his army could not be collected for embarkation under a fortnight, that his barges were not mounded, (sic) ready for sea, and that the arms and stores were still lying on the quays of Dunkirk. Now the failure of the

great enterprise was largely due to this miscarriage of the combined plan of invasion; and Scaramelli apparently accuses Palma of having had an understanding with Elizabeth." "The matter is at least curious," adds the person who calendared these foreign papers."

As the history of the Armada is so well known, it is only necessary to add that Lord Henry Seymour, in his gallant ship *Rainbow*, and his friend, Commander Palmer in his, played important parts in this action, cruising off Dunkirk, commanding the straits and blockading the Prince of Palma action. Later Lord Henry Seymour joined the Lord Admiral Howard and the fire ships were resorted to on August 7.⁴

All of the year 1588 was one of alarm for England, for news of the preparations of the Spanish during 1587 to descend on England in an invasion, caused every Englishman, Catholic or Protestant, to prepare to defend the country. News of the sailing of the Spanish fleet, after many unfortunate happenings to it, was known in England before it finally sailed on July 12. There was an order of the Council, "That such servants and retainers of the Earle of Worcester as are enrolled in the trained bands are to be exempted from that service and that they are to repair to wait on his lordship who has been appointed to attend on her Matie's person. Likewise the servants of the Earl of Hertford, and any other nobleman similarly employed."⁵

In all there were about 45,000 persons gathered around the Queen, while Leycester in command of an army of 16,000 awaited at Tilbury to prevent the landing of Palma's forces on the Isle of Thanet at the mouth of the Thames. Thus all of the family and relatives of the Seymours were doing their utmost to prevent this attempt by Philip to conquer Protestant England for Catholic Spain. The great storms were given as the chief reason for the defeat; however, I think that Elizabeth's action of sending Robert Cecil to Farnese should be given its due place in assessing the victory.

Arbell

But to get back to Arbell and her grandmother, Bess of Hardwick. From a letter of Nicholas Kynnersley, a servant of Bess's and

⁴See Froude's *History*, XII, for details of the Spanish account; the Spanish Mss *La felicissima Armade* etc., (1588), a copy of which, with Lord Burghley's Mss notes, is in the British Museum.

⁵Wilts. Arch. Mag., XIV, 245.

the temporary guardian of Arbell, we find that the young Arbell was back in Notts. She had evidently been in London almost a year; but an item in Ellis (Ser. 2, v. 2) has a note that in July 1588, probably after the danger of the Armada was past; "Arbell goes into Nott: syre with her aunt and uncle Mary and Gilbert Talbot."

"Nicholas Kynnersley to the Countess of Shrewsbury."

". . . So I leve yt to your ho' wysdom to consider of yt as you thynke beste; but I thinke good you were here. Mr. Knyveton ryd by to day to Sheffield as I was told, & called not as I . . . told, wch I mervell off. Me La. Arbell at vlill of ye clocke this nyght was mery, & eats her meat well: but she went not to ye scolla ye vl days: therefore I wold be glad off your La.' comyng, yff there were no other mattr bot yt. So I beseke ye almyghty preserve your La. in helthe, & send you sonne a good & comfordable end of all your great trobles & greffs. Wynfield this Twysday ye v of November at vlill of ye clocke at nyght, 1588. Your ho' moste dewtyfull bound obedyent servant.

"NYCHOLAS KYNNSLEY."⁶

To ye ryght ho. me syngular good
La & Mrs. ye Countess of Salop
guf this wt speed.

Arbell was evidently suffering from an enlarged ego caused by her visit to the Court and the absence of her grandmother and was being wilful about school.

Bess of Hardwick's "great trouble" was probably caused by her reckless slander concerning her husband, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Mary Stuart. There had been a battle royal between Bess and the Earl. Bess filed a suit in Chancery against the Earl, quitted his house and retired to Chatsworth whence she wrote letters complaining of him to Elizabeth.

Shrewsbury made reprisals on "his wicked and malicious wife," as he termed her, forbidding his sons (who had married her daughters by Cavendish) to go near her, and stopping the allowances of those who disobeyed him. This storm had been going on for several years. Shrewsbury had exercised his privilege as an English Peer and had started menacing the calumniators of these slanders with the law against *Scandalum Magnatum*. This action brought his stepson and Bess to their knees in the presence of

⁶Hunter, J., **Hallamshire**, p. 118.

Elizabeth and the principals of the Council to deny these shameful reports.

Shrewsbury even caused the falseness of this accusation of him and his royal charge to be declared in the long Latin epitaph on his tomb in St. Peter's Church in Sheffield. This was prepared some years before his death by Foxe, the Martyrologist.

Probably Bess received Kynmersley's letter while she was in contact with some of the Council. Perhaps Walsingham and she may have inquired about a tutor for Arbell. Bess felt that Arbell had outgrown her respect for the ordinary tutors, as she was nearly fourteen years of age and unusually gifted in scholarship and music. Thus it may have been Walsingham who suggested "Thomas Morley" for the post, as he felt that his pet spy (who, as John Smith, had just caught Silvester) needed time and quiet for his writing and music, as well as seclusion.

"Our Willy" had just taken his musical degrees of B. M. at Oxford, under his aliases of "Thomas Morley" and "John Dowland."

He did not begin his tutorship, however until the first of 1589—according to a letter by Bess of Hardwick, written about three years later.

Leycester, after his great effort during the Armada, died on September 4, 1588, of a sudden illness, at his house in Cornbury, Oxfordshire. Thereupon Robert Devereaux, second Earl of Essex and stepson of Leycester, became the Queen's favorite, and he is of importance to this story.

Another person who will figure largely later on in our history was born this year—William Seymour, second son of Edward Seymour, "Beauchamp," and Honora Rogers Seymour his wife.

Martin Marprelate Pamphlets

As has already been recounted, the Archbishop of Canterbury John Whitgrift (formerly the Bishop of Worcester, and the person that had to be protected by the so-called Shakespeare's Bond or license to marry) issued, with the Bishop Thomas Cooper and others, the established Rules for Registering Books and Pamphlets in order to regulate the publication of Puritan books and pamphlets in 1586. This must have irked both the patrons and young writers of the College or school—Combes College— and their

related actors. It was the same old question of the Freedom of the Press.

This year, 1587-1588, two clever writers wrote a series of pamphlets and published them using a secret press, under the pseudonyms of Martin Marprelate, Senior, and Martin Marprelate, Junior. These Rules provided that books could only be printed in London and at Oxford and Cambridge and had to be subject to the Bishop's regulations.

My belief is that these writers were Hertford (Spenser) and "Our Willy" his unknown son William Shakespeare. This belief is founded on the fact that they were the only people qualified to write such a railing, rollicking kind of satire. They had not only skill but motive to write these pamphlets, of course in the interest of the College and their strong belief in freedom of the press and of conscience. Also, Hertford had had much unpleasantness with bishops about his first marriage.

"There are seven of these pamphlets extant, they are by short title: *The Epistle, The Epitome, The Mineral Conclusions, Hay any work for Cooper*, an imitation of a street cry: *Martin Junior, Martin Senior*, and *The Protestation*."

Peter Heylin says that Martin Marprelate was the *nom de guerre* of a group of nonconformist ministers. But I hold that only one of them was later a minister, "Our Willy" who had an alias as "John Smith" preacher, as well as his legal name of William Shakespeare. Heylin also says: "They could find no other title for the Archbishop than Beelzebub of Canterbury; Pope of Rome, the Canterbury Caiaphas; Esau, a monstrous anti-christ . . . Convocation House of devils, and of Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils."

In 1589 "Thomas Nash" and "John Lyly" answered these pamphlets in favor of the Bishops. "Nash" had just published his *Anatomy of Absurdities*, when he threw himself into the Martin Marprelate fight with joy, as it furnished him a target for his sense of ridicule and vitriolic spleen. His pamphlets came in quick succession: *Plaine Percival*; *Martin's Month's Mind*; under his pseudonym of "Pasquil" he wrote *A Countercuffe to Martin Junior* (1589); *The Return of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquil of England*, (1589); *An Almond for a Parrot*. "Lyly" contributed: *Pappe*

⁷Oxford Companion to English Literature.

with a hatchet, alias a figgs for my Godsonne; Or Crack me this nut; Or a Countrie Cuffe.

This fight between the members of the group, which was probably designed to attract the attention of the public, continued and finally involved Gilbert and Richard Harvey; where upon it degenerated into a really serious quarrel between "Nash" and Gilbert Harvey, whom "Nash" detested.

The suspected authors of these Martin Marprelate pamphlets, were a Welshman named Penry and a clergyman named Udell who were later arrested. The latter died in prison, and the former was executed. Their collaborator, Job Throckmorton—a distant relative of Hertford and probably the real printer—denied his complicity at the trial of Penry and escaped punishment. Job may have been a son of Throckmorton of the Council, or a close relative. At any rate the blast against the domination of the Bishops aroused all England. It also touched Elizabeth, for Whitgrift was an easy tool of hers. These secret presses were indeed secret, but they were traced from one place to another and were finally almost found at the houses of Hertford's sister's husband, Sir Richard Knightly, at Fawsley and Deverly, where two of the offending tracts were printed. The press then moved to John Hale's house, White Friars in Coventry, where "Our Willy" as "John Smith," grew up.

Hertford's Bible at page 293 of the text, (Deut. 21:18— "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, &c") is written on the margin, "*L'enfant arrogant et rebelle sera lepidé a la mort.*" "The Canon who found this item in Hertford's Bible thought that this referred to the behavior of Edward Beauchamp the oldest son who married without his father's consent, but my theory is that this refers to his son Thomas, who bore the pseudonym of Thomas Nash. Nash was a very gifted writer but was stubborn and could not overcome his objections to the Puritan form of religion and to the writing of poetry, which was the religion and literary form of his father and the College. Also we have only the specimens of his poetry, which are to be found in his brother's, "John Dowland's" *Second Book of Ayres*, published in 1600, the year of Thomas Seymour's death and of "Thomas Nash's," his alias.

His genius was confined to the writing of prose, and how he could write it! "As fast as his hand could trot," he boasts.

That he was stubborn and jealous in his nature is evident from

what little we can find out about him. He was in Cambridge during the attendance of both his brothers—Beauchamp, who received his M.A. this year, and “Our Willy” under his alias of “Christopher Marlowe.” While these two older boys of Hertford’s had been brought up in Court circles and therefore, unlike “Our Pleasant Willy,” were ribald and full of London ideas, they all really loved each other. “Robert Greene” (Beauchamp) was much more gifted in classical lore than Thomas, yet they had much in common. (Later we will see how Thomas was given the task of finishing both “Robert Greene’s” and “Marlowe’s” unfinished prose works.)

One could take up the cudgels for Thomas. He was the second son, conceived in the Tower, and probably with such a gifted father and older brother he had an inferiority complex. He had evidently inherited his jealousy from his mother, and quite naturally he resented Gilbert Harvey’s pedantic nature and considered him an upstart courtier and an inferior in blood. While the romantic and gifted younger brother “Our Willy” was the chief glory of his great father. He shows this contrariness in his gift for “railing” against individuals, vices, and the absurdities of the times, as a man than whom “none used better and more bitter gall in ink,” and by which Nash made his reputation.

In 1589 he published an acrid review of recent literature prefixed to Greene’s *Menaphon*, which he carried on in his *Anatomy of Absurdities*. I find no record that leads me to believe that he was an actor or one of Walsingham’s spies.

CHAPTER XXI

"Morley" Becomes Tutor of Arbell

IN a letter written by Bess of Hardwick to Robert Cecil on September 21, 1592, she says, "On Morley, who hath attended on Arbelle and red to hyr for the space of thre yere and a half . . ." "Thomas Morley" must have become Arbelle's tutor early in 1589. Thus "Our Willy" under this alias became the almost constant companion of Arbelle.

At this time she was nearing her fourteenth birthday, and as we can realize from her actions at Court she was a spirited young lady. She had begun to assert her unusual personality and her dislike for school, so this is probably why Bess was glad to have her study under a young man tutor, who was also musical and spoke several languages. "Thomas Morley" had given his age as thirty-two, but, as we know, he was really only about twenty-five; therefore we assume that his impersonation was in the character of a man seven years older than he really was.

Under his many aliases he was the best agent that Walsingham had for service with the people of nobility. There were very many persons still loyal to Queen Mary Stuart's memory and the Catholic religion in the regions of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, the chief seats of Bess of Hardwick. They were all rather near the great forest of Sherwood with all its romantic legends. Also Arbelle was, on account of her nearness to the throne, a choice target for the Catholics to rally around as their candidate for a queen to advance their cause.

We have no information in regard to the relationship of pupil to tutor at this time. However it must have been very agreeable to both of them as Arbelle much later in a letter to her grandmother Bess, of Harwick, says . . . "*it is he whom I have loved too well ever since I could love.*"¹ As she refused to reveal his name, she must have been referring to her tutor Thomas Morley. They evidently fell in love soon after he began his services, and as our story con-

¹H. M. C. Salisbury, XII, 683.

tinues we will find that they both continued to love each other for the rest of their lives.

That the Queen had not forgotten Arbell is evident from a letter to Bess of Hardwick by Gilbert and Mary Talbot, dated the first of July, 1589. The letter tells of the killing of the French King Henry III, last of the sons of *Marie de Medici*. ". . . Thus moste humblie besechynge your La. blessinge wth wonted prayers to God to prosper my Lady Arbell, and to blesse our lyttle ones & to reward your La. for your gret goodness to them, we humblie seace. This ffirst of July 1589. Yor La. moste humble & obedient lovyng children.

"Gilb-Talbot—Mary Talbot."

P.S. . . . "The Q. axed me very carfully for my La. Arbell the last day. God bless her wth all his good blessings & give your La. that and all other comfortes."²

There are two spy letters concerned with (Barnabe) Barnes which show the Catholics' attitude at this time:

"31 May 1589. Report of B(arnes) (evidently an English spy in Europe).

"They (the Catholics) have little intelligence, or such as makes them condemn the enterprise of Sir John Davis and Sir Fras. Drake: they have none but by Twing at Calais, and another at St. Ower. They can trust none in England, as all platforms fell to the ground on the death of the Queen of Scots. Their next design will be built on other ground than religion; and they harp much on Lady Arabella despairing of the King of Scots, who Father Holt calls the cunningest young man ever bred."³

(1589) *Instructions by Charles Paget to B(arnes):*

"To learn why the *King of Scots* was not established heir to the Crown, according to promises, and how he takes the non-performance. What conceit *Queen and Council* have of his marriage with *Denmark*: who of the *Council* favour him, on whom he relies for settling the Crown. How the late division amongst *Council* about the *Protestants* and *Puritans* is compounded. What party *Arabella* and her favourers adhere to, and how they mean to bestow her in marriage, seeing *Leicester's* intentions to match his bastard with her is by his death made frustrate."⁴

²Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire*, p. 119.

³C. S. P. Dom. Ser. Addenda, Eliz. 1580-1625, pp. 269-70.

⁴C. S. P. Dom. Ser. Addenda, Eliz., 1580-1625, pp. 269-70.

"B" was Barnabe Barnes, one of the members of the School of Poetry but evidently an active spy for Walsingham. He certainly was connected with the Earl of Hertford's household at Tottenham, as his name appears in the list of Hertford's servants in 1583.

"Our Willy" visits King James VI

Another letter written in this year shows that "Our Willy" under his alias of "Constable," had several audiences with King James: 20 Oct. 1589. *Thomas Fowler to Lord Burghley*"

"Your letter of the 13th I received on the 20th and not before. I received not any from other many a day, however, the matter is, Roger Dalton (Richard Douglas) is exceeding great with young "Constable," and brought him to secret conference sundry times with Victor (King James). He had commission from Ernestus (Essex) and from Rialta (Lady Rich) and Richardo (Lord Rich) and brought with him Rialto's picture, but "Constable" had a special commission from Lady Talbot to Victor (King James) saying that it might be that in respect he was in the company and so near allied to the Lady Arbella, he might be taken partial of her side; but he protested he knew the right, and ought (owed) his duty to him, as he should have good proof whenever time served, and so earnestly persuaded Victor (King James) to account of him. . . ."

Thomas Fowler was Burghley's spy at the Court of King James in Edinburgh. His son William had been a servant of Lady Lenox, Arbell's grandmother, and was a spy for the Council and Elizabeth on her activities. Lady Rich was Penelope Devereux, sister of Essex. She was divorced by Lord Rich, by whom she had several children, and married to Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, with whom she had lived openly. Lord Montjoy was created the Earl of Devonshire in 1600 for his services in Ireland.

As we see by the letter, "Constable" or "Our Willy" was on a commission for the Earl of Essex. As Marlowe, "Our Willy" was at Cambridge during most of the time that Essex was attending that university and he probably knew both Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour as well as they were also there.

These years spent with Arbell were very fruitful years for the creation of plays and music by "Our Willy." The many hours not devoted to teaching her were necessarily quite productive, as they both had to be very discreet, to guard against the Argus eyes of her grandmother and her servants. Then too, he was not engaged



Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury. Chief Secretary to Queen Elizabeth and James I. National Portrait Gallery, London.

in travel or watching foreign enemies, but could concentrate on his work. He wrote very freely and easily; in fact, his words fell as easily into his compositions as his music flowed from his flute. No wonder that the Shakespearean scholars date the writing of many of his works during these three and a half comparatively free years.

In the First Folio in the introductory "to the Great Variety of Readers" it speaks of this ease of writing, "Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers."

My personal opinion is that he wrote the happiest and gayest of his comedies at this time, although he must have also written some of the more serious of the histories as well. Certainly he must have written his *Midsummer Night's Dream* at this time, as his "little western flower" was undoubtedly meant for Arbell.⁴

One is tempted to visualize this pair of lovers in their meandering through the magical and romantic Sherwood Forest, where the legends of Robinhood and his Merry Men were still alive in the hearts of the country people. Their encounter with the shy game and song birds, perhaps they even imitated the cooing of the turtle doves, as they both were fine singers and they may also have talked of that strange bird the phoenix, which was "Our Willy's" crest, as later he writes of these two birds.

"Our Willy" had been deprived, by his secret birth and ensuing solitude, of the companionship of a young woman, while Arbell was also singularly alone and devoid of young men's society in her grandmother's houses.

That he revealed all his secrets to her is certain from the close study of her letter to her Grandmother in 1603.

There is a sonnet written by "Our Willy" under his alias of Henry Constable which seems to reflect his innermost feelings:

*To live in hell, and heaven to behold;
To welcome life, and die a living death;
To sweat with heat, and yet be freezing cold;
To grasp at stars, and lie the earth beneath;
To tread a maze that never shall have end;
To burn in sighs, and starve in daily tears;
To climb a hill, and never to descend;*

*Giants to kill, and quake at childish fears;
To pine for food, and watch the Hesperian tree;
To thirst for drink, and nectar still to draw;
To live accurst, whom men hold blest to be;
And weep those wrongs which never creature saw;
If this be love, if love in these be founded,
My heart is love, for these in it are grounded.⁵*

On April 6, 1590, Sir Francis Walsingham died suddenly at his home in Seething Lane, London, greatly in debt from having gone on a bond for his son-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney. He was buried at night for fear of debtors getting his corpse. He had also spent his own income freely toward the expense of safeguarding Elizabeth and England from her Spanish enemies. From my later studies it would not surprise me if he had been picked off by one of the poisoners employed by these desperate enemies.

Spenser describes Walsingham:

*"The Great Maecenas of this age
As well to all that civil arts professe
As those that are inspired with Martial rage."*

It was in this year of 1590 that Essex, who had taken the place of Leycester as the Queen's favorite, got into trouble with her because he married secretly the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, Walsingham's eldest daughter. Essex kept the marriage secret as long as he could but this year the Queen became aware of it. Although he was only twenty-three years old and Elizabeth nearing sixty, she yet was wroth at his marriage and was only reconciled when it was promised that Lady Essex would live with her mother and not attend Essex publicly. As neither of these culprits were of the royal blood she could not use the old law and imprison them as she had Catherine Grey and Hertford.

Evidently Lord Burghley had taken over the secret service operated formerly by Walsingham as in September, 1590, there was a Warrant to the Exchequer to pay 10,000 pounds for secret service to "such causes as the Lord Treasurer (Burghley) is directed by Her Majesty. (Douquet)"

Earlier, or on May 8, 1590, Thomas Heneage, Vice-Chamberlain, had issued a Warrant to the Exchequer to pay the sum of 150 pounds for secret service. (Douquet) This was probably for the Queen's household.

⁵Stevenson, *Home Book of Verse*, p. 1206.

In 1590, the old Earl of Shrewsbury died. "Information was recorded of certain speeches uttered by the Earl of Shrewsbury, before his death; wherein he feared that the Lady Arbell would bring much trouble to his house, by his wife and daughters' devices. They think he is a great block in their way. Dr. Browne is a worker in their causes. Gilbert Talbot will be much ruled by them. "Dated September 24, 1590."⁶

The Earl of Hertford was a great monument builder and it is supposed that during the year 1590 he began to build the church at Easton, Wiltshire, wherein he erected a monument to his grandfather Sir John Seymour.

"Our Willy" as "Christopher Marlowe" who had gotten into trouble for his atheistic tendencies, published his *Tamburlaine* in 1590 which gave a new importance to blank verse. His *Doctor Faustus* had been performed in 1588, and his *Jew of Malta* was supposed to have been finished in 1590. Also, under his own name, William Shakespeare, he is supposed to have written parts of *Henry the Sixth* in 1590-91.

In the beginning of 1591 the records are filled by reports of English spies and their intrigues with each other and with Spanish ones. But among the records there is the statement that one of them is very busy trying to get a picture of Arbell to carry to the Duke of Palma. This design to get a picture of Arbell for the Duke continues for several years in the reports of these Spanish spy activities, lending credence to the story of Elizabeth's promising the hand of Arbell to the son of the Duke of Palma.

In 1590 or 1591, Spenser visited at Althorpe—as acknowledged by his adopted kinswomen of that place, Lady Carey, Lady Strange and Lady Compton and Montegle. As he published his *Complaints* in 1591, I give here his reference to the name I have adopted for our hero "Our Pleasant Willy" from *Thalia-Tears of the Muses* and refers to "Our Willy" and his aliases.

*And he, the man whom Nature selfe had made
To mocke her selfe, and truth to imitate,
With kindly counter, under Mimick shade,
Our pleasant Willy, ah! is dead of late;
With whom all joy and jolly meriment
Is also deaded, and in dolour drent. (drowned)*

⁶C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1581-1590, p. 68, 69.

CHAPTER XXII

The Queen's Entertainment at Elvetham

THE Queen usually went in summer on what was then called a Progress through the various shires, visiting the country houses of her lords and persons whom she wished to honor, or who were rich enough to entertain her Court.

In 1591 the Earl of Hertford by some gossip, or "by the ordinarie gesse, as also by some honourable good frendes at court," found out that she intended visiting Odiham, which was three miles away from his nearest estate and as she intended to pay him a visit this year he decided to give his entertainment at Elvetham. Under his alias as Spenser he had published his *Faerie Queene* only the year before and it had had a tremendous success. So the entertainment at Elvetham (Elves'land) was in the spirit of the elves and mythological lore to which the estate lent enchantment, as its name implies.

That Hertford, Lord Seymour and "Our Willy" under their aliases of Spenser, Lyly and Shakespeare wrote this entertainment seems certain as all three of them were publishing works about fairies and mythological characters this very year. Spenser had written his *Faerie Queene*, Lyly his *Endymion* and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, although not published, was undoubtedly written. That "Our Willy" under his alias of "Thomas Morley" directed the music, the following account seems to infer.

That "Our Willy" was the Poet seems certain as both Beauchamp and Thomas, having been the Queen's wards, would have to accompany Hertford among his two hundred horsemen to welcome Elizabeth at Odiham and ride with her to Elvetham. (It is interesting to note the line of the Poet when he says—*Under my person Semer hides himself*. Although the Oration was originally in Latin and Nichols translated it into English, as we have already said, the meaning is there.)

As Lord Admiral Howard was Hertford's brother-in-law and

the patron of the Theatre it was not difficult to find the players for this delightful entertainment.

We do not know that Arbell was one of the young flower girls or the dancing Neera who presented the jewels to the Queen, but she would have been a fitting person.

Raleigh was probably at the entertainment as he was not only a great friend of Spenser but was in love with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's entourage, whom he later married, to his undoing.

If Arbell, was at this entertainment she must have met the Seymour boys as in her later writings and doings she seemed to know them, as well as Hertford himself, rather well.

September 1591.

The Honourable Entertainment given to the Queene's Majestie, in Progress, at Elvetham in Hampshire, by the Right Hon'ble the Earle of Hertford, 1591

The Proeme:

"Before I declare the just time or manner of her Majestie's arrivall and Entertainment at Elvetham, it is needful (for the readers better understanding of everie part and processe in my discourse) that I set downe as well the conveniencie of the place, as also the suffising, by art and labour, of what the place in itselfe could not afford on the sodaine, for receipt of so great a Majestie, and so honourable a traine.

"Elvetham House being situate in a parke of but two miles in compasse or thereabouts, and of no great receipt, as being none of the Earle's chiefe Mansion houses, yet for the desire he had to shew his unfained love, and loyall duetie to her most gracious Highnesse, purposing to visite him in this her late Progresse, whereof he had to understand by the ordinarie gesse, as also by his honourable good frendes in Court neare to her Majestie: his honor with all expedition set artificers at work, to the number of three hundred, many daies before her Majestie's arrivall, to inlarge his house with newe roomes and offices. Whereof I omit to speake now manie were destined to the officers of the Queene's Household, and will onlie make mention of other such buildings as were raised on the sodaine, fourteene score off from the house on a hill side, within the said parke, for the entertainment of Nobles, Gentlemen, and others what so ever.

"First there was made a roome of estate for the Nobles, and at

the end thereof a withdrawing place for her Majestie. The outsides of the walls were all covered with boughs, and clusters of ripe hasell nuttes, the insides with arras, the roofe of the place with works of ivy leaves, the floor with sweet herbs and greene rushes.

"Neare adjoining unto this, were many offices new builded, as Spicerie, Larderie, Chaundrie, Wine-seller, Ewery, and Pantrie: all which were tyled.

"Not farre off was erected a large hall, for the entertainment of Knights, Ladies and Gentlemen of chiefe account.

"There was also a severall place for her Majestye's footemen and their friends.

"Then was there a long bowre for her Majestie's guards.—An other for the servants of her Majestie's house,—An other for my Lord Steward, to keep his table in—An other for his Gentlemen that waited.

"Most of these foresaid roomes were furnished with tables, and the tables carried twenty-three yeards in length.

"Moreover on the same hill, there was raised a great common buttry.—A Pitcher house—A large Pastery, with five ovens new built, some of them fourteene foote deepe.—A great Kitchen, with four ranges, and a boyling place for small boiled meates.—Another Kitchen, with a very long range, for the waste, to serve all commers.—A Boilinghouse, for the great boiler.—A roome for the Scullery.—An other roome for the Cooke's lodgings.

"Some of these were covered with canvas, and other, some with bordes.

"Betweene the Earl's house and the foresayd hill, where these roomes were raised, there had beene made in the bottom, by handy labour, a goodly Pond, cut to the perfect figure of a half moon. In this Pond were three notable grounds where hence to present her Majestie with sports and pastimes. The first was a *Ship Ile*, of a hundred foot in length, and four-score broad, bearing three trees orderly set for masts.

"The second was a Fort twenty foot square every way, and overgrown with willows. The third and last was a *Snayle Mount*, rising to foure circles of greene privie hedges, the whole in height twentie foote, and forty foote broad at the bottom. These three places were equally distant from the sides of the Ponde, and every one, by a just measured proportion, distant from the other. In the said water were divers boates prepared for musicke: but

especially there was a pinnace, ful furnisht with masts, yeards, sailes, anchors, cables and all other ordinarie tackling, and with iron peeces; and lastly with flagges, streamers, and pendants to the number of twelve, all painted with divers colours and sundry devises.

"Here follows a description of the Great Pond in Elvetham, and of the properties it contained, at such time as her Majestie was there presented with faire shews and pastimes.

"Her Majestie's presence seate, and traine—Nereus, and his followers.—The pinnace of Nereus and his followers—The pinnace of Neaera, and her musicke—The Ship Ile.—A boat with musicke, attending on the pinnace of Neaera—The Fort Mount—The Snaile Mount—The Roome of Estate—Her Majestie's Court—Her Majestie's wardrop—The place whence Silvanus and his companie issued.

"To what use the particulars served, it shall evidentlie appeare by that which followeth. And therefore I am to request the gentle reader, that when any of these places are brieflie specified in the sequelle of this discourse, it will please him to have reference to this fore-description: that, in avoiding reiterations, I may not seeme to them obscure, whom I study to please with my plainesse. For proeme these may suffice, now to the matter itselfe: that it may be *ultimum in executione* (to use the old phrase) *quod primum fuit in intentione*, as is usuall to good carpenters; who intending to build a house, yet first lay their foundation, and square manie a post, and fasten manie a rafter, before the house be set up. What they first purposed is last done. And thus much for excuse of a long foundation to a short building.

The First Daies Entertainment

"On the twentie day of September, being Mundaie, the Earle of Hertford joyfullie expecting her Majesties comming to Elvetham, to supper, as her Highnesse had promised: the same morning, about nine of the clock, when everie other needful place or point of service was established and set in order for so great an entertainment, called for, and drewe all his servants into the chiefe thicket of the parke: where in fewe wordes he put them in minde what quietnes and what diligence, or other duetie, they were to use at that present that their service might first work her Majestie's content, and thereby his honor; and lastly, their own credit; with the

increase of his love and favour towards them. This done, after dinner, with his traine of well mounted, to the number of two hundred and upwardes, and most of them wearing Chaines of golde about their neckes, he rode toward Odiham, and leaving his traine and companie orderlie placed, to attend her Majestie's comming out of Odiham Parke, three miles distant from Elvetham: himselfe wayting on her Majestie from Odiham House.

"As the Earl in this first action shewed himself dutiful, so her Majesty was to him and gracious: as also in the sequel, between five and sixe of the clock, when her Highness, being most honourably attended, entred into Elvetham Parke, and was more than halfe way between the Park-gate and the house, a poet saluted her with a Latine Oration in heroicall verse: I mean *veridicus vates*, a soothsaying poet, nothing inferior for truth, and little for delivery of his mind, to an ordinarie Orator.

"This poet was clad in greene, to signify the joy of his thoughts at her entrance; a laurel garland on his head, to expresse that Apollo was patrone of his studies; an olive branch in his hand, to declare what continual peace and plentie he did both wish and aboade her Majestie: and lastly booted, to betoken that he was *vates Cothurnatus*, and not a loose or lowe creeping prophet, as poets are interpreted by some idle or envious ignorants.

"This poet's Boy offered him a cushion at his first kneeling to her Majestie but he refused it saying as followeth:

(Nichols gives this oration in English instead of Latin and says in defence of this, "Because all our Countrey men are not Latinists, I think it not amisse to set this down in English, that all may bee indifferently partakers of the Poet's meaning".)

The Poet's Speech to his Boy offering him a cushion

*Now let use no cushions, but faire hearts:
For now we kneel to more than usuall Saints.*

The Poet's Speech to her Majestie

*While at the fountaine of the sacred hill,
Under Apollo's lute I sweetly slept,
Amongst prophets full possesst with holy fury,
And with true virtue, void of all disdain;
The Muses sung, and waked me with these wordes:*

*Seest thou that English Nymph, in face and shape
Resembling some great Godesse, and whose beames
Doe sprinkle Heaven with unacquainted light,
While she doth visite Semers fraudlesse house,
As Jupiter did honour with his presence
That poore thatcht cottage, where Philaemon dwelt?
See those salute her with an humble voice;
Phoebus and we will let thee lack no verses,
But dare not once aspire to touch her praise,
Who, like the Sunne for shew, to God's for vertue,
Fills all with Majesty and holy fear.*

*More learned than ourselves, shee ruleth us:
More rich than Seas, shee doth commaund the Sea:
More fair than Nymphs, she governs all the Nymphs:
More worthy than the Gods, she wins the Gods.*

*Behold (Augusta) thy poore suppliant
Is here, at their desire, but thy desert.
O, sweete Elisa, grace me with a looke,
Or from my browes this laurell wreath will fall,
And I, unhappy, die amidst my song.
Under my person Semer hides himselfe,*

*His mouth yeelds prayers, his lie the olive branch;
His praiera betoken duety, th' olive peace;
His duety argues love, his peace faire rest;
His love will smooth your minde, faire rest your body.
This is your Semers heart and quality:*

*To whom all things are joyes, while thou art present,
To whom nothing is pleasing, in thine absence.
Behold, on thee how each thing sweetly smiles,
To see thy brightness glad our hemisphere:
Night only envies, whome faire stars doe crosse,
All other creatures strive to shewe their joyes.
The crooked-winding kid trips ore the lawnes;
The milk-white heafer wantons with the bull;
The trees shew pleasure with their quivering leaves,
The meddow with new grasse, the vine with grapes,
The running brookes with sweet and silver sound.
Thee, thee (sweet Princess), heav'n and earth, and fluds,
And plants, and beasts, salute with one accord:*

*And while they gaze on thy perfections,
 Their eyes desire is never satisfied.
 Thy presence frees each thing, that liv'd in doubt,
 No seedes now feare the biting of the worme;
 Nor deere the toyles; nor grasse the parching heat;
 Nor birds the snare; nor come the storme of haile.
 O Empresse, O draw forth these dayes to yeares,
 Yeares to an age, ages to eternitie;
 That such as lately joyd to see our sorrowes,
 May sorrow now, to see our perfect joyes.
 Behold where all the Graces, vertues maydes,
 And light-foote Hours, the guardians of Heav'n's gate,
 With joynd forces doe remove those blocks,
 Which Envie layd in Majestie's highway.
 Come, therefore, come under our humble roofe,
 And with a becke commaund what it containes:
 For all is thine: each part obeys thy will;
 Did not each part obey, the whole should perish.
 Sing songs, faire Nymphs, sing, sweet triumphal songs,
 Fill ways with flowers, and th' ayr with harmony.*

"While the Poet was pronouncing this Oration, six Virgins were behind him, busily remooving blocks out of her Majestie's way; which blocks were supposed to bee layde there by the person of Envie, whose condition is to envie at every good thing, but especially to Malice the proceedings of Vertue, and the glory of true Majestie. Three of these Virgins represented the three Graces, and the other three the Howres, which by the Poet are fained to be the Guardians of Heaven's gates. They were all attired in gowns of taffata *sarcenet* (a dainty and soft silk material) of divers colours, with florie garlands on their heads, and baskets full of sweet hearbs and flowers upon their armes. When the Poet's Speech was happily ended, and in a scroule delivered to her Majestie (for such was her gracious acceptance, that she deined to receive it with her owne hande); then these six Virgins, after performance of their humble reverence to her Highnesse, walked on before her towards the house, strewing the way with flowers, and singing a sweete song of six parts, to this dittie wich followeth:

*The Song sung by the Graces and Houres at her
Majestie's first arrivall*

*With fragrant flowers we strew the way,
And make this our chiefe holliday:
For though this clime were blest of yore,
Yet was it never proud before.
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our unfained joy.*

*Now the ayre is sweeter than sweet balme,
And Satyrs dance about the palme:
Now earth with verdure newly dight,
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our unfained joy.*

*Now birds record new harmonie,
And trees doe whistle melodie:
Now every thing that nature breeds,
Doth clad itselfe in pleasant weeds,
O beauteous Queene of second Troy,
Accept of our unfained joy.*

“The song ended with her Majestie’s entrance into the house: and her Majesty alighted from horseback at the Hall-dore, the Countesse of Hertford (Frances Howard, cousin of Elizabeth) accompanied with divers honourable Ladies and Gentlemen, most humbly on hir knees welcomed hir Highness to that place: who most graciously imbracing hir, tooke hir up and kissed hir, using manie comfortable and princely Speeches, as well to hir, as to the Earl of Hertford, standing hard by, to the great rejoycing of manie beholders. And after hir Majestie’s entrance, where shee had not rested her a quarter of an houre, but from the Snail Mount and the Ship’s Ile in the pond (both being neare under the prospect of her gallerie windowe) there was a long volley of chambers and two brasse peeces discharged. After this, supper was served in, first to her Majestie, and then to the Nobles and others. Were it not that I would seem to flatter the honorable minded Earle; or, but that I feare to displease him, who rather desired to expresse his loyall dutie in his liberall bountie, then to hear of it againe, I could here willingly particulate the store of his cheare and provision, as likewise the carefull and kind diligence of his servants,

expressed in their quiet service to her Majestie and the Nobility, and by their loving entertainment to all other, frends or strangers. But I leave the bountie of the one, and the industrie of the others, to the just report of such as beheld or tasted the plentiful abundance of that time and place.

"After supper was ended, her Majestie graciously admitted unto her presence a notable consort of six Musitions, which the Earl of Hertford had provided to entertaine her Majestie withall, at her will and pleasure, and when it should seem good to her Highnesse. Their music so highly pleased her, that in grace and favours, thereof, she gave a new name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by Master Thomas Morley, then organist of Paule's Church.¹ These are the chiefe points which I noted in the first daies entertainment. Now therefore it followeth that I proceed to the second.

The Second Daies Entertainment

"On the next day following, being Tuesday, and Saint Mathewes festival, there was in the morning presented to her Majesty a faire and rich gift from the Comtesse of Hertford, which greatly pleased and contented hir Highnesse. The forenoon was so wet and stormie, that nothing of pleasure could bee presented her Majestie. Yet it helde up a little before dinner time, and all the day after: where otherwise faire sports would have been buried in foule weather.

"This day her Majestie dined, with her Nobles about her in the roome of the estate new builded on the hill side above the ponds head. There sate below her many Lords, Ladies and Knights. The manner of service, and abundance of dainties, I omit upon just consideration; as also the ordinance discharged in the beginning of dinner, a variety of consorted music at dinner time.

"Presently after dinner, the Earle of Hertford caused a large

¹This is as near as I can get to the names of the musicians: William Byrd, one of the greatest of the musicians of the time, according to Grove's *Dictionary of Musicians* says that a setting of "**This sweet and merry month of May**, Byrd had contributed to Thomas Watson's *First Set of Italian Madrigalls, Englished*, in 1590, was played. Some Pavan (not named) by Master Thomas Morley was honoured by having its name changed by the Queene: Probabaly the others were Michael Cavendish, a great lutenist and a relative of Arbell's: John Daniel, flutest, and a servant of Hertford's; Thomas Weelkes, whose patron was Charles Cavendish; and perhaps John Ford, a pupil of "Our Willy" under his alias of "John Dowland," lutenist and singer.

canapie of estate to bee set up at the ponds head, for her Majestie to sit under, and to view some sportes prepared in the water. The canapie was of greene satten, lined with taffata sarcenet; everie seame covered with a broad silver lace; valenced about, and fringed with greene silke and silver, more than a hand-bredth in depth; supported with four silver pillers moveable; and dekt above head with four white plumes, spangled with silver. This canapie being upheld by foure worthie Knights (Sir Henaie Greie, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir James Maruin, and Lord George Caro; and tap-estry spread all about the ponde head, her Majestie about foure of the clock, came and sate under it, to expect the issue of some device, being advertised that there was some such thing towards.

"At the further end of the ponde, there was a bower, close built to the brinke thereof; out of which went a pompous array of sea-persons, which waded bresthigh or swam till they approached neare the seat of her Majestie. Nereus, the Prophet of the Sea, attired in redde silk, and having a cornerd-cappe on his curdle heade, did swimme before the rest, as their pastor and guide. After him came five Tritons brest-high in the water, all with grisle heades, and beardes of divers colours and fashions, and all five cheerefullie sounding their Trumpets. After them went two other Gods of the Sea, Neptune and Oceanus, Phorcus and Glaucus, leading between them that Pinnace whereof I spake in the begining of this treatise.

"In the Pinnace were three Virgins, which with their cornets played Scottish gigs, made three parts in one. There was also in the saide Pinnace an other Nimph of the Sea, named Neaera, the old supposed love of Sylvanus, a God of the Woodes. Neare her were placed three excellent voices, to sing to one lute, and in two other boats hard by, other lutes and voices, to answer by manner of eccho. After the pinnace, and two other boats which were drawne after it by other Sea-gods, the rest of the traine followed breast-high in the water, all attired in ouglie marine suites, and everie one armed with a huge woodden squirt in his hand; to what end it shall appear hereafter. In their marching towards the pond, all along the middle of the current, the Tritons sounded one halfe of the way; and then ceasing, the cornets plaid their Scottish gigs. The melody was sweet, and the shew stately.

"By the way, it is needful to touch here many things abruptly, for the better understanding of that which followeth. First, that in the pinnace are two jewels to be presented her Majestie: the

one by Nereus, the other by Neaera. Secondly, that The Fort in the Pond is round environed with armed men. Thirdly, that the Snayl Mount nowe resembleth a monster, having hornes full of wild-fire, continually burning. And lastly, that the god Silvanus lieth with his traine not farre off in the woodes, and will shortly salute her Majestie, and present her with a holly scutchion, wherein Apollo had long since written her praises.

“All this remembered and considered, I now returne to the Sea-gods; who having, under the conduct of Nereus, brought the pinnace neare before her Majesty, Nereus made his Oration, as followeth; but before he began, hee made a privis signe unto one of his traine, which was gotten up into the Shippe Ile, directly before her Majestie; and hee presently did cast himselfe downe, dooing a summer-sawt from the Ile into the water, and then swam to his companie.

The Oration of Nereus to her Majestie

*Faire Cinthia the wide Ocean's Empress,
I watry Nereus hovered on the coast,
To greete your Majesty with this my traine
Of daunsing Tritons, and shrill singing Nymphs.
But all in vaine: Elisa was not there;
For which our Neptune grieved, and blam'd the star,
Whose thwarting influence dasht our longing hope.
Therefore impatient, that this worthles earth
Should beare your Highnes Weight, and we Sea-gods,
(Whose jealous waves have swallowed up your foes,
And to your Realme are walles impregnable,)
With such large favour seldome time are grac't:
I from the deepes have drawen this winding flud,
Whose crescent forme figures the riche increase
Of all that sweet Elisa holdeth deare.
And with me came gould breasted India,
Who, daunted at your sight, leapt to the shoare,
And sprinkling endlesse treasure on this Ile,
Left me this jewell to present your Grace,
For hym, that under you doth hold this place.
See where her ship remaines, whose silk-woven tackling
Is turned to twigs, and three fold mast to trees,
Receiving life from verdure of your lookes,*

*(For what cannot your gracious looks effect?)
 Yon ugly monster creeping from the South
 To spoyle these blessed fields of Albion,
 By self same beams is chang'd into a snaile,
 Whose bullrush homes are not of force to hurt.
 As this snaile is, so be thine enemies!
 And never yet did Nereus wishe in vaine.
 That Fort did Neptune raise, for your defence;
 And in this barke, which gods hale neare the shore,
 White-footed Thetis sends her musicke maydes,
 To please Elisaes eares with harmony.
 Hear them, faire Quene: and when their musick ends,
 My Tritons shall awake the Syluane gods,
 To doe their homage to your Majesty.*

"This Oration being delivered, and withall the present whereof
 he spake, which was hidden in a purse of greene rushes, cunningly
 woaven together: immediately the three voices in the pinnace sung
 a song to the lute, with excellent divisions and the end of every
 verse was replied by lutes and voices in the other boate somewhat
 afarre off, as if they had been ecchoes.

"The song presented by Nereus on the water, sung dialogue-
 wise, Everie fourth verse answered with two Ecchoes:

*Dem. How haps it now when prime is done,
 Another spring-time is begun?*

*Resp. Our happie soile is overrunne,
 With beautie of a second sunne
 Eccho. A second sunne,*

*Dem. What heavenlie lampe, with holie light,
 Doeth so increase our climes delight?*

*Resp. A lampe whose beams are ever bright,
 And never fears approaching Night.
 Eccho. Approaching Night.*

*Dem. Why singe we not eternell praise,
 To that faire shrine of lasting daies?*

*Resp. He shames himselfe that once assaies
To fould such wonder in sweet laies.
Eccho. In sweet laies.*

*Dem. O yet devoid of envious blame,
Thou maist unfold his sacred name*

*Resp. Tis dread Eliza, that faire name,
Who filles the golden trump of Fame.
Eccho. Trump of Fame.*

*Dem. O never may so sweete a Quene,
See dismall daies or deadly teene.*

*Resp. Graunt Heavens hir daies may stil be greene,
For like hir was never seene.
Eccho. Was never seene.*

“This song being ended Nereus commanded the five Tritons to sound. Then came Sylvanus with his attendants, from the wood: himselfe attired, from the middle downwarde to the knee, in kiddes skinnnes with the hair on; his legges, bodie and face, naked, but died over with Saffron, and his head hooded with a goates skin, and two little hornes over his forehead, bearing in his right hand an olive tree, and in his left a Scutchion, whereof I spake somewhat before. His followers were all covered with ivy-leaves, and bare in their handes bowes made like darts. At their approche neare her Majesty Salvanus spake as followeth, and delivered up his Scutchion, ingraven with goulden characters. Nereus and his traine still continuing near her Highnesse:

The Oration of Sylvanus

*Sylvanus comes from out the leavry groaves,
To honor her whom all the world adores,
Faire Cinthie, whom no sooner Nature fram'd
And deckt with Fortunes and with Vertues dower,
But straight admiring what her skill had wrought,
She broke the Mould; that never sunne might see,
The like to Albion's Quene for excellence.
Twas not the Tritons ayr-enforving shell,*

PHILLIDA AND CORYDON.

Dr John Wilson.*

XLV.
bis.

In the merry month of May, On a morn by break of
 day, Forth I walkt the wood so wide, When as May was in her
 pride; There I spy'd all a..lone all a..lone, Phil..li..da and Co...ri..don.

The music for this song was taken from Rimbault, *MUSICAL ILLUSTRATIONS*, which was obtained from Wilson's *CHEERFUL AYRES or BALLADS* set for three voices, 1660.

This is undoubtedly Morley's composition, which he either published under Dr. Wilson's name or allowed Wilson to have a copy. Perhaps Wilson was once one of the singers of the ditty under Elizabeth's window? We know that Wilson, the pyper, was connected with the theatre group which played at Blackfriars. Or at least his name was on the list of people objecting to the closing of this theatre in 1596. He was also an early actor.

As this was published so long after the death of all these people it might be that the song was among the songs in the files of Dr. Wilson, but which was not rightly written by him. We cannot know for sure, we can only conjecture on the scanty evidence remaining of these groups and their doings.

*As they perhaps would proudly make theyr vaunt,
But those faire beames that shoote from Majesty,
Which draw our eyes to wonder at thy worth.
That worth breeds wonder; wonder holy feare,
And holy feare unfayned reverence.*

*Amongst the wanton daywa of goulden age,
Apollo playing in our pleasant shades,
And printing oracles in every leafe,
Let fall this sacred scutchion from his breast;
Wherein is writ, "Detur dignissimae".*

*O therefore hold what Heaven hath made thy right,
I but in duety yeeld desert her due.*

Nereus. But see, Sylvanus, where thy love doth sit,

*Sylvanus. My sweet Neaera, was her eare so neare?
O set my hearts delight upon this banke,
That, in compassion of old sufferance,
Shee may relent in sight of Beauties Quene.*

*Nereus. On this condition shall shee come on shoare,
That with thy hand thou plight a solemme vow,
Not to prophane her undefiled State.*

Sylvanus. Here, take my hand, and therewith I vowe.

Nereus. That water will extinguish wanton fire.

*Nereus in pronouncing this last line, did plucke Sylvanus over
head and eares into the water, Where all the sea-gods, laughing,
did insult over him. In the meane while her Majesty perused the
verses written in the Scutchion, which were these:*

*Adoniis prior et Divis es pulchrior alti
Aequoris, ac Nymphis es prior Idaliis.
Idaliis prior es Nymphis, ac aequois alti.*

Over these verses was the poesy written: Detur dignissimae.

*"After that the sea-gods had sufficiently duckt Sylvanue, they
suffered him to creep to land, where he no sooner set footing, but
crying, 'Revenge, Revenge,' he and his begunne a skirmish with
those of the water; the one side throwing their darts, and the other
using their squirtes, and the Tritons sounding a pointe of Warre.
At the last, Nereus parted the fray with a line or two, grounded
on the excellence of her Majestyes presence, as being alwaies frend
to Peace, and ennemy to Warre. Then Sylvanus, being so ugly, and*

running towards the bower at the end of the Pound, affrighted a number of the countrey people, that they ran from him for feare, and thereby moved great laughter. His followers retired to the woods; and Neaera, his faire Love, in the pinnace, presenting her Majestie a sea-jewell, bearing the forme of a faune, spake unto her as followeth:

The Oration of faire Neaera

*When Neptune late bestowed on me this barke,
And sent by me this present to your Grace:
Thus Nereus sung, who never sings but truth.*

*Thine eyes (Neaera) shall in time behold,
A sea-borne Quene, worthy to governe Kings:
On her depends the fortune of thy boate.
If she but neme it with a blisfull word,
And view it with her life-inspiring beames.
Her beames yeeld gentle influences, like fayre Starres;
Her silver soundinge word is prophesie.
Speake, sacred Sibyl, give some prosperous name,
That it may dare attempt a golden fleece,
Or dive for pearles and lay them in thy lap.
For wind and waves, and all the worlde beside,
Will make her way, whom thou shalt doome to blisse,
For what is Sibyl's speech but oracle?*

“Here her Majesty named the pinnace, *The Bonadventure*; and Neaera went on with her speech as followeth:

*Now Neaeraes barke is fortunate,
And in thy service shall imploy her saile,
And often make returne to thy availe.
O live in endlesse joy, with glorious fame,
Sound trumpets, sounde, in honor of her name.*

“Then did Nereus retire backe to his bower, with all his traine following him, in selfe same order as they came forth before, the Tritons sounding their trumpets one helpe of the way, and the cornets playing the other helpe.

“And here ended the second daies pastime, to the so great liking of her Majestie, that her gracious approbation thereof, was to the actors more than a double reward; and yet withall, her

Highnes bestowed a largesse uppon them the next daie after, before she departed."

The Thirde Daies Entertainment

"On Wednesday morning, about nine of the clock, as her Majesty opened a casement of her Galleris window, there were three excellent Musicians, who being disguised in auncient cuntry attire, did greet her with a pleasant song of *Coridon* and *Phyllida*, made in three parts of purpose. The song, as well for the worth of the dittie, as for the aptnes of the note thereto applied, it pleased her Highnesse, after it had been once sung, to command it againe, and highly to grace it with her chearefull acceptance and commendation.

The Three Men's Song, sung the third morning under hir Majesties Gallerie Window

*In the merrie moneth of May,
In a morne, by break of day,
Forth I walked by the wood side,
Where as May was in his pride,
There I spied, all alone,
Phillida and Corydon.*

*Much adoe there was, God Wot,
He would love, and she would not.
She said, never man was true:
He said, none was false to you.
He said, he had loved her long:
She said, love should have no wrong.*

*Coridon would kisse her then:
She said, maides must kisse no men,
Till they did for good and all.
Then she made the Shepheards call
All the heavens to witnesse truth,
Never lov'd a truer youth.*

*Thus with many a pretie oath,
Yea and nay, and faith and troth,*

*Such as silly Shepheards use,
When they will not love abuse;
Love which had beene long deluded,
Was with kisses sweet concluded:*

*And Phyllida, with garlands gay,
Was made the Lady of the May.*

“The same day after dinner, about three of the clock ten of the Earle of Hertford’s servants, all Somersetshire men, in a square greene court, before her Majesties windowe, did hang up lines, squaring out the forme of a tennis-court, and making a cross line in the middle. In this square they (beeing stript out of their doublets) played, five to five, with the hand-ball at bord and cord (as they tearme it) to so great liking of her Highnese, that she graciously deyned to beholde their pastime more than an houre and a halfe.

“After supper there were two delights presented unto her Majestie: curious fireworks, and a sumptous banket. The first from the three Ilands in the Pond; the seconde in a lowe Gallerie in her Majesties Privie-garden. But first I will briefly speake of the fire works.

“First, there was a peale of a hundred chambers discharged from the Snail Mount; in counter whereof, a like peale was discharged from Ship Ile, and some great ordinance withal. Then was there a castle of fire-works of all sorts, which played in the Fort. Answerable to that; there was in the Snail Mount, a globe of all manner of fire-works, as big as a barrel. When these were spent on either side, there were many running rockets uppon lines, which passed between the Snail Mount and the Castle in the Fort. On either side were many fire wheeles, pikes of pleasure, and balles of wilde fire, which burned in the water.

“During the time of these fire works in the water there was a banket served, all in glasse and silver, into the lowe Gallerie in the garden, from a hill side fourteene score off, by two hundred of my Lord of Hertford’s gentlemen, everie one carrying so many dishes, that the whole number amounted to a thousand: and there were to light them in their way a hundred torch-bearers.

The Fourth Daies Entertainment

“On Thursday morning, her Majestie was no sooner readie,

and at her Gallerie window looking into the Garden, but there began three Cornets to play certaine fantastike dances, at the measure whereof the Fayery Quene came into the garden, dauncing with her maides about her. Shee brought with her a garland, made in the fourme of an imperiall crowne; within the sight of her Majestie shee fixed upon a silvered staffe, and sticking the staffe into the ground, spake as followeth:

The Speech of the Fairy Quene to her Majestie

*I that abide in places under-ground,
Aureola, the Quene of Fairt-land,
That every night in rings of painted flowers
Turn round, and carrell out Elisaes name:
Hearing that Nereus and the Sylvane gods
Have lately welcomde your Imperial Grace,
I opened the earth with this enchanting wand,
And doe my duety to your Majestie,
And humbly to salute you with this chaplet,
Given me by Auberon, the Fairy King.
Bright shining Phoebe, that in humaine shape.
Hid'st Heaven's perfection, vouchsafe T' accept it:
And I, Aureola belov'd in heaven,
(For amorous starres fall nightly in my lap)
Will cause that Heaven enlarge thy goulden dayes,
And cut them short, that envy at thy praise.*

"After this speech, the Fairy Quene and her maides daunced about the Garden, singing a Song of sixe parts, with musicke of an exquisite consort; wherein was the lute, bandora, base-violl, citterne, treble-violl, and flute. And this was the Fairies Song:

Fairies Song

*Elisa is the fairest Quene,
That ever trod upon this greene,
Elisaes eyes are blessed starres,
Inducing peace, subduring warres.
Elisaes hand in christal bright,
Her wordes are balme, her lookes are light.
Elisaes brest is that faire hill,
Where Vertue dwels, and sacred skill,*

*O blessed bee each day and houre,
Where Sweet Elisa builds her bowre.*

“This spectacle and musicke so delighted her Majesty, that she commanded to heare it sung and to be daunced three times over, and called for divers Lords and Ladies to behold it: and then dismiss the Actors with thankes, and with a gracious larges, which of her exceeding goodnesse shee bestowed uppon them.

“Within an howre after her Majesty departed, with her Nobles, from Elvetham. It was a most extreame rain, and yet it pleased hir Majesty to behold and hear the whole action. On the one side of her way, as she past through the parke, there was placed, sitting on the Pond’s side, Nereus and all his sea-gods, in their former attire: on her left hand Sylvanus and his company: in the way before her, the three Graces, and three Howres: all of them on everie side wringing their hands, shewing signe of sorrow for her departure, the Poet, he being attired as at the first, saving that his cloak was now black, and his garland mixed with ugh branches, to signifie sorrow. While she beheld this dum shew, the poet made her a short oration as followeth:

The Poet’s Speech at her Majestie’s Departure

*O see, sweet Cynthia, how the watry gods,
Which joyd of late to view thy glorious beames,
At this retire doe waile and wring their hands,
Distilling from their eyes salt showes of teares,
To bring in Winter with their wet lament:
For how can Sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
See where Sylvanus sits and sadly mournes,
To thinke that Autumn, with his withered wings,
Will bring in Tempest, when thy beames are hence:
For how can Sommer stay when Sunne departs?
See where those Graces, and those Howers of Heav’n,
Which at thy comming sung triumphall songs,
And smoothd the way, and strewd it with sweet flowers,
Now, if they durst, would stop it with greene bowes,
Least by thine absence the yeeres pride decay:
For how can Sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
Leaves fal, grasse dies, beasts of the wood hang head,
Birds cease to sing, and everie Creature wailes,*

*To see the season alter with this change:
For how can Sommer stay, when Sunne departs?
O, either stay, or sonne returne againe,
For Sommers parting is the countries paine.*

“Then Nereus, approaching from the ende of the Pond, to hir Majesties coach, on his knees thanked hir Highnesse for hir late largesse saying as followeth:

*Thanks, gracious Goddesse, for thy bounteous largesse,
Whose worth, although it yeelds us sweet content,
Yet thy depart gives us a greater sorrow.”*

“After this, as hir Majestie passed through the parke gate, there was a consort of musicians hidden in a bower: to whose playing this dittie of ‘Come again’, was sung, with excellent division, by two that were cunning. “The Song sung at the Gate, when hir Majestie Departed.

“(As this Song was sung hir Majestie, notwithstanding the great raine, staid her coach, and pulled off hir mask, giving great thanks.)

*Come againe, faire Nature's treasure,
Whose lookes yeeld joyes exceeding measure.*

*Come againe, world's starre-bright eye,
Whose presence bewtifies the skie.*

*Come againe, world's chiefe delight,
Whose absence makes eternall night.*

*Come againe, sweet lively Sunne,
When thou are gone our joyes are done.*

*O Come againe, faire Nature's treasure,
Whose lookes yeeld joyes exceeding measure.*

*O come againe, heavens chiefe delight,
Thine absence makes eternall night.*

*Come againe, world's starre-bright eye,
Whose presence doth adorne the skie.*

*O come againe, sweet beauties Sunne:
When thou art gone, our joyes are done.*

“Her Majesty was so highly pleased with this and the rest, that she openly said to the Earle of Hertford, that the beginning, processe, and the end of this entertainment, was so honorable, she would not forget the same.

“And manie most happie yeares may her gracious Majestie continue, to favour and foster him, and all others which do truly love and honor her.³

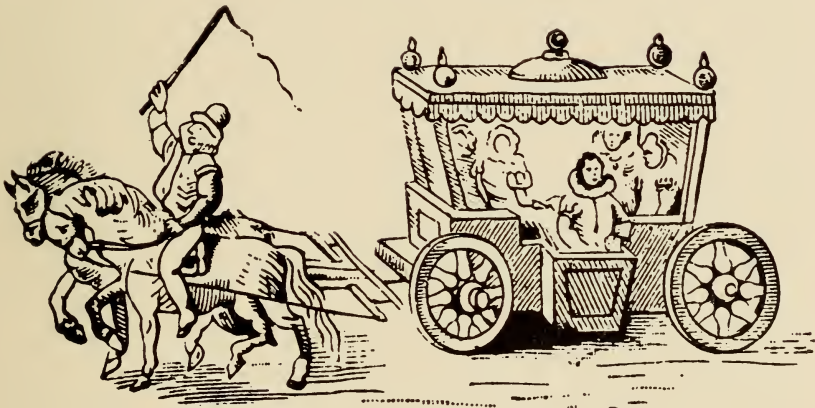
Note: “Printed by John Wolfe, and are to bee sold at the Little Shop over against the Great South Dore of Paules, 1591.”⁴ A second edition of this Tract was published in the same year, professing to be “Newlie corrected and amended.” As a matter of curiosity, I have collated here two copies; and have adopted the variations of the second edition. The orthography is so loose and so various, that it would be endless to mention the instances in which it is changed, sometimes for the worse, but frequently for the better, or at least much nearer to the present standard. The Family Arms in the title-page and the picture of the Pond are colored in both editions.

³Nichols, *Progresses of Queene Elizabeth* v.3, p. 101.

⁴Nichols, *Progresses of Queene Elizabeth*, a contemporary tract.



Pond at Elvetham, Hants, at Queen Elizabeth's Visit, 1591. Nichols,
PROGRESS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH; from a tract, 1591.



COACH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S MAIDS.
Braun, 'Civitates Orbis Terrarum,' 1572.



CHAPTER XXIII

"Our Willy's" Spy Activities

IF our deductions are right, "Our Willy," under his alias of "John Smith," did not return directly to Hardwick after the Entertainment at Elvetham but went to Oxford, to receive his degree of B.D. and then went to London to play the organ at St. Paul's Church under his musical alias of "Thomas Morley." He may even have had an understudy to play in his place when he was absent in the service of Bess of Hardwick, as Dean Nowell of St. Paul's was a very close friend of his whole family. The following letter is of interest:

"Ch. Paget Catholic agent in Flanders to Mons. Giles Martin, Frenchman in London."

"There is one Morley that playeth on the organ at Paul's that was with me in my house. He seemed here to be a good Catholic and was reconciled, but not-with-standing suspecting his behavior I entercepted some letters that Mr. Nowell (presumably the Dean of St. Paul's) wrote to him, whereby I discovered enough to have hanged him. Never-the-less he shewing with tears great repentance, and asking on his knees forgiveness, I was content to let him goe. I here since his coming thither he hath played the promoter and apprendeth Catholics."¹

This letter was endorsed by Thomas Phellipes the chief of the English spy system. He was greatly trusted by Walsingham, and probably continued his activities under Burghley.

There is another letter which seems to have been in reply to the above:

"Thomas Phellippes to Thos. Barnes" (an English spy), October 31, 1591. "Received his letter of 3, October. Has been forced to absent himself, as his name was brought in question and trotted about among the pursuivants and presstakers; some in trouble having named him, fears his adversaries on that side have purposely laid trains to make him fall into the hands of this State. Has been

¹C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-1594, p. 106; Grove, Dict. of Musicians, III, 519.

sought for a practiser of a marriage between Arbell and the Duke of Palma's son, which is given out to be his errand to England; marvels at not hearing of these things from him. It is true that Morley, the singing man, employs himself in that kind of service and has brought divers into danger.²

Another spy letter of April 7, 1592, from Michael Moody to Lord Burghley confirms the fact that "Morley, the singing man, employs himself in that kind of service and has brought divers into danger."³

Burleigh received some spy letters dated October 14 to 31, from Brussels, which stated "that Arbell's picture was being requested" presumably from the Duke of Palma's agent.

This letter also adds to the truth of the story by Scaramelli, the Venetian Ambassador in his letter to the Doge telling of Elizabeth's actions at the time of the Armada.

On October 18, 1591, there was a Proclamation, issued from Westminster against treason called the "Queen's Proclamation Against Treason." If this was a deterrent to the activities of the Jesuits and Catholic spies it does not appear in the records. Perhaps it was to legalize their punishment, which seems to have begun in earnest.

It seems also to have stirred up patriots against their neighbors: One Robert Bainbridge, of Derby, sent to the Council, information against the Earl of Shrewsbury and his household, friends and servants. One thing in his letter of interest to us is the fact that it mentions that Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, was a great friend of "Our Willy" under his alias of "Constable." It tells of the Earl having a copy of Constable's book, which was quite rare, wherein Constable makes a reconciliation of the two religions, "and which before (Sir Christopher Hatton's) the Lord Chancellor's death, he showed to many."⁴

In the latter part of 1591, Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* was written as that is the date of its dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh. Also in 1591 was published his *Complaints*. A collection of poems written at various times, this contains: *The Ruins of Time*; *The Tears of the Muses*, *Virgil's Gnat*, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, *The Ruins of Rome*, *Muiopotmos*, *Visions of the World's Vanity*, *Bellay's Visions*, *Petrarch's Visions*.

²C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-1594, p. 117.

³C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-1594, p. 209.

⁴Ibid., p. 174.

Notable among these is *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, which is a satire on the abuses of the Church and the evils of the court. Had Elizabeth known that she was going to be entertained by its author, she might have changed her mind about visiting Elvetham.

Virgil's Gnat is thought by some writers to have been aimed at Burghley, who detested poets and poetry, and I believe that he had also penetrated Hertford's alias as Spenser. He never forgave Hertford for having a third child by Catherine Grey, to whom he was devoted but whom he could not save. I also believe that he never revealed the facts about Catherine's bastardized third son, "Our Willy," to his own son Robert Cecil whom he had properly judged to be of an inquisitive and a somewhat vindictive nature. For this we have to thank him, as will be shown as this story continues. Some critics also find in Spenser's poem *Muiopotmus* a reference to Burghley, in the "airy trifle," with the Lord Treasurer as the spider.

Also in 1591 Spenser's *Daphnaida* was published. It was an elegy on the death of Douglas Howard, the wife of Sir Arthur Gorges, and the daughter of Lord Bindon. *Daphnaida* reads like a consolation by one widower to another, or Spenser to Sir Arthur Gorges. Gorges was, as has been mentioned, an acquaintance of Hertford's when he was a prisoner in the house of John Mason at Clerkenwall. Spenser calls him "Alcyon" in *Colin Clout* and *Daphnaida*. Sir Arthur was a well known seaman and a cousin of Walter Raleigh but was also a poet and translator.⁵

1592 was a very active year for most of the characters we have been following. "January 2, 1592, in a spy letter to Phelippes, trusted agent of Burghley and decipherer of the spy letters, Robert Cecil remarks that: "let him find out Daniel, who is either employed for the Queen, or is a notable knave in no mean matters?" This was undoubtedly John Daniel, the flutest and brother of Rose Daniel, wife of Florio and the "Rosalind" of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*. She was also sister of Samuel Daniel, the poet who was employed by Hertford later.

Early in 1592, Sir Walter Raleigh planned an expedition which was to waylay the Spanish treasure carracks of Seville and sack the Spanish settlement at Panama. In this adventure he had, with his usual generosity, hazarded his entire estate, borrowing money right and left at usurious rates in order to equip his fleet properly.

⁵Oxford Companion and other sources.

Having set sail, however, he was followed and recalled to the Court and so soon caged by the Queen in the Tower. Elizabeth could not endure that the fantastic love-making which she exacted from her courtiers should pass into real affection for a younger woman, and Raleigh had seduced Elizabeth Throckmorton and afterwards married her, and the Queen had been very angry.

He was forbidden to sail, but the ships, after he was brought back sailed and the expedition was successful. A great Biscayan bound for St. Lucas and the richest of the Indian carracks called the *Madre de Dios* were captured and taken into Dartmouth, Raleigh's home port, causing the wildest excitement throughout the kingdom. Even Raleigh was finally sent to Dartmouth, in charge of his jailer, to look out for the Queen's interest, Sir John Hawkins having suggested to the astute Burghley that his presence there "might benefit her portion," none other having "so ready a disposition to lay the ground how her Majesty's portion may be increased."

The *Madre de Dios*, especially, was laden with riches beyond the dreams of her captors; and she and other prizes drew hungry hordes from every part of the kingdom to view them and to procure some of their spoils.

It is related that even proud lords of the Court were seen haggling with the swaggering mariners, who had surreptitiously possessed themselves of the coveted booty.

In a brief letter from Robert Cecil to his father Lord Burghley he says:

"I do send this bearer only to your Lordship, that you may know that I have passed Exeter. Whomsoever I met by the way, within seven miles, that either had anything in cloak, bag, or in mail, which did but smell of the prizes, either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I assure your Lordship I could smell them almost, such hath been the spoils of amber and musk amongst them), I did though he had little about him, return him with me to the town of Exeter, where I stayed any that should carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth at the gates of the town. I compelled them also to tell me where any trunks or mail were. And I by this inquisition finding the people stubborn, till I had committed two innkeepers to prison . . . which example would have won the Queen 20,000 pounds a week past. I have lit upon a Londoner in whose house we have found a bag of seed pearls. I do mean my

Lord forthwith to be in Dartmouth, and to have a privy search there and in Plymouth. I have taken order to search every bag or mail coming from the West, and though I fear that the birds be flown—for jewels, pears and amber—yet will I not doubt but to save Her Majesty that which shall be worth my journey. My Lord, there never was such spoil! I will suppress the confluence of these buyers, of which there are above two thousand. And except they be removed, there will be no good. The name of ‘commissioner’ is common in this country . . . but my sending down hath made many stagger. Fouler ways, desperater ways, nor more obstinate people, did I never meet with . . . but, all the goods whereof I send you a note, were bought since the Proclamation (this was a proclamation forbidding any traffic in spoils of Spanish ships) I found besides, in this unlooked-for search, an amulet of gold, a fork and spoon of crystal with rubies, which I reserve for the Queen.

“Her Majesty’s captive comes after me (Raleigh); but I have outrid him and will be in Dartmouth before him.”

The sentence above plainly shows Robert Cecil’s enmity toward Sir Walter Raleigh.

Feud between the Cavendishes and Stanhopes

“In 1592 the families of Cavendish and Stanhope in the county of Nottinghamshire were upon exceedingly ill terms, in so much that blood was shed on both sides.” The following is a copy of a message sent by Mary Cavendish, Countess of Salop (Shrewsbury) to Sir Thomas Stanhope, of Sheldord, Knight, by one George Holt, and Williamson, and delivered by said Williamson, Feb. 15, 1592, in the presence of certain persons whose names were subscribed—‘My Lady hath commanded me to say thus much to you; that though you be more wretched, vile and miserable than any creature living; and for your wickedness become more ugly in shape than the vilest toad in the world; and one to whom none of reputation would vouchsafe to send any message; yet she hath thought good to send this much to you—that she be contented you should live (and doth no waies wish your death) but to this end; that all the plagues and miseries that may befall any man may light upon such a Caitiff as you; and you should live to have all your friends forsake you; and without your great repentance, which she looketh not for, because your life hath been so bad, you will be damned

perpetually in hell fire' with many opprobrious and hateful words, which could not be remembered because the bearer would deliver it but once, as he said he had been commanded; but said (if he had failed in anything, it was speaking it more mildly and not in terms of such disdain as he was commanded."⁶

⁶Brydges, *Peers of England*, p. 15.

CHAPTER XXIV

"Morley" Leaves Arbell

As near as I can reckon, the time of "Our Willy's" departure, under his alias of "Thomas Morley," from Hardwick was about the middle of July, 1592. This of course is based on the letter of Bess of Hardwick to Lord Burghley dated September 21, 1592, which is given in full on that date in this story.

For three and a half blissful years "Thomas Morley" and Arbell were constant and daily companions in the most intimate way that two youths, at that period, could be situated for a love affair—teacher and student.

Arbell had great ability and "Our Willy" was probably better fitted than anyone in England to understand what it meant to a young girl to be cut off from companions of her own age and to teach her how to use her own mind for entertainment. He taught her how to write, as we will see later, and to retain her own characteristic style. Arbell probably had an orchestra, as was the fashion of all wealthy people living in great houses, and she was already a good performer on musical instruments, according to Burghley's statement when she was only twelve. That "Morley," then considered the greatest lutenist in England, probably taught her and her musicians is inferred, although I can find no indication that she learned to compose music—but she certainly learned to compose poems and verse.

The romantic setting for this love affair could not have been equalled for beauty of nature anywhere in that period of history. Hardwick Hall Park was in the environment of Sherwood Forest, that enchanted wildwood where game and game birds were even then protected, and if one lets ones imagination roam one can see the love developing in the great poet and musician and his young pupil.

They were equal in birth, and although he had been stigmatized by Elizabeth, yet that could not prevent Arbell from knowing the truth of his heritage, birth and parentage. Later in her story,

after he had left Hardwick, she tells of his telling her his dangerous secret—without any restraint, not even asking her to keep it secret and secure for him. He loved her as only a young man of great genius, brought up in solitude, without a mother's loving care, could love a young, innocent, beautiful, proud and lonely girl. That this love endured through his whole life as well as through hers, will be recorded later.

Their squabbles later through his jealousy are recorded in her writings, but to this day no glimmer of the real truth of this great love affair has come down to us. Undoubtedly "Our Willy," as Shakespeare, wrote his *Midsummer Night's Dream* during this period (when he was with Arbell, for she must have been the *Fair Vestal, throned by the West* and the *little western flower of Oberon's Vision*).

Midsummer Night's Dream—Oberon's Vision. Act II Sc. I

Obe. Well, go thy way; thou shalt not from this grove,
Till I torment thee for this injury.
My gentle Puck, come hither; thou rememb'rest
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madley from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.

Puck. I remember.

Obe. That very time I saw (but thou could'st not),
Flying between the cold moon and the Earth,
Cupid all arm'd; a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the West,
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,
And the imperial vot'ress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower,
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound;
And maidens call it, love-in-idleness.

Undoubtedly the mermaid on the dolphin's back referred to Mary Queen of Scots; but Elizabeth "the fair vestal throned by the west", who is later spoken of as "the imperial vot'ress" passed on, in maiden meditation, fancy-free," could certainly not have been Elizabeth. Not even Shakespeare would speak of her as being in "maiden meditation, fancy-free." Elizabeth was now in her fifty-eighth year and had had many "fancies" in regard to love affairs. It must have been Arbell, who was of the western part of the country.

Probably "Our Willy" read to Arbell his wonderful comedies, histories and tragedies. She certainly would have been his most devoted listener.

One can see them in imagination, with their troupe of servants and companions, wandering through the great forests, where the birds, deer, and smaller animals lived their care-free life and made the air resound with their songs and calls in the early morning, and the tales of fairies, that have always been a tradition of Sherwood and Robin Hood and his fellows, with the moss and flowers underfoot, the great trees spreading their branches where squirrels sprang from bough to bough with their chattering. How it must have delighted those two! Even if their love life was secret, at least they lived it.

This parting must have been heartrending for both of our lovers. Prisoners both! He by reason of the necessity of secrecy, of his birth and she a virtual prisoner in her grandmother's care under the orders of Elizabeth. Both victims of the Succession dispute and lust for power!

That they arranged varied means of communication is evident from her confession later. He could always write sonnets and have them sent to her, by means of her musicians. Also Mary Browne Wriothesley, second wife of the then Earl of Southampton and Mary Browne Grey, who had been so devoted to Catherine Grey his mother; the Earl of Shrewsbury and his wife, Arbell's aunt and uncle. These Browne women seem to have been "Our Willy's" most intimate women friends, beside Arbell and her aunt. He could always, and did, print books and music and see to it that she received copies. Of course she knew all his aliases and could follow his literary and musical efforts. Also, unsigned or misleading signatures to letters could always be sent by a servant or friend. Had they fallen into Bess's or other wrong hands then no harm

would be done. Of course aunt Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury, was in the secret, and a stauncher friend to these lovers could not be imagined.

Morley's actual departure and his hesitation at so doing is to be found in Bess of Hardwick's letter to Burghley, 21 September, 1592, which follows shortly.

July was a busy time for "Our Willy." He was evidently needed by Essex for some special spy service. Also in this month he received, under his alias of John Smith, the appointment to the vicarage of Clevering, County Essex.

Along toward the end of August, 1592, the Catholics and their spies who would use Arbell for their schemes became increasingly active. In a spy letter which was intercepted, it was stated that "Wm. Stanley is plotting to have Semple and Roulston, cunning fellows who had promised to convey Arbell out of England and then when the Queen died they would proclaim her Queen." This and numerous letters in the same vein so alarmed the Council, that Burghley wrote to Bess of Hardwick about the care of Arbell: We have her answer, September 21, 1592, which shows Morley's connection with Arbell, which I have before related and which is my authority for this part of my story.

Deaths of Robert Greene and Thomas Watson

Beauchamp (Edward Seymour), eldest son of Hertford, decided that he was exhausted and needed a rest from writing romances, plays, pamphlets etc. as he had written at least thirty-eight works and decided that he would arrange a stage death for his alias Robert Greene. Of course the members of the Packe and his brothers gave out the grotesque stories of his death and the more ribald the stories the better it seemed to them. This fake death was easily arranged, in those days. They only had to get a corpse, probably from some prison, substitute it for the body of the person, write nonsense about the manner of the death and arrange a funeral and the world gobbled it up. Of course Gilbert Harvey helped things along.

When Robert Greene wrote the seeming slap at Shakespeare in his well-known passage in his *A Groatworth of wit brought with a Million of Repentance*, about the 'Crow, beautified with our Feathers', the 'Johannes Factotum', who, 'is in his owne conceit the only Shake-scene in a Countrey', he was not actuated by

jealousy but was trying to confuse the packe and others regarding the relationship between his brother and himself, "William Shakespeare" and "John Smith." It is probably a reference to Shakespeare's well known habit of using earlier work and adapting it to his own present needs.

Naturally as Beauchamp was writing his poetry, sonnets and madrigals and putting them out under the name of "Thomas Watson," he too, had to die at this time. Under this alias of Thomas Watson, Beauchamp was writing the kind of poetry and work that Hertford as *Spenser* admired and encouraged, in this his eldest son, whom he called "Amyntas" in his *Colin Clouts come home again*.

"Robert Greene" was also an excellent musician and as he held a place in the Chapel Royal, he had to vacate that at his supposed death, and his place was quickly taken by "Morley."

The reason for this "killing off" of Beauchamp's aliases was that the work of the School, the printing of the many manuscripts, and the general running of the whole scheme was getting too much for Hertford. Beauchamp was anxious to help his father so as to give him leisure to finish his great *Faerie Queene* and other unfinished works.

I have not been able to find out whether "Morley" was employed as a singer, a flutest or an lutenist in the Chapel Royal. Of course he could also play the organ.

In 1592 "Our Willy," under his alias "Henry Constable," published his *Diana*, a book of sonnets. This was probably a later version of *The Musyque of the Baeutie of his Mistresse Diana* of 1584, published under his then pen name of John Southern, who claimed to have been educated in France whence he returned to follow the profession of a musician, probably under the name of "John Dowland."

We now come to the most important letter of our series. For in this letter from Bess of Hardwick, Countess of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley we find the real authority for the love affair between "Our Willy" and Arbell.

(Dowager) "*Countess of Shrewsbury to Lord Burghley.*"

"My honorable good Lord: I reseyved your Lordships Lettre on Wednesday toward night, being the xx of this September, by a servant of Mr. John Talbotts of Irelande. My good Lord I was at first much trobled to think that so wicked and mischevous

practices shold be devysed to intrap my pore Arbell and me, but I put my trust in the Almighty, and wyll use such dilaigent care as I dobt not but to prevent what so ever shalbe attempted by any wycked persons against the pore chyld. I am most bonde to hyr Majesty that yt pleased hyr to apoynt your Lordship to give me knowledge of this wycked practyse, and I humbly thanke your Lordship for advertysinge yt; yf any such lyke hereafter be discovered I besech your Lordship I may be forewarned. I wyll not have any unknowen or suspected person to come to my howse. Uppon the least suspicion that may happen here, any way, I shall give advertisement to your Lordship. I have little resort to me; my house is furnished with sufficient company; Arbell walks not late; at such tyme as she shall take the ayre, yt shalbe nere the house, and well attended on; she goeth not to any body's house at all; I see hyr almost every howre in the day; she lyeth in my bed chamber. If I can be more presise then I have bene I wylbe. I am bound in nature to be carefull for Arbell; I find her loving and dutyfull to me, yet hir owne good and safety is not dearer to me, nor more by me regarded then to accomplish hyr Majestye's pleasure, and that which I thinke may be for for hyr service. I wold rayther wyshe many deaths then to se this or any such wycked attempts to prevayle.

"About a yere since, there was on Harrison, a seminary, that lay about a myle from Hardwyck, whome I thought then to have caused to bene apprehended, and to have sent him up; but found he had license for a tyme. Notwithstanding, the seminary, sone after, went from his brothers, finding how much I was discontented with his lyinge so nere me. Since my comming now into the cuntry, I had some intelligence that the same seminary was come ageyn to hys brother's howse: my sonne William Cavendyshe went thither of a sudden to make serch for hym but cold not find hym. I wryte thus much to your Lordship that yf any such trayterous and naughty person (thorough her Majestie's clemency) be suffered to go abroad, that they may not harbor nere my howses, Wyngfeld, Hardwick, nor Chattesworthe, in Derbyshire, they are the likest instruments to put a bad matter in execution.

"On Morley, who hath attended on Arbell, and red to hyr for the space of thre yere and a half, shoed to be much discontented since my retorne into the cuntry, in sayinge he had lyved in hope to have som annuitie graunted him by Arbell out of hyr land

duringe his lyffe, or some lease of grounds to the value of forty pounds a yere, alledging that he was so much damnified by leving of the Universitie; and now saw that if she were wyllinge, yet not of abylyte to make him any such assurance. I understanding by dyvers that Morley was so much discontented, and withal of late having some cause to be dobtful of his forwardness in religion (though I cannot charge him with papistry), take occasion to part with him. After he was gone from my Howse, and all hys stuff carried from hence, the next day he returned ageyn, very importunate to serve with standinge upon any recompence, which made me more suspicious, and the more willinge to part with hym. I have another in my howse who will supply "Morley's" place very well for the tyme. (probably Starkey) I wyll have those that shalbe sufficient in learninge, honest, and well disposed, so nere as I can.

"I am enforced to use the hand of my sone William Caven-dysshe, not being able to wryte so much myself for feare of bringing great payne to my hed. He only is pryvy to your Lordship's Letter, and neyther Arbell nor any other Iyvinge nor shalde.

"I besech your Lordship I may be directed from you as occasion shall fall out. To the uttermost of my understanding, I have and wylbe carefull. "I besech the Almighty to send your Lordship a longe and happy lyfe, and so I committ your Lordship to his protection. From my howse at Hardwick, the xxist of September 1592."

"Your Lordships as I am bound."

"E. SHROUESBURY."

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the
L. Burley, Lord Treasurer of Englande"¹

As can be seen from the preceding letter, Morley raised a rum-pus at leaving. His demand for a portion of Arbell's lands to indemnify for leaving the university, seems to have been really only a pretext to raise the question of her lands, that both Elizabeth and later James finally wrested from her.

Why he left Arbell and Hardwick at this time, I cannot definitely find out, but from the records it would seem that various reasons contributed to the action. Essex may have needed him for some delicate spying, as he was used to contact Kings and the Pope on various occasions; Beauchamp, who wanted to be rid of his alias of "Robert Greene," and "Thomas Watson" as well as his

¹Lands. MSS. 71; Ellis, *Original Letters*, Ser. 2, III, 165-168.

service in the Royal Chapel and to assist Hertford in his growing businesses with his lands and the growing importance of the School. Also his appointment as vicar to Clavering parish gave him a permanent home where he could continue his various activities as well as the writing of sermons and the training of men to act as his doubles and understudies. Perhaps he had some students of music as well. Perhaps, too, he thought he would be less under observation in his spy activities in this more remote place than in London and its environs.

His church at Clavering was the Parish Church of St. Mary's and St. Clements. Clavering was about six miles from Saffron Walden, which was the home of Gilbert Harvey. It also was not far from the residence of "Morley's beloved music master William Byrde, at Stondon, Essex. (According to a description of Clavering in 1924 by Miss May Ffythe, in the *Essex Review*, v. 33, the history of Clavering has yet to be written.")

Sometime during his stay with Arbell, "Our Willy" must have made a friend and companion of Anthony Palmer, who was connected with the Seymour family and his uncle Sir Henry Seymour in the Armada fights, and he became his assistant at Clavering. These two men were life-long companions.

"Our Willy" had to pick up his old contacts and arrange with his father or his agents about the publication of his writings and music, which included his music by "Dowland" as well as that of "Morley." (We find that in 1592 he contributed to Este's *Whole Book of Psalms* under his alias of "Dowland.")

"Morley" soon after his being made a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, on July 24, in Greene's place, "he was in Nov. of this same year appointed to the Gospeller's place and waiges." Later in 1597 he served as Epistler."²

The plague which raged in London, beginning in 1592 and lasting until 1594, closed the London theatres and so the plays for the Queen's entertainment were held at one or another of her palaces during this period.

There is a letter from Beauchamp to Sir Rich Shuttleworth, Chief Justice of the County Palatine of Chester, which shows that Beauchamp was helping Hertford in his heavy duties at this time: "The Sheriff of Cheshire, notwithstanding his warrant to the contrary, has made execution of the money and goods of John

²Rimbault, *Check book* pp. 5, 34.

Daniel. Begs a further letter, Daniel having submitted to the order of the writer's father." This was from Cannon Row, London, March 7, 1593.³

The following letter is notable as showing the relationship of Hertford to Richard Knightley, in whose house were the printing presses where some of the Marprelate Pamphlets were printed.

Edward, Earl of Hertford to Lord Burghley

"Asks his interest in procuring the passing of a bill in the Upper House, relating to some lands in Northamptonshire, sold by the writer's brother-in-law, Richard Knightley, to divers persons, but in which the writer's sister Elizabeth, Lady Knightley and her children have some interest, under the awards made in a suit between Sir Richard Knightley and Valentine his son, before Lord Chief Justice Anderson and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer."⁴ The Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer was named Periam.

Another letter of this year is interesting as showing the Queen's attitude regarding the Cavendish-Stanhope feud:

Thos. Phelippes to Wm. Sterrall—Dictates a letter by him to Fitzherbert.

"The Queen here daily bears more and more a bad conceit of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Countess, for the sake of Arbella, which has been evident in a late quarrel between his Lordship and the Stanhopes." (His cousin Fitzherbert is a private prisoner in the Fleet.)

The reason that "Our Willy" was the outstanding creator of aliases was because of his training by Walsingham when a very small boy in Paris. His first appearance as a spy was under the name of "John Dowland" in France (when he served Ambassador Cobham and others, on and off, from 1579 to 1584) where Walsingham had established his extensive spy system for the English government. Walsingham continued his system in England when he became Secretary of State December 20, 1573.

There was no better place to create and establish a fictitious character than in the universities, as Spenser had found out. "Our Willy", as his father called him started the creation of several such

³C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-94, p. 325.

⁴C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-94, p. 332.

aliases long before he really had need for them. Thus, in 1581, he entered Cambridge as Christopher Marlowe, although he was already entered in Oxford at this time under the name of John Smith, who matriculated in 1577. How this was arranged probably will not ever be definitely known, but if we had the records we would undoubtedly find that Walsingham and Burghley arranged it. Marlowe's disguise was simply a limp, reported as having been caused by an injury to his leg when he had been an actor in his youth.

His two brothers, Beauchamp and Thomas Seymour, were already at Cambridge and I think that they decided to attempt prose composition or blank verse. (I think this was mainly due to Thomas who had a thorough dislike for poetry.) Beauchamp wrote under the alias of "Robert Greene," and Thomas under that of "Thomas Nash" as we know. At any rate, they all had a good try at it and although Marlowe really outshone them, Greene and especially Nash were extremely excellent in their efforts.

All during Marlowe's residence at Corpus Christi College, his attendance record was very poor. And no wonder, for if he had to show up at Oxford every once in a while he naturally would be absent often! The universities were not so far apart, about seventy miles cross-country, but probably much further by roads, canals, rivers, etc., and at least one hundred miles by way of London if done on horseback. Riding late and early it could be done in about thirty-six hours with relays of horses. The Thames was navigable up to Oxford and its travel is expedited greatly by the tide, which runs to Teddington. Thus London to Oxford could be managed in one day in 1674.

However great "Marlowe's" handicaps, and the need of the intervention and help of the Privy Council, he managed to obtain his B.A. in 1583, and his M.A. in 1587. During this time he also managed to write his *Tamburlaine the Great*. In the character of Marlowe, "Our Willy" propagated atheistic opinions, and a warrant was issued for his arrest in 1593. This was the result of dispositions made by Thomas Kyd under the influence of torture. "Marlowe" was the personal friend of Raleigh, also of the Earl of Oxford who was of a poetical turn but distinctly of the Catholic faith. It is said that he was also the friend of Robert Hughes, the mathematician; Thomas Herriott, the astronomer; and Matthew Royden.

He wrote on the great questions of astrology and the occult thought of the time, principally practiced by John Dee, and the great movement in the discoveries of the New World, which Shakespeare's works lack, and are found in Marlowe's. His "Mortimer" in *Edward II* was meant for Sir Humphrey Gilbert:

*Weep not for Mortimer
That scorns the world, and as a traveler,
Goes to discover countries yet unknown.*

He also refers to his father *Spenser* as Hugh le Despenser in *Edward II*.

"Marlowe's" career is the hardest of all "Our Willy's" aliases to follow. That his death was a stage or fake death is quite evident from the many stories told of it. There are at least five different versions. Gilbert Harvey referred to him as "dead of the playgue," then raging in London; Aubrey states that Ben Jonson killed him; Meres, 1598, that "Marlowe came to be stabbed to death by a bawdy serving man, a rival of his in his lewde love"; William Vaughan in *Golden Grove*, 1600, ". . . which the unfortunate poet's dagger is thrust into his own eye in prevention of his felonious assault upon an innocent man, his guest." The latest is dated 1925, by Professor J. Leslie Hotson who discovered in Public Record's Office, London, the following from the record of the coroner's jury of sixteen men:

"In May, 1593, he was summoned before the Privy Council, but before the month was out he lay murdered in a Deptford tavern. He had gone thither on May 30 with three companions, Ingram Frizer, Nicholas Skeres, and Robert Poley (undoubtedly the well-known spy called Poly). The four had spent most of the day in the tavern of Eleanor Bull, and in the evening Frizer and Marlowe had begun to quarrel over the payment of the reckoning. Marlowe, in sudden anger, had seized Frizer's dagger and inflicted two wounds on his head: whereupon the latter struggling with Marlowe, had managed to get his dagger and had given Marlowe a mortal wound over his right eye, causing instant death. Frizer was soon pardoned on the ground that he had acted in self-defense, and he survived—a church warden during his last 22 years, until August, 1627."

That these stories were all made up and given some real verisimilitude by a record in the courts, is evidence of how the powerful

spy system worked. The Packe each added to the stories and so these strange and conflicting rumours were spread.

After this faked death "Marlowe's" works were finished by his brother Thomas under his alias of "Thomas Nash," just as Nash had finished up the work of his brother Edward, alias "Robert Greene."

CHAPTER XXV

Hertford Continues to Try to Legalize His Children

FROM the time in 1561 when the marriage of the Earl of Hertford and Catherine Grey had been declared illegal by the Archbishop and Elizabeth's officers, Hertford had continued his efforts to get this opinion rectified. When his boys came of age, or any opportunity offered, he resorted to legal proceedings. Following is a copy of one of these proceedings, in behalf of Thomas Seymour at his coming of age:

"October 1592. Declaration of John Incent, public notary, that on November 1580, at Doctor's Commons, Knight Ryder Street, London, in his and others 'prence, Chris Smith, public notary and proctor of the Court of Arches, exhibited letters procuratory from Thomas Seymour, lawful son of Edward, Earl of Hertford and Lady Katherine his late wife, and by virtue thereof made an appeal to the following effect:—That Thos. Seymour is the legitimate son of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Katherine his late wife, and has been publicly reputed as such; that he is now of age; that Matthew (Parker) late Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund (Grindal) then Bishop of London, Sir William Peter, Chancellor of the Garter, Sir Wm. Cordell, Master of the Rolls, and five other judges and law officers were appointed commissioners to inquire into the said marriage; but that by the cheats and persuasions of John Lewes¹, public notary, they pronounced against the marriage, and therefore declared the said Thomas Seymour illegitimate; against which sentence the said proctor, in behalf of Thos. Seymour, protested before the Queen, and appeals to have it annulled. That Smith declared in presence of Dr. Edward Stanhope and two others, that this appeal was not to interfere with any future appeals and that might be made on his behalf, reciting the patent from Thomas Seymour, appointing Edw. Bigges and Chris Smith his proctors, 20 November, 1580;

¹John Lewes is recorded on the list of Hertford's household servants, 1583, as Jack Lewes. He was evidently a spy for Elizabeth.

that on 22 November, 1581 he reiterated his said appeal before Dr. Aubrey, Edw. Stanhope and Hugh George; and again on 13 November, 1582, 7 November, 1584; 6th October, 1588; and 7 November, 1587."

Certified copy 29 October, 1588. Endorsed, "Thomas Seymour, armiger ab anno 1580 usque 1592." Case E. Eliza. No. 9.

On October 21, 1592 "Declaration that John Theaker, public notary and one of the proctors of the Court of Arches,² showed Dr. Wm. Aubrey, Master of Requests, procuratory letters made by him Thomas Seymour, on account of the death of Chris Smith, former proctor, and made an appeal, as formerly done by Smith 25 November, 1580, and often since. Recital of the said appeal as in the preceding document, and also of the patent of Thomas. Seymour appointing John Theaker, or in his absence Edward Orwell, proctor of the Court of Arches, as his proctor, 8 November, 1591; also attested certificate thereof by Thos. Redman, public notary, before Dr. Wm. Aubrey and four other witnesses. Collated copy taken 10 July, 1593. Latin. Case E. Eliza. No. 10.³

In the years 1593-94 the spies were exceedingly active and as the activities of "Constable" were of considerable interest we give some of their letters:

Confession of Anthony Tyrrell—Coram Richardo Young

. . . "He asked this examine if he knew Mr. Constable and he said very well, and marvelled that he would play such a part, having been so well affected in religion (presumable a Catholic) as he was before both at Hamburgh and in England. And Ferris told him that Mr. Constable spake very broad in maintenance of the Popish religion at a supper in Sir Roger William's chamber, and that fearing lest he should be sent back to England, he took his horses the next morning and rode away, and now he is in great favour with the King (French) as Ferris said, but this examine said his revolt was the cause of his father's death." October 10, 1593.⁴

²The Court of Arches was the ecclesiastical Court of Appeals for the province of Canterbury and took its name from the church of Mary-le-Bow. It was so named from the arches that supported its steeple.

³C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1591-1594. These papers in Case E were evidently the record of Hertford's entire case and may have been those that, upon Dr. Aubrey's death later, caused Hertford's imprisonment and still later that of the Earl of Southampton in James's reign.

⁴H. M. C. Salisbury, IV, 394.

This next document seems to have been the record of conversations between two prisoners in the Tower—Captain Henry Duffield and John Boost, a Jesuit priest—and was probably sent to Robert Cecil by Sir Michael, then Lieutenant of the Tower. Duffield had been sent in by the Lord Admiral, and Boost was considered a notable traitor:

"Monday being the 5th of November after dinner we had some talk and he (Boost) said if his friend Mr. Thombower the Queen's chaplian hold his promise with him he hopes to have some favour and to go to Wisbech and to do as other priests do, remain there. Why, quoth I, is there any hope in that? Aye, quoth he, for Mr. Thornbaroe my friend leans a little and he is upon being made Bishop in Ireland. Aye, quoth I, but he will be un-mindful of you now you are in this place. Nay, marry, said he, for I have promised to horse him as well as ever he was in all his life, and to give him 100 marks to drink beside. And he hath given me his hand and his faith upon it. I told him I was but a plain priest to say mass and mattins and that I was no meddler in matters of State. But, quoth he, I fear when my Lord of Huntingdon comes he will bring much matter against me. Then I joined with him and told him if he had a friend's letter of mine, and one that he did know full well, I was assured it would do him much pleasure. Then he demanded of me the party's name and I told him it was Mr. Cisell, the priest. Why, quoth he, Mr. Robert Cecil inquired earnestly of me for him, for if they had him they would hang him; and quoth he, I told him I know not. But, quoth he, he is sure enough out of their hands, for he is in Scotland, and sometime in England, coming and going. And having good opportunity I demanded of him in what reputation the Lady Arabella was in with the King of *'Cotlande'* or the country there or with the King of Spain; he told me there was small account made of her by reason she was not a Catholic. He told me at our first talking some ten days ago that all the principal gentlemen in the North keep everyone his priest in his own house for "fare of trublinge." After supper we having some talk again he told me that Scotland had looked any time this seven years to join with some one or other to make their party good against England their ancient enemies as they term us. The sixth day we had some talk about the king of Scots, had looked long to make his party strong against us although our Ambassador lie there and give him what

he will desire; for, quoth he, if the King will have "hakes" he shall; if he will have cocks to fight he shall have them, if he will have "hores" he shall, if he want money it is presently sent for from Berwick: so that so soon as he demandeth anything our Ambassador is always ready to furnish him. But not withstanding, quoth he, for all this I have seen him pull forth his left "pape" before 2 or 3 Jesuits and show them a lion that he hath growing thereunder it and say withal, "look here I must have the Tower of London ere it be long for all this," so that he waiteth only for fit opportunity. Then after some talk I demanded of him what was become of my Lady Strange? and he told me he did not know. I was, quoth he, at her marriage and gave three Earls the "Paks" (pack) but I know not what is become of her. Then I told him I was in hope of my liberty and I commended the North country. Well, said he, then shall you come into the best Catholic country that ever you came in, for they are good Catholics. But, quoth I, I am altogether unacquainted there. Why, quoth he, I will acquaint you with as many as you sufficiently, for I will commend you to one Joseph Constable, brother to Sir Henry Constable and he shall acquaint you with as many as you will; for, quoth he, he stands indicted for me, but not withstanding he shall send you to them thereabouts. Then I demanded whether the foresaid Joseph had lost his living or not, and he said no, for that he hath a son and the land is made over to him and to his wife for her jointure. Then I demanded of him how (who) hath the custody of the child, and he said his father keeps him: for, quoth he, if any come to demand him then he is fathered upon my lord of "Shroberye." But, quoth he, his father enjoys the land and keeps the child his son. Then I demanded whether Sir Henry Constable his brother doth favour him or not. Yes, quoth he, but he keeps all as close as may be for fear of being held in suspicion for that he hath married the old Duckes of Fararoe (Duke of Ferrara) wife's sister, so that Sir Henry's wife is aunt to the young Duke that now is. After supper we had some talk and I enquired of him whether there were any liking or good will between the King of Spain and the Lady Arabella or not: and he said he knows not of any. Then he demanded of me if I had heard of a certain book which was come forth the which did touch her, and the old Treasurer and his son. He will at no time use better words when he speaketh of her Majesty's sacred person nor of the right honorable Council

than I writ according to his saying. I told him I never hed heard of any . . . Then I demanded of him what was in the book? and he told me there was an epistle to the Queen how they had made away with all the principal nobility, and demanded of her in it what good the Treasurer and his son could do her with their scribblings if occasion were to defend her and the realm. And quoth he, the King of Spain is brought in there, how many discourtesies he hath sustained at our hands from time to time, and when at any time he hath been procured by his Council to take revenge he would always say, 'have patience, for I love the country and she is but a woman, and if she were dead I would soon be revenged.' Then I demanded of him how I might come by one of these books, and he said it was not possible, Sir Robert Cecil, quoth he, demanded of me whether I did ever see any of them or not, and I told him no. On the 7th day after dinner we had some talk and then I requested him if it were possible to send me word I might have one of those books, and he said he could not for he never saw any but one of them, and that a friend of his had in the North. Quoth he, Sir Robert Cecil demanded of me what new books we had of late come over and I told him I did not know of any; but quoth he, I know his meaning well enough I will tell you, quoth he, that book doth tell the old fellow how many houses of honour he hath pulled down and made away with to set himself and his sons up withal; and the blasing of his arms and how he giveth the wheat sheaf between 2 lions but, quoth he, he should give et ceters. I will not commit to paper the blasphemy that this bad fellow hath told me concerning the book. After supper we had some talk and he bade me be of good comfort, for if we live, quoth he, till the next spring we shall have wars round about us; for quoth he, there was an epistle delivered to the Queen in Latin the which did tell her if she would suffer her subjects to use their consciences that then all the Catholic princes round about her would league with her, if not they would all be her enemies. The 8th day after supper, we had some talk and he demanded of me if I did know one Robin Constable, son to Sir Robert Constable and I told him I did not know him. Why, quoth he, he was awhile up and down in the Court, and quoth he, I have divers times talked with him and he was the rankest heretic that you should talk withal. But I will tell you, quoth he, what is become of him. He went into France with my lord Essex

and when he came there he got him to the other side and became a good Catholic. Therefore, quoth he, a man may see God can call one in the middle of his mischief."⁵ . . .

This was probably sent by Sir Michael Blount to Cecil on November 9, 1593.

I have included this unusual spy record as it has to do with so many of the people with whom we are concerned. It is evident that "Constable" was connected with the Constables living near the estate of the Earl of Shrewsbury; that the man who posed as his father Sir Robert Constable was a brother of Henry the close mouthed individual, and probably had some understanding with "Our Willy."

The remarks about the Ambassador of England supplying everything that King James wished for, shows how even at this early date Elizabeth and Cecil were pampering and indulging James' every whim.

The year 1594 in the public records seems to have been mainly the examinations of various spies. We do find, however some records of "Our Willy's" activities.

Arbella seems to have been at Court for part of this year although the exact dates I cannot discover. Lady Penelope Rich sister of Essex, seems to have also been there, and to have been attractive to "Our Willy."

In 1594 "Dowland" was a humble suitor for place of Queen's musician in place of John Johnson, in the Royal Chapel, but was unsuccessful, as he thought, on account of his religion.

It was also in 1594 that "Our Willy," as I believe, adopted the pen name of Richard Barnfield, under which to publish his "bad angel" poetry. He had evidently fallen under the charms of Penelope and dedicated *The Affectionate Shepherd* to her this year. It is a pastoral, based on the second eclogue of Virgil. (This adds to my suspicion that Lady Rich was the "dark woman" or "bad angel" of the *Sonnets*. If this is so it would account for the misunderstanding or disagreement with Arbella, for when she returned to Hardwick she was under stricter surveillance by her grandmother Bess of Hardwick and later in her writings she tells of her distrust of "Our Willy" for a long time.)

Besides this publication of Richard Barnfield's, *The Tragedy of Dido*, left unfinished by "Marlowe," was finished by "Thomas

⁵H. M. C. Hatfield MSS., XIII, 494.

Nash" and published this year of 1594. Morley published his *Madrigals to Four voices*; and also *A Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John* was published, but I am unable to state the author. It was probably written by one of the Packe.

In the various devices that "Our Willy" used to establish the identities of his aliases, he in the cases of Shakespeare, Dowland, Smith, and Morley seems to have included a wife. We have taken up the case of Anne Hathaway, whom we contend was the wife of the soldier William Shakespeare.

The only record of Dowland's wife is in his spy letter to Cecil which is only a reference to the fact that he had one. In the case of Morley, he seems to have doubled with a Thomas Morley, organist of St. Giles Church, Cripplegate, London, who had a wife named Susan. This was probably fictitious. He lived in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, but his house was in Little St. Helen's Street. W. Barley, the printer and assign of "Thomas Morley," had his printing shop there, as the *Whole Book of Psalmes* was advertized as being printed there—although he sold his books at his later address in Grace Church Street.

These Morley's may have been relatives of one George Morley, Dean of Christ Church, who lived in the Manor of Mildenhall, in the Hundred of Sylkeley, Wiltshire, a part of the award to Hertford by the Masters of Wards and Liveries. Thus the Morley's were near neighbors of the Seymour family. Later this George Morley became the Bishop of Winchester.

We now come to the marriage of John Smith, who was licensed to marry on October 21, 1594. Here is the record:

"John Smythe of Co. Warwick—St. Johns-Matric. 20 December, 1577, age 14. Licensed to marry Frances, October 21, 1594, daughter of William Babbington of Chorley, Cheshire."⁶

Chorley was near Sheffield and probably Anthony Palmer had been stationed there as a spy for the government. I feel sure that this was an arranged marriage for Anthony Palmer instead of Smith. The members of the Babbington family were still suspect and in great disgrace on account of the Babbington Plot and probably Smith took out the license in his name instead of Palmer's to avoid trouble from the authorities. As we have noted, John Smith when he was a young student in 1588 caught the famous Catholic spy, Silvester, and was therefore in high repute with

⁶Foster, *London Marriage Licenses*.

Cecil and the official authorities, while Anthony was almost unknown to them. After Smith's "death" in 1616, Anthony and Frances were officially married. One has only to read some of Shakespeare's plays to learn of his use of these trick marriages.

In December of 1594 "Our Willy" was in London using his legal name of Shakespeare and, along with Kempe and Burbage, he acted before the Queen in two plays at Greenwich for which service they received, upon the Council's Warrant, 131^{lb}. 6s. 8d. and by way of the Queen's favor 61^{lb}. 13s. 4d. in all 201^{lb}.⁷

It must have been at the beginning of 1595 that "John Dowland," "Our Willy" started on his tour to Europe. Undoubtedly he had arranged with his old master William Byrde, Organist of the Queen's Chapel, for an understudy to take his place as "Thomas Morley."

Under date of April 7, 1595, Mich. Williamson, prisoner in the Gatehouse, stated to the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil that, "it is intended to prove bastardy against Arbella." This seems to have been the plot of Sir William Stanley.⁸

It seems that the Earl of Hertford's wife Francis, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil on April 26, 1595—a letter which shows that she still kept up her correspondence with her old French friends:

Francis, Countess of Hertford to Sir Robert Cecil

"Having lately been written unto by an honourable lady in France, Madame d'Angoulême, with whom I was brought up during the time I continued in that country, to desire my friendship unto Her Majesty for the obtaining of a licence to transport eight or ten horses hence into France, thinking I had been still attendant on her Majesty as heretofore; I have made choice of you and your good lady, desiring you both to procure her Highness licence to the same effect.

From Elvetham this 26 April, 1595.⁹

Nicholas Williamson, a prisoner in the Tower (servant to the Earl of Shrewsbury) to Attorney-General (Coke)

. . . King of Spain's titles (to the English throne) . . . "I understood also that forasmuch as the Duke of Brigantia and the Prince of Palma entitled themselves also by Ed. Crookback, as also to Portugal, that the one of them by consent of the other,

⁷Halliwell's Illustrations, 1874.

⁸C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1595-97, p. 29.

⁹H. M. C. Salisbury MSS., v. 186-7.

should offer unto her Majesty to marry with Lady Arbella, and so to become enemy to Spain. But it seemeth a device in the old Prince of Palma, his days, for now Fritz Herbert and Owen, who were thought to have been the contrivers of this before, affirm the Lady Arbella's father, (as I think) a bastard . . . Others said that if Sir Thos. Wilkes had come there had been an offer made of the King of Spain's own son to the Lady Arbella. They seem for the most part to affect the King of Spain's advancement, but Holt and Sir W. Stanley seem plausible to all devices, using the speech: '*They care not who be King, so he be of Clouts if he will be a Catholic.*' Fr. Dacres, G. More, Creighton and all the Scotsmen are for the King of Scots. G. More spake publicly against the book of the King of Spain's title and answered Creighton (in setting forth of the King of Scots' title, and despairing of her Majesty's preferment of him, doubting that her Highness would advance Lady Arbella by some act in her lifetime), that seeing the whole realm had confirmed her Majesty's power by *Act of Parliament* to dispose *according to pleasure after her death of the crown*, her Highness would not disinherit the right heir (whom he termed more than half English) and thereby force him, for the obtaining of his right, to bring strangers into the realm, and so to make it a butchery of such her now most loving subjects, for right will never die nor be lost; and thereupon alleged the statement made both against Queen Mary (Stuart) Majesty, and that Her Highness would never set Lady Arbella up in regard to her Majesty's love of the now Lords of the Council, who, or most of them, were then sure to be displaced. For her Honour's (Arbella) friends by her father's side would then be her chieftest enemies, and her chieftest friends those by her mother's side, the chieftest of whom (naming my lady) the Countess of Shrewsbury, was of so imperious a nature and so conceited against most of the Council—which, he said, he was persuaded was already known to them—that when she (Arbella) should have a ruling hand she would overrule those whom she now least affecteth: with other words to like effect . . . if I should affirm to you how I maintained it to be both a provident and Christian policy for her Majesty not to nominate whom she had in her secret determination appointed next heir . . . And as for my lord Huntingdon, my lord of Hertford or my lord Derby, I could not learn of any friends or favourers they had beyond sea; and so I answered to the first I say also to the second, upon

my uttermost peril, that I know not, any one in England, neither *vir nobilis*, *plebius*, *vir domina qualiscumque*, to plot or practice in any wise for the succession for themselves or any other, or that their practives beyond sea hath any root, support, promise or maintenance any wise or anyone here in England whatsoever . . . as also reporting of it I shall be rather more suspected than credited . . . ”¹⁰

The above report seems to have been Williamson’s report of a meeting of the chief Catholics. The next day, June 22, 1595, Williamson made some interesting confessions in regard to the grand fight the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury had with their neighbors, the Stanhopes, about a weir belonging to Sir Thomas Stanhope, which the Shrewsburys caused to be pulled down.

Williamson said in regard to the quarrel: “My lord commanded me both by letter and messages to pull down Sir Thomas Stanhope’s Park wall of Horseley. My lady would have had me to have fought with Mr. John Stanhope, and if I could by any means have got him in my power to have wholly disfigured him; and because I suffered him, before my departure to ride quietly by my house and down the country, she took a disgust against me, and this can G. Holt—whom I take to be in the Fleet—witness and some others.”¹²

There is an interesting item in a letter which “Lord Hunsdon dates on June 23, 1595, from Southampton as if he were visiting there: ‘Memorandum—On the 10th of July the book about the pretended marriage of the Earl of Hertford and the Lady Katherine, deceased, daughter of the late Duke of Suffolk, was handed over by Heneage to Burleigh.’ ”¹³

I have not been able to locate this book or any other mention of it. It could not have been that of Hales as surely both Henage and Burghley had seen that.

“Our Willy” as I have recorded, had started out to visit the continent under his alias of “John Dowland” around the early part of 1595. We will have a letter later telling of his experiences but now we have one which tells of his being in Florence on July 7, 1595:

¹⁰H. M. C. Salisbury MSS., v. 252-254.

¹²H. M. C. Salisbury MSS., v. 255-56.

¹³H. M. C. Salisbury MSS., v. 233.

John Scudmore, priest to Nicholas Fitzherbert at Rome

"Begg him to show what favour he can to their country man Mr. Douland whose 'exquisiteness upon the lute, and 'cunning in musick' will have come to his ears long ago. Favours may be shown to him safely, though he comes from England; for 'I do assure you in *verbo sacerdotis* that he is no meddler but rather inclined to the good, and only for the fame of *Lucca Emorentiana* and love of musick hath undertaken this voyage.'"

"Florence, 7 July, 1595."¹⁴

I have been unable to find any record of Dowland's visit in Rome, but there is a record of him, under his "Our Willy's" alias of "Constable," being in Rome before August 11, 1595. He must have taken along a double for "Dowland." Most young men traveled with several servants, so he easily could have done so. This notation about "Constable" in under the heading of: "English in Rome," dated August 11, 1595:

"Harry Constable is departed from Rome and gone into France. They, (presumably the Catholics) do not trust him in anything, so I learn by their own speeches."¹⁵

Evidently "Constable" went direct to Paris from Rome as we have a report of him being there September 22, 1595:

Ed Wylton to the Earl of Essex

... "I have met with Harry "Constable" in Paris: hee protesteth love and loyalty to his country-hate to Spayne and all service to your lordship *salva conscientia* he hath a thousand crownes pension of the King. His intelligence good with the Papistes both in England and on this side the seas and I think the advertisement he is willing to give your Lordship in that behalf wilbe nothing offensive. Paris 22 September, 1595."¹⁶

Evidently Essex sent an answer to "Constable" by the hand of some one of Essex's many friends for we have the following letter:

H. Constable to the Earl of Essex

"If Essex held any hard conceit of him supposes that those who guide their affections by his Lordship would not have favoured him as they have done and the courtesies received from this honour-

¹⁴H. M. C. Hatfield Papers, v. 269.

¹⁵H. M. C. Salisbury MSS., v. 313.

¹⁶H. M. C. Salisbury MSS. v. 385-6.

able bearer put him in hope of Essex's favour and of the bearer's furtherance thereof. Embraces this opportunity, therefore, as the fittest to open his heart, protesting that until his departure from England he was more affectionate to him than to any, and that, howbeit contrariety in religion have since forced him to depend on others, yet this was with resistance of his nature.

"Is now resolved to render himself again, with treble increase of devotion, to Essex, as the worthiest prince which this day liveth. Though passionately affectionated to his religion, is not of those which wish the restitution thereof, with the servitude of his country to foreign tyranny and has not omitted as occasion offered, to dissuade his countrymen from violent proceedings, and such as be in authority in the church from approving of them. In which actions, hopes he may be not unprofitable to this country, and by reason of his means to gain credit with his party, he will be better able to do service to Essex, by whom he will be commanded in all things wherein his religion be not prejudiced. Hopes his Lordship will be as willing that he should have some preferment under a King that loves his lordship as that baser persons and worse affected should; if it would please him, if not by direct letters to the King yet by some secondary means, to let it be known that he were not unwilling the writer should receive greater and surer maintenance from him, he would employ his Catholic friends to procure it. Paris—6 of October, 1595."¹⁷

¹⁷H. M. C. Salisbury Papers, v. 403.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Earl of Hertford Again Imprisoned

A letter from Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney dated October 29, 1595, give the following startling news of this misfortune of Hertford's.

"My lord of Hertford was sent for by a messenger, to come up and comytted to his own House. The cawse sayd to be a Record secretly put into the Court of Th' Arches, to prove his first marriage lawfull, and his children Legitimate. Yt was discovered by a Case found amongst Doctor Awbries Papers, by hym studied, with th' opinion of Strangers. Tis sayd he is one of the wealthiest Subjects of England."

Same to same. 5 November, 1595

"Lord Hertford is comytted to the Tower, and, as I heare, 2 Stanhops with him, but not the Courtiers."

Same to same. 12 November, 1595

"I wryt vnto you, that my Lord Hertford was comytted to the Tower, since then yt is given out that by Commandment his sonne shall no more be called Lord Beauchamp, but Seimor, and that he is sent for. And it is credibly said, that My Lady Hertford is become stark madde. The Doctor Stanhope, and Stanhope the lawyer of Graies Inn, that were comytted about the matter as being acquainted with Th' appeale, with divers others are put at Liberty and for a Day or two, Michael Stanhope came not to Court. It is muttered here, that 200 had some inckling in these Causes, which doe trouble 900."

Same to same. 22 November, 1595

"My Lady of Hertford is nowe better than she was, yet Rowland tels me she is very ill."

Same to same. 25 November, 1595

"My Lady of Hartford, who is now more comforted than she was."

Same to same. 25 November, 1595

"The Queen went yesterday to Richmond, my Lady Hartford was at Whitehall, with my Lord Essex, My Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil, very meanly attired. I heard the Queen should say, that her Husband's Life nor Living should be called in Question."¹

In the meantime, Queen Elizabeth wrote a letter to Frances Seymour, her cousin and Hertford's wife, dated November 5, 1595, from Richmond.

"The Queen to 'Good Francke' the Countess of Hertford."

"Understanding your disposition to be troubled with sudden impressions, even in matters of little moment, we do not now forget you in your Lord's misfortune, and therefore have thought it not amiss, even by our own handwriting, (your Ladyship's brother being absent whom otherwise we would have used), to assure you of the continuance of our former grace, and to preserve your spirit from those perturbations, which love to the person offending, and apprehension of the matter so far unexpected, might daily have bred in you. *It is not convenient to acquaint you with all the particular circumstances of his offence, neither would it avail you, who have been ignorant of all the causes;* but to prevent any misapprehension that this crime is in its nature more pernicious and malicious than an *act of lewd and proud contempt against our own direct prohibition*, we have vouchsafed to cause a ticket to be shown you by the bearer, which may recolve you from further doubting what it is not, and satisfy your mind for caring for that which care now remedies not, being a matter both proved by record, and confessed with repentance.

"It is far from our desire to pick out faults in such as he; being slow to rigour towards the meanest, we will use no more severity than is required for other's caution, in like cases, and than shall stand with honour and necessity. Your Ladyship will quickly judge when you understand it, that his offence can have no colour of imputation on you, and you will not be one jot the less esteemed for any fault of his. You are therefore to trust to this assurance, as the voice of that Prince to whose pure and constant mind you are no stranger, and comfort yourself that you have served one who still wishes your good, and cares for the contrary.

¹Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, I, 356-363.



A picture by Bernardi Strozzi (surnamed Il Capuccion and Il Prete Genovese) of the Lute-Player gives a vivid picture of the lute of this period and the dress of its player. Strozzi was born in 1581 and died in 1644. The picture seems to show the Lute-Player as a singer as well as a player. It well may have been a portrait of Luca Marenzio, the greatest lute player in Italy at this period. The picture is now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, but was shown recently in New York's Metropolitan Museum of art.

"For a farewell, you are to observe this rule, that seeing griefs and troubles make haste enough, unsent for, to surprise us, there can be no folly greater than by fearing that which is not, or by over grieving for that which needs not, to overthrow the health of mind and body, which once being lost, the rest of our life is labour and sorrow, a work to God unacceptable, and discomfortable to all our friends."²

This is a copy of the Queen's letter. This letter seems to me to show that the Earl's imprisonment was the Queen's own action and her's alone. She not only was responsible for it but she was thoroughly mad at Hertford's continued effort to establish his son's legitimacy, and his own honor, as well as that of Catherine his beloved wife.

That "Our Willy," traveling abroad, must have had quick news of his father's mishap seems certain, for he soon returns to England.

As John Douland he writes a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, supposedly from "Nurnberge," dated 10 November, 1595, as follows:

"Right honourable, as I have been most bound unto your honour, so I most humbly desire your honour to pardon my boldness and make my choice of your honour to let you understand my bounden duty and desire God's preservation of my most dear Soverign Queen and country, whom I beseech God ever to bless and to confound all their enemies what and whomsoever. Fifteen years since (1580) I was in France, servant Sir Henry Cobham, who was Ambassador for the Queen's Majesty, and lay in Paris, where I fell acquainted with one Smith, a priest, and one Morgan, sometimes of Her Majesty's Chapel, one Verstigin, the poet, who broke out of England being apprehended, and one Moliis, a Welshman, that was our porter, who is at Rome. These men thrust many idle toys into my head of religion, saying 'that the Papists' was the truth and ours in England all false; and, I being but young, their fair words over reached me and I believed with them. Within 2 years after I came into England, where I saw men of that faction condemned and executed, which I thought was great injustice, taking religion for the only cause, and when my best friends would persuade me, I would not believe them.

"Then in time passing one Mr. Johnson died, and I became a humble suitor for his place (thinking myself most worthiest)

²C. S. P. Dom. Eliza., 1595, p. 121.

wherein I found many good and honourable friends that spoke for me, but I saw that I was like to go without it, and that any might have preferment but I. Whereby I began to sound the cause and guessed that my religion was my hindrence; whereupon, my mind being troubled I desired to get beyond the seas, which I durst not attempt without licence from some of the Privy Council, for fear of being taken, and so have extreme punishment. And according as I desired there came a letter to me out of Germany from the Duke of Brunswick whereupon I spoke to your honour and to my lord of Essex, who willingly gave me both your hands (for which I would be glad if there was any service in me that your honours could command).

"When I came to the Duke of Brunswick³ he used me kindly and gave me a rich chain of gold, 23^{lb} in money, with velvet and satin and gold lace to me apparell, with promise that if, I would serve him, he would give me as much as any Prince in the World. From thence I went to the Landgrave of Hessen,⁴ who gave me the greatest welcome that might be for one of my quality, who sent a ring into England to my wife, valued at 20l sterling, and gave me a great standing cup, with a cover gilt, full of dollars, with many offers of my service. From thence I had great desire to see Italy and came to Venice⁵ and from thence to Florence, where I played before the Duke and got great favours: and one evening I was walking upon the piazza in Florence, a gentleman told me that he espied an English priest, and that his name was Skidmore, and son and heir of Sir John Skidmore of the Court. So, I being intended to go to Rome to study with a famous musician named *Luca Marenzio*,⁶ stepped up to this Mr. Skidmore, the priest, and asked him if he were an Englishman, and he told me yea, and whose son he was. And I telling him my name, he was very glad to see me. So I told him I would go to Rome and desired his help for my safety; for, said I, if they shoud mistake me there my fortune were hard, for I have been thrust off of all good fortunes, because

³Duke of Brunswick, a descendant of Henry the Lion.

⁴At the Landgrave of Hessen's he met Alessandro Orologio. The "great standing cup with cover gilt" may have been the same as the one mentioned in Shakespeare's will: "Unto Elizabeth Hall, all my plate except my brod silver and gilt bole." This was probably made by Paul Flint, of Nuremberg, who was the greatest German silversmith of that period.

⁵At Venice Dowland met Giovanni Croce.

⁶The letter that Luca Marenzio wrote to Dowland is printed in Dowland's *First Book of Songs*, 1597, according to Grove's *Dict. of Musicians*.

I am a Catholic, at home; for I heard that her Majesty, being spoke to for me, said I was a man to serve any Prince in the world, but I was an obstinate papist. Whereunto he answered, 'Mr. Dowlande, if it be not so, make her words true.' So, in further talk, we spake of priests, and I told him that I did not think it true that any priests (as we said in England) would kill the Queen, or one go about to touch her finger, and, said I, 'whatsoever my religion be, I will neither meddle nor make with anything there done, so that they do not anything against the Queen.' Whereunto he answered that I spake as a good subject to her Majesty. But, said he, in Rome you shall hear Englishmen, your own countrymen, speak most hardly of her and wholly seek to overthrow her and all England: and those be the Jesuits, said he, who are of the Spanish faction. Moreover, said he, we have many jars with them; and withal wished to God the Queen were a Catholic. And, said he, 'to defend my country against the Spaniards I would come into England and bear a pike on my shoulders.' Among our talk, he told me that he had order to attack diverse English gentlemen, and that he had been three years in England. So I brought him to his lodging door, where he told me that there were 9 priests come from Rome to go to England. He came but the day before to Florence, and, I think, they came all together. He told me that he would stay there in the town and study in an Abbey called *Santa Maria Novella*, and that he must keep in for a month, and that he would write letters to me in Rome, which I should receive very shortly. But I heard not of him in a month after. And then there came two friars to my lodgings, the one was an Englishman named Baylie, a Yorkshireman. The next day after my speech with Skidmore, I dined with my lord Grey, and divers other gentlemen, whom I told of my speech with Skidmore, giving them warning. Whereupon my lord Grey went to Siena and the rest dispersed themselves. Moreover I told my lord Grey, however I was in religion, if I did perceive anything in Rome that either touched Her Majesty or the State of England, I would give notice of it though it were the loss of my life. Which he liked well, and bade me keep that secret. This Friar Baylie, before named, delivered me a letter which I have sent to your honours, which letter I brake open before Mr. Josias Bodly, (probably a relative of the English Ambassador at the Hague, Sir Thomas Bodley) and showed what was written in it to him and divers others. After this, this Friar

Bayly told me he had received letters from Rome to hasten me forward, and told me my discontentment was known at Rome, and that I should have a large pension of the Pope, and that his Holiness and all the Cardinals would make much of me. Thereupon I told him of my wife and children, how to get them to me. Whereunto he told me that I should have acquaintance with such as should bring them over, if she had any willingness, or else they would lose their lives; for there came those into England for such purposes; for quoth he, Mr. Skidmore brought out of England, at his last being there xvij persons, both men and women, for which the Bishop weeps, when he sees him, for joy."

Evidently Dowland interrupted his tale here or it was deleted, for there is no record of his journey to visit Luca Marenzio or to tell of his visit to Rome, but we do find that Constable (his other Catholic alias) did visit Rome during August, 1595, as we have recorded. But we will go on with Dowland's tale as sent to Cecil on November 10, 1595:

"After my departure I called to mind our conference, and got me by myself and wept heartly to see my fortune so hard that I should become servant to the greatest enemy of my prince, country, wife, children and friends, for want. And to make me like themselves, God knoweth I never loved Treason nor Treachery, nor never knew of any, nor never heard any mass in England, which I find is a great abuse of the people, for, on my soul, I understand it not. Wherefore, I have reformed myself to live according to her Majesty's laws, as I was born under her Highness, and that, most humbly, I do crave pardon, protesting if there were any ability in me I would be most ready to make amends.

"At Bolona (this was probably on his return trip) I met i j men, the one named Pierce, an Irishman, the other Dracot. They are gone both to Rome. In Venice I heard an Italian say that he marvelled that King Philip had never a good friend in England, that with his dagger would dispatch the Queen's Majesty; 'but'; said he, 'God suffers her, in the end to give her the greater overthrow.' Right honourable, this have I written that her Majesty may know the villany of these most wicked priests and Jesuits and be ware of them. I thank God I have both forsaken them and their religion, which tendeth to nothing but destruction. Thus I beseech God, night and day, to bless and defend the Queen's Majesty, and to confound all her enemies, and to preserve your honor and all the

rest of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council. I think that Skidmore and the other priests are all in England; Baylie told me that he was gone into France to study the law. At Venice and all along as I come into Germany say (sic) that the King of Spain is making great preparations to come for England, this next summer, where, if it pleased your honour to advise me, by my poor wife, I would most willingly lose my life against them. Most humbly beseeching your honour to pardon my ill writing, and worse inditing, and to think that I desire to serve my Country and hope to hear of your good opinion of me."

Nurnberge, 10 November, 1595.⁷ (Holo. Endorsed with Scudmore's letter to Nicholas Fitzherbert.)

There is an autograph of Dowland preserved in the *Album Amicorum* of Johann Cellaris of Nuremberg, which is now in the British Museum, Add. MS., 27-579. The name is spelled Doland. However, I do not doubt that it is his and was put in the *Album* during his trip to Germany in 1595.

That "Our Willy" was able to get back to London by November 17 is evident by two items of his activities as "Thomas Morley," on that date. The first is in the dedication of his *Canzonetes, 1st Book, Two voices*, published by Thomas Este. The dedication was; "To the Most Vertuous and Gentlie Ladie, The Ladie Periam,"⁸ and read as follows:

"Loe, heere, most worthy Ladie these cansonets of mine like two Wayting Maides, desiring to attend vpon you; destinated by my wife (euen before they were borne) unto your Ladyship's seruice. Not for any great good or bewtie in them shee thought them worthy of you, but that not being able as heeretofor still to serve you, she would that these therefore with their presence should make good and supply hir absence. For her sake then vouchsafe gentle Ladie to entertain them, hauing no other thing to commend them to you for, but this that they are Virgins, neuer yet hauing once been out at doures, nor seane the fashions of the world abroad. And therefore notwithstanding perhaps in the highest degree they shall not satisfie you; yet, if they shall but in any sort content you; I know that their greatest fault you will find

⁷H.M.C. Hatfield MSS., V, 445 et passim.

⁸Wife of Lord Chief Baron Periam of the Exchequer, London. Evidently this was written at the request of Mrs. Morley. She was really wife of Thomas Morley, organist of St. Giles Church, Cripplegate, London, who was doubling for "Our Willy" in his alias of Thomas Morley.

in them shallbe for their smalnesse. And so good Madame, I cease further to trouble; but still to serve and honor you.

"From London, the 17 of November, 1595.

Your Ladyshipes

Euer to commaund

THOMAS MORLEY"

The second item of the activities of "Our Willy" as Morley on November 17, 1595 is as follows:

A Masque was given at an entertainment by the Earl of Essex, in honor of the anniversary of Her Majesty's accession to the throne.

Of this performance nothing but the speeches which were drawn up by Sir Francis Bacon of an 'old hermit, a secretary of State, a brave soldier and an esquire,' have come down to us, with the exception of a brief description contained in a letter from Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney; an extract from which will satisfy us of the personal nature of the piece."

"In the after-supper, before the Queen, the first delivered a wellpenned speech to move this worthy knight (Essex himself) to leave his vaine following of love and to betake himself to heauenly meditation; the Secretary's all tending to make him follow matters of state; the soldiers persuading him to follow the war. But the Squire answered them with an excellent, *but too plaine English*, that this knight should never forsake his mistresse's love, whose vertue made all thoughts divine; whose wisdom taught him all true policy; whose beauty and worth were at all times able to make him fit to command armies. 'The old man was he that in Cambridge plaid Giraldy; *Morley* plaid the Secretary; and he that plaid the Pedantiq was the soldier, and Toby Matthew acted the Squires part.'⁹

"The world makes many untrue constructions of these speeches, comparing the Hermit and the Secretary to two of the Lords; and the soldier to Sir Roger Williams. But the Queen said, '*that if she had thought there had bene so moch said of her, she would not haue bene there that night;*' and so went to bed."¹⁰

As we have noted before the Thomas Morley's lived at St. Helen's Street, Bishopgate, London, in 1595. From this residence in St. Helen's Street is found the further appearance of his name

⁹Nichol's, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*.

¹⁰Collins, *State Papers*, I, 362.

in two *Rolls of Assessments for subsidies*,¹¹ dated 1598 and 1600, in both of which his goods to be taxex were valued at 5^{1b} and the assessment was 13s 4d.

"An interesting point in connection with the earlier of these documents is that the name of *William Shakespeare* occurs in it, his goods being valued at the same amount as were Morley's.

"It appears that he and Morley both appealed against the assessment, and one may suppose that some intercourse existed between the two, especially when it is remembered that of the very little original music in Shakespeare's plays which has survived, Morley composed one if not two songs."

This item is exceedingly interesting to me because it seems to substantiate my contention that "Our Willy" was really unmarried and had at least two aliases who lived at the Morley address from 1595 to at least 1600. That a married man would have his goods assessed at only 5^{1b} even in those days seems another point. That he had to register under each of his aliases shows that he did not take chances in his dangerous spy activities. But he did not expect to have his records so closely scrutinized several hundred years later. It seems remarkable that this is the only error I can find that he committed in his complicated movements with his unusual number of aliases. There may be some I have not found.

There is a letter dated 24 November, 1595.

"Ersfield to the Earl of Essex."

"At my landing in Dieppe I delivered Mr. Smith, "Our Willy," his letter, who for your cause was ready to advise me the surest way to the King. . . ." ¹²

It is evident that the Earl of Essex had sent Ersfield to France in response to Constable's letter of October 5, which being a model spy letter suggested something of this nature.

On 7 December, 1595, "Our Willy" again writes the Earl of Essex from Paris, under his alias of Constable:

"H. Constable to the Earl of Essex:

"Beseeching him to let him know how he stands in his gracious opinion, and what he may do to win or increase it." ¹³

¹¹The Roll is printed in Hunter, *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, (1845) and is discussed fully in Elton, *William Shakespeare, His Family and Friends*, (1904).

¹²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., IV, 545.

¹³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., V, 487. This is an exceedingly abbreviated calendar of this letter. We know from a spy letter that Constable had a pension from the King of France, Hertford's old friend Henry of Navarre.

Hertford is still in the Tower on 24 December, 1595, and we have a letter from the "Archbishop of Canterbury to the Lord Keeper and Lord Buckhurst:

"Sends, according to their request, such examinations in the Earl of Hertford's cause as are in his custody, viz., of the Earl of Hertford himself, of Hugh George, John Theaker, Edward Stanhop, esq. Edward Stanhop, Dr. of Law, Thomas and Richard Wheeler, Roland Towers, Pater Tethrington, Henry Ironmonger, Silvester Hulett, John Drake, and Thomas Redman.

From Lambeth 24, December, 1595."¹⁴

There is in the Longleat Library "A fragment from *Titus Andronicus*, said to be in Henry Peacham's hand. It begins with the passage in Act. I, Scene 2—

" 'Enter Tamora pleading for her sons' "—" 'Stay Romane brethren gracious conquerors' "—down to—

" 'Thrice follows with these lines (of which only the three first words now stand in the scene.)

" 'Patience yourself Madame for dy he must
Aaron do you likewise prepare yourself,
And now at last repent your wicked life.' "

After which comes Aaron's speech, now in the 5th act

" 'Ah now I curse the day and yet I thinke.' "—down to

" 'For that I cannot doe ten thousand more.' "

"The wording is identical with that of the First Folio. Above the writing, in the same brown ink, is a pen and ink sketch of the scene—Tamora kneeling before Titus with her sons kneeling behind her, two warriors standing behind Titus and in the foreground is a black man with a long sword, who looks like an executioner, but is perhaps, Aaron the Moor."¹⁵

Signed Henricus Peacham Anno Mo qo qo

Old Endorsement. "Henrye Peacham's hande 1595"

Titus Andronicus was first published in 1594.

An interesting complaint by the King of Spain against Hertford is registered in an overlooked note of 1575, but recorded in an 1583 Addenda. It reads:

"King of Spain: Complaints of English Piracies.

"It is known that a negro was in possession of Juan Baptiste de

¹⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., V, 507.

¹⁵H.M.C. Bath MS., II, 43.

Sanct Victores—and the Earl of Hertford held another, from which it may be known that he was a pirate. . . .”¹⁶ If this report is true perhaps “Our Willy”, although then only 12 years of age had obtained a fine impression of a real Moor.

Sometime during 1595, Thomas Morley dedicated a book to Sir Robert Cecil. It was, “*Cantus: of Thomas Morley, First book of Balletts* to five voices. Pub. by Este, London, 1595.”

Sometime during the year 1595 Spenser’s *Amorretti and Epithalamion* were printed together, the first consisting of eighty-eight sonnets written to Catherine Grey, and the second, a splendid hymn in celebration of his marriage to her, which we have noticed before. *Epithalamion* is a Greek word and means “upon the bride’s chamber.”

¹⁶“1575 C.S.P. Foreign, Spanish, 1583 Addenda. 501”

CHAPTER XXVII

Spencer's Activities

ACCORDING to most authorities, Spenser drew up his *View of the Present State of Ireland* this year of 1596. He was supposed to be staying in Essex's house; but if my theory of his identity is right, he was in the Tower, as Hertford, receiving punishment from Queen Elizabeth, and to conceal that fact he was supposed to be in Essex's house. "A copy of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*, was significantly found among the papers of Greene, Essex's secretary."¹ That his imprisonment was no barrier to the continuation of his writings is sure, for he also wrote *Prothalamion* at this time. He also was able to have a second installment of three more books of the *Faerie Queene* and *Foure Hymns* published.

*'When I whom sullein care,
Through discontent of my long fruitlesse stay
In Princes Court, and expectations vayne
Of idle hopes, which still do fly away,
Like empty shaddowes, did afflict my brayne,
Walkt forth to ease my payne
Along the shoare of siluer Streaming Themmes.'*

It is evident that when he wrote his first stanza of *Prothalamion*: he was thinking of his long and unsuccessful effort to have his first marriage to Catherine legalized and his children made legitimate, which effort had landed him in the Tower. Certainly his failure had placed him here, "Along the shoare of siluer streaming Thammes."

Sometime during 1596, Sir Edmund Spenser died. He must have been the father of Sir John Spenser, and also of the Edmund Spenser whose name Hertford took for his alias and whose portrait is supposedly of poet Edmund Spenser. However, this Edmund Spenser died in 1559, as a copy of the portrait will show.

¹Bennett, *State Papers*, XXXVII, 182. Heffner, *Modern Language Quarterly*, Note 11, III, 509.

There is a strange and confirmatory record, which supports my theories as to some of "Our Willy's" aliases, in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, published by the Shakespeare Society (v.4, supplement 4 and 5). It is found in the curious play *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, to which is appended the Latin play of *Richard Tertius* by Dr. Thomas Legge—with an introduction and notes by Barron Field, Esq. In the Latin play the names of the actors are given. It was evidently given in Scotland as Mr. Hudson, King James' servant, is included in the list of actors. The list is here presented:

- "Mr. Palmar—acted as Richard dux Glocest.
(Co-vicar at Clavering)
Mr. Smith—acted as Hospes (host) 3rd Act.
("Our Willy")
Mr. Palmer—acted as Richard Rex.
(Co-vicar at Clavering)
Mr. Sedwick—acted as Muntius Primus.
Mr. Hudson—acted as Stanleius, Pope's envoy.
Mr. Constable—Gent—acted as Filius Stanlei Dominus.
("Our Willy")

Evidently "Our Willy", as Smith and as Constable, and envoy of the Pope to James VI, together with his companion Anthony Palmer were willing to entertain the Court of the King with a Latin play. The Scotch could understand Latin better than they could Court English and so Dr. Legge's play was given. ("Our Willy's" other alias, Mr. Smith, was an example of how he used his various aliases in a case like this where he had only to assume another character and make-up.)

The editor of these Dodsley's *Old plays* carefully remarks, that both *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third* and *Richard Tertius* are anterior to Shakespeare's drama of *The Life and Death of Richard the Third*. "This work of Dr. Legge, who was master of Caius college, Cambridge, is preserved in a number of manuscripts. It was acted at St. John's College in the spring of 1580."

Robert Greene (Beauchamp) took his B.A. at St. John's in 1578, and was still in residence at Cambridge when the play was produced. "Our Willy" under his alias of Marlowe, entered Corpus Christi college of the university in the following year, and young Thomas Seymour (Nash) was also there. "Our Willy" following

his father Spenser's footsteps, entered St. John's under the name of Thomas Morley, attending two colleges at Cambridge at the same time. There is little doubt that Legge's drama was known to them all.

If further information regarding this drama of Legge's and that of William Shakespeare is desired, it can be found in "University Plays" in the Cambridge *History of English Literature* (IV, 339) by F. S. Noas.

Shakespeare's *Richard the Third* was published in 1594, according to recent authorities, and so the date of this play given before the King of Scots may have been earlier or later, as "Constable" made several visits to this Court for the Pope. The record seems to put it in 1596, but it may have been in 1599.

Hertford is released from the Tower

"The Queen to the Lord Keeper and Lord Buckhurst. 3 January, 1597 os.

"The Earl of Hertford was lately committed prisoner to the Tower, under just cause of displeasure, but having submitted and acknowledged his offence, we are disposed to show him compassion. We authorize you to release him, and commit him to the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury till our further pleasure. (Draft)""

John Whitgift, (1530-1604), Archbishop of Canterbury, has entered our story before under the name of the Bishop of Worcester, who demanded a huge bond from young William Shakespeare, *Soldier*, for the marriage licence for him to marry Anne Hathway. He came from a middle-class family of Yorkshire, the son of a merchant of Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire. Macaulay describes him "a narrow, mean, tyrannical priest, who gained power, by servility and adulation." He was High Church and treated Puritans with intolerance. He became Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth in 1583. He went about attended by 800 horsemen and was loved by the Queen. He died in 1604 after placing the crown on the head of James I the year before.

The Queen certainly took revenge upon Hertford through his pocketbook, for we have this record of the amount: "April 22, 1597. Warrant for installing a debt of 2,500^{lb}, due to the Queen by Edward, Earl of Hertford, to be paid 500^{lb} in 60 days and then 500^{lb} half yearly.""³ (Docquet).

²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., V, 15.

³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1595-97.

"Our Willy" under his legal name of William Shakespeare, purchased New Place at Stratford, probably expecting to obtain some of the money from his father the Earl of Hertford, so when Elizabeth clamped this fine on him, although very rich he could not get money enough quickly to pay the Queen and give his beloved "Our Willy" the purchase price of the new Stratford place.

We find in the records this item: "Fine on Purchase of New Place."⁴

William Rowe, on the authority of Sir William D'Avenant stated in his *Life of Shakespeare*, "that Southampton on one occasion gave Shakespeare a present of 1,000^{lb} to complete a purchase."

If this story is true it must have been during this year of 1597.

It will be necessary here to establish the relationship between "Our Willy" and the third Earl of Southampton, which is rather complicated but still in the range of kindred.

Catherine Grey had at least five uncles, most of them attainted or beheaded by Henry VIII or Queen Mary, except her uncle Sir John Grey. He, as we have related, was saved by his wife Mary Browne (I) who was so kind to Catherine Grey at Pirgo.

Mary Browne (I) was the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, and a sister of Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Sackville. Their daughter in turn (Mary Browne II) married the second Earl of Southampton and bore him a son, Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton and friend of Shakespeare.

Thus through their mother, Catherine Grey, the Seymour boys were related to these Browne women, who were more closely related to Southampton. They were also related through the Fair Geraldine, who was a great-aunt to the Seymour boys, being the daughter of their attainted great-uncle Thomas Grey. She was also step-grandmother of Mary Browne (II), the mother of young Southampton. This Mary Browne's sister married the Earl of Arundel.

These young men had also been thrown together when they were youngsters, as the Earl of Hertford, their father was brother-in-law to the Lord Admiral, guardian for a time of the young Earl of Southampton. Thus it would not be remarkable for William

⁴C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1595-1597.

Shakespeare to dedicate his *Venus and Adonis* and his *Lucrece*, printed in 1593 and 1594 respectively, to Southampton.

As I reconstruct the years of the bad time of the *Sonnets*, when Shakespeare was struggling between the "bad angel and his good angel," it must have been between the years 1594-1595 when "Our Willy" finally left the Court to go abroad as *John Dowland*, his musical Catholic alias.

While we are on the subject of Shakespeare, we will consider Spenser's compliment to him in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again* (1594):

*And there, though last not least, is Aetion;
A gentler Shepheard may no where be found;
Whose muse full of high thought's invention
Doth, like himself, heroically sound.*

This naming of Shakespeare, supposedly, as Aetion is interesting, as Aetion was the hunter in Diana's service in Greek mythology. Now "Our Willy" as Constable, had just published his book of sonnets *Diana* (1592). Of course Spenser knew he was using the alias of Constable.

To go back to the relationship of the Seymour boys. Thomas, using his alias of Thomas Nash, dedicated his prose tale *The Unfortunate Traveler, or the Life of Jacke Wilton* to the Earl of Southampton. It brings in the love of the Earl of Surrey for the Fair Geraldine, their mutual relative.

There is an interesting spy letter from:

"Thomas North to the Earl of Essex; dated July 26, 1597, Munich.

. . . "I went to Munich, the chief city of the Duke of Bavaria. In his Court I met with the Marquis Havery, the Spanish Ambassador for the Low Countries. He persuaded me to go into the Netherlands and leave my journey for Spain. I answered, so as he was satisfied and seemed glad of my mind, for I shewed him letters of great credit which *Dr. Turner* and one Pitts, English priests, had procured for me from the Pope's legate, unto the King of Spain . . . This doctor Turner and the Spanish legate have had conference with me touching Mistress Arabella, how beautiful, how virtuous and how inclined; yea, they seem how some plot may be laid for her conveyance out of England. Therein I answered their humours."⁵

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury, Addenda, XIV, 17-18.

This mention of Dr. Turner as a priest in the interest of the King of Spain is most important. This Dr. Turner seems to have been the Dr. Peter Turner who was Raleigh's physician in 1606. He evidently got a letter to Raleigh Gilbert from Sir Walter and went with the ship *Gift of God* along with the *Mary and John* in the first effort of the Second Colony of Virginia to establish itself on the Kennebec River, popularly called the Popham Colony. This was in 1607, under the Charter of James VI, 1606. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his account of the return of the *Mary and John*, speaks as if he did not know him but said he was the colonists' doctor, come over to solicit (funds for the colonists.) These Turners were poisoners, and Mrs. Turner was later connected with the Overbury poisoning case in the Tower, 1613.

That "Our Willy" as John Smith was operating as a spy in Stratford and was evidently in a tight place so that he had to resort to the strange tactics shown in the following letter, which shows how spies had to act quickly and sometimes openly to gain the attention of their patrons.

"Sir Thomas Lucy and W. Combe to Sir Robert Cecil"

"In accordance with her Majesty's commandment that we should send for one *John Smith* of Stratford-upon-Avon, a tenant to Sir George Carew, who soweth 'oade' of Sir George his inheritance, contrary to her Majesty's commandment, and upon examination of the cause to take such orders as shall be convenient; we did send for him, who confesseth his sowing of 'oade' and justifieth the same by a licence granted by two of her Majesty's guard, and would not be persuaded to forbear to sow 'oade' there, by us, choosing rather to be bound to answer the same before you, promising to satisfy you therein. Therefore we did bind him to appear before you accordingly."⁶ (From Warwick, 12 October, 1597.)

'Oade' was a forbidden crop as long ago as 1585.

As "Our Willy" knew well both of these men, he probably did not want to be questioned too much by them; also he may have been in a great hurry to go abroad, as we find him under his alias of Constable in Paris, 21 October, 1597, but our letter stating that he resided in Paris may have been speaking of his usual residence.

"In October, 1597, he (Constable) had definitely thrown in

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury, VII, 249.

his lot with the French government: 'one Constable, a fine portical wit, who resides in Paris' wrote an English agent, Leige (21 October, 1597) 'has in his head a plot to draw the Queen to be a Catholic.' A few months later Constable wrote to Essex' that he was endeavoring to detach English Catholics from their unpatriotic dependence on Spain.'"

In one authority I find that Constable had, like Dowland in 1595, taken a "long pilgrimage to Rome, Poland and the Low Countries." This confirms my idea that he changed his alias from Dowland to Constable to finish the trip taken as Dowland in 1595, as reported to Sir Robert Cecil in his letter of 10 November, of that year.⁷

During the year 1597 Morley published *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*. In his character of Morley, "Our Willy" assumed a chatty style in his works. In the *Introduction* to this book he alludes to his ill health: "My health since you saw me hath beene so bad, as if it had beene the pleasure of him who may (makes) all things to have taken me out of this world. I should have been very well contented; and have wished it more than once," and he speaks also of the "solitarie life which I lead (being compelled to keep at home)" as a reason for his undertaking this work. He was then living at St. Helen's Street. Also in the *Introduction* he says: "as never having thought it a greater sacriledge to spurne against the Image of a Saint then to take the two perfect cordes of one kinde together."

I understand that this volume is still considered a valuable treatise on music.

In 1597 John Owen dedicated the fourth edition of his *Epigrammes* to Arbell, and probably caused Shakespeare to write his jealous sonnets. However, we do not know this, as it might have been Michael Cavendish, or another admirer, John Wilbye.

Sir Robert Cecil's wife died in January of 1597. He then married a sister of Frances Howard, the infamous Lady Essex, later the wife of the Viscount Rochester. This we will consider much later.

The year 1598 brought death to several of the personages of our story. On May 11, Frances Howard, Countess of Hertford, devoted wife of the Earl of Hertford, died at the age of forty-four years. Probably the action of the Queen in imprisoning her hus-

⁷Encyclopedia Britannica, 9th ed.

band in 1596 assisted her decline and death. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, where the Earl erected a tomb to her in St. Edmunds Chapel. He had also before this erected a tomb to his mother, Countess of Somerset, in Westminster and another there also to his beloved sister Jane Seymour. He was a great tomb and monument erector.

Philip II of Spain died this year as well as Cardinal Allen, so the Society for the Preservation of Her Majesty and the State lost two of its most stalwart enemies in Spain.

"On 4 August, 1598, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley died." Thomas Sackville took his place as Treasurer of England.

"The register of St. Martin's at Stanford says, 'William Cecil, Lord Burleigh (was there) buried xxix August, 1598.' In Holland's *Heroeologia Anglicana*, after an account of his death, it is said '*cujus exequiae magno apparatu and tant viro dignissimae, hic (West Monasterio) sont celebratae die xxlx ejusdem mensis (Augustio) corpusque in hac ecclesia sex dies requievit, Standfordia, in ecclesiam S. Martini translatum fuit.* So that it seems his funeral was celebrated on one and the same day, both at Westminster Abbey and at Stanford. Whence arises the question. Where then was his corps on the said xxlx day of August? At Stanford it seems to be, since the parish register tells us, he was buried on the same xxlx day of August. An empty coffin appears to have been left in state at Westminster while his body was secretly carried to Stanford for enterment in a vault."⁸ We are recording this fact so that when we come to the burial of some of the personages in our story, their strange burials will not be wondered at, as there seem to have been similar burials of this kind later of which no record was made; namely, Spenser's and Shakespeare's.

Early in 1598, there was a rumour that Sir William Hervey had married the Comtesse of Southampton, as expressed in a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton at Ostend:

"Other newes her goes very lowe, only Sir William Hervey is saide to have married the Comtesse of Southampton."⁹

On 19 September, 1598, the Earl of Southampton married, without the consent of Queen Elizabeth, Mistress Vernon who was a cousin of Essex.

"The Earl of Southampton long marred his prospects of the

⁸C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1569-1601.

⁹Camden Soc. Pub., VII, 11-12.

royal favour with his 'too much familiarity courting the fair Mistress Vernon,' and, when married, both bride and bridegroom felt the severity of the Queen's resentment in a long imprisonment."¹⁰

"Essex asks Lord Henry Howard to find out if the Earl of Southampton's mother (Mary Browne II) is married or when she intends to get married." Lord Howard writes Essex at length: "In the end she said that Sir William Hervey would speak with her son before the marriage (if she forbade it not), but whether that fell out or not yet he should speak with you whom he honoured."¹¹

¹⁰Sidney Papers, I, 348.

¹¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., VIII, 371-373.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Morley and Music

SOMETIME before July, 1598, "Shakespeare" under his alias of Thomas Morley applied to Robert Cecil for a patent for a license "to print set-song-books, in English, Latin, French, Italian or other language, to be sung or played in church or chamber, and to print ruled paper for printing or pricking songs." It seems that the Attorney General took exception to some wording of the license and we have the following letter from Morley to Robert Cecil explaining it:

Thomas Morley to Robert Cecil.

"My humble suit is that you would favour me once again in the allowance of your warrant to Mr. Attorney General for the inserting of the words which he hath taken exception at by reason of his mistaking them, for almost there is words near to the same purpose already, which are these, 'or any otherwise to be sung or played.' Now may it please your Honour, the words are these, 'all, every and any music.' But for ruled paper to serve for music except it may please you to allow the words in your warrant also, it will be little worth, and the rather because there is many devices by hand to prejudice the press, in the printing of songs upon my credit I can avouch it, for such things as I had imprinted of mine own works I have had so small benefit of them, that the books I dedicated to your Honour, the bounteous reward of your Honour to me was more worth to me than any book or books whatsoever, for which and for your good acceptance of them I most humbly thank you, to allow a warrant to Mr. Attorney or Mr. Solicitor, which by my experience I know without them, words will be of so small value as nor worth twenty nobles a year.

If it please your Honour to favour me in this her Majesty's favourable and gracious grant toward me, your servant Mr. Heyborne, Mr. Fernando's brother shall receive the one half of the

benefit what soever for the term of years granted.¹ (Undated. Endorsed 23 July, 1598.)

This "Licence to Thos. Morley, gentleman of the Chapel, for 21 years, (1619), to print set-song-books, in English, Latin, French, Italian, or other language, to be sung or played in church or chamber, and to print ruled paper for printing or pricking songs. With forfeiture of 10th to to every person offending against the grant was issued September 11, 1598."²

Shakespeare in his *Merchant of Venice* (Act. v, Sc. 1.) has the following to say of the love of music:

*The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus:
Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music.*

"Not all of those who care nothing for music are 'fit for treason, stratagems and spoils,' for there is a very respectable list of notables who were tone-deaf."³

"Closely akin to the Shakespearian line, is that quoted by Morley (1598): he say's 'I ever held this sentence of the poet as a canon of my creed—That whom God loveth not, they love not Music.'"⁴

A letter to Essex from France is headed "French advertisement" and dated September 19, from Du Petit Village and as it connects Essex and Constable we give it:

"Votre agant frequente fort homme nomme Mre Conestable, anglois, lequel est un double traître, car c'est luy fait tenir toutes lettres par un poste nomme Jean Symonds qui viennest des Jesuits et autres mesahants en Angleterre.

"Ce double villain de Jean Symonds recontrant en Paris un autre poste nomme le Vacandarie que vint de London, dict on dict (Symonds que *Monsr. le Comte d'Essex* deboroit a son depart retourner en Court. Ledict Symonds entendant telles parolles, dict, qu'il ne fairoit pourtant sa paix avec sa Majestie comme l'on estime, mais ce dict ce marrauld il vouldroit avoir faise monderier, qu'il ent fait sa paix, et telles parolles entendit l'autre poste nomme

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., VIII, 273.

²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1598-1601, p 94.

³Elson, *Shakespeare in Music*, p. 156 (Note 1)

⁴*Ibid.* (Note 2)

le Vacandaire, tellement que la Comte le deboroit faire pendre comme un arche villain."⁵

"Endorsed by Essex's secretary."

It was during this year, 22 September, 1598, that Jonson fought a duel with one Gabriel Spencer, a fellow actor, and killed him. Arrested on a charge of felony, he, according to the official records, pleaded guilty.⁶ He escaped the gallows by benefit of clergy, but underwent a brief imprisonment, in the course of which, he adopted "on trust the Catholic faith to abjure it, on conviction, twelve years later."

There is an interesting letter, which deals with the Court of Wards which we give:

Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton.

Dated London, 20 October, 1598, "The Court of Wards sits not, for want of a master; and, though the Earle of Essex be alone in election, yet there is still some rub in his way that he comes not on. Some say the Queen means to dissolve that Court, and instead thereof to raise a yearly contribution out of all landes in *capite* or knight service, which wold be more for her profit and lesse grevance to the subject, but this is too good to be true. Others say he may have it if he will, but because there is a course off to geld and curtail it, he refuseth to accept it unless he may have it whole and unmaimed; and others say he findes some scruple in the strictness of the oathe, and wonders how the late Lord Treasurer could dispense so easilie and so largely with it and his conscience. But this were somewhat too pure and maidenlike or rather *inutilis verecundia*."⁷

I do not know what this oath was, nor how strict, but certain it is that Burghley did not disclose the bastardizing of the Earl of Hertford's youngest son, William Shakespeare, to anyone, not even his son Robert.

Entertaining, but full of gossip and rumours which I have tried to avoid, Lytton Strachey in his *Elizabeth and Essex* tells of Essex "keeping himself warm at Court and philandering with the ladies during the winter months of 1598." But these scandalous rumours are just that and do entertain, even if they are doubtful. We find him busy with many affairs of state and other activities and as

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., VIII, 351.

⁶National Biographical Dictionary.

⁷Camden Soc. Pub., I, 23.

most of our personages loved and trusted him, it will take more than scandal of this kind to prejudice his memory in this study. Scandalous rumors, however, do appeal to the ordinary mind and help to sell a book.

Another letter of "Our Willy" as Constable is interesting as it seems to solve the mystery as to who was "*his friend Maister R.L.*" to whom he dedicated his sonnet written under the pen name of Richard Barnfield. The sonnet follows:

*To his friend Maister R.L., in praise of Musique and Poetrie
If Musique and Sweet Poetrie agree,
As they must needes (the Sister and the Brother),
Then must the love be great, twixt thee and me,
Because thou lov'st the one, and I the other.
Dowland to thee is deare; whose heavenly touch
Upon the Lute, doeth ravish humaine sense;
Spenser to mee; whose deepe Conceit is such,
As passing all conceit, needs no defence.
Thou lov'st to heare the sweet melodious sound,
That Phoebus Lute (the Queen of Musique) makes:
When as himselfe to singing he betakes
One God is God of Both (as Poets faigne),
One Knight loves Both, and Both in thee remaine.*

Now we give the letter that suggests Mr. Ralph Lawson of Grey's Inn, as "Maister R.L." of the sonnet (This sonnet is also found in the *Passionate Pilgrim*):

"Henry Constable to Edward Reynolds.

"On the subject of negotiations for a lease of a tenement desired for Mr. Ralph Lawson of Grey's Inn, who had been tenant of it, from one Mr. Calverlt, to whom the Earl of Essex has written on Mr. Lawson's behalf. 8 December, 1598."⁸

"Our Willy" as Musician

That "Our Willy" under his various musical aliases created as much confusion in the musical world as he did as Shakespeare in the literary field is increasingly evident as I follow him along.

His alias as Thomas Morley seems to have included among his characteristics that of gossip about his other aliases and their doings. Thus we have the only record of his alias of Alfonso

⁸H.M.C. Salisbury, VIII, 482.

Ferrabosco, and gossip of his activities in the early days when he and Byrd were working together:

“‘For judgment and depth of skill,’ says Peacham in 1622 ‘he was inferior to none: what he did was most eleborate and profound, and pleasing enough in Aire, though Master Thomas Morley answereth him otherwise. That of his *I saw my Ladee Weeping* and the *Nightengale* (upon which Dittie Master Bird and he in friendly aemulation exercised their invention) cannot be bettered for sweetness of Aire or depth of judgement.”

Morley tells us of another ‘vertuous contention between him and Byrd, made upon the plaine song *Misrere*, which contention of theirs (specially without envie) caused them both to become excellent in that kinde, and winne such a name and gaine such credit, as will never perish so long as Music endureth.’

“The results of this contention, in which each composer set the plain-song in forty different ways, were printed by East in 1603, under the title of ‘*Medulla Music*.’ No copy of it, however, is now known to exist . . . Works published abroad . . . Many of Ferrabosco’s Madrigals found their way into English collections . . . Five are in Morley’s Collection of 1598. Many of these are taken from the two Sets of 1587 . . .

“‘At man’s estate he became an excellent composer for instrumental music,’ says Anthony Wood. ‘He was most excellent at the Lyra Viol, and was one of the first that set lessons Lyraway to the Viol, in imitation of the old English Lute and Bandora. The most famous man in all the world for Frantazias of 5 or 6 parts.’”⁹

It seems that “Our Willy” as Thomas Morley, while still quite young, studied with Alfonso Ferrabosco, the great Italian musician living in London. Ferrabosco called Shakespeare “son,” and so gave him his alias of Alfonso Ferrabosco, the second. We will continue with the music of Ferrabosco later, when he wrote the masque-music for Ben Jonson. As Morley published his book of *Madrigals to fve voyces, collected out of the best approved Italian authors* in 1598, I have not been able to find out if his contributions under the alias of Ferrabosco appeared in it; nor do I know its publisher.

On November 11, 1598, Dowland was appointed lutenist to Christian IV of Denmark at the very large salary of 500 dollars per annum—a sum that rivaled the salary of the high officers of

⁹Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*—Ferrabosco.

the state.¹⁰ (Sir Edward Dyer, Hertford's friend, was English Ambassador there.) This post had probably been arranged by "Our Willy" when he, in his alias of Constable, visited the court of James VI of Scotland, whose wife was the Princess Anne of Denmark, daughter of the King of Denmark.

Byrd and Tallis had had a patent for printing and selling music and music paper which in 1588, Tallis having died, Byrd assigned to East. Morley, after his patent was granted, assigned it also to Thomas East, and later to William Barley. Barley had his printing shop at Little Saint Helen's Street, the same street on which was the residence of Thomas Morley, but Barley sold his books at his shop in Gracious Street.

Spenser's Death

During the end of 1598, Spenser's substitute or double was in Ireland, probably Hertford's half-brother John, or his own brother Sir Henry Seymour. He had returned to Ireland in 1597, "depressed both in mind and health," so the story goes, "where his castle of Kilcolman was burnt in 1598 on a sudden insurrection of the natives, chiefly the O'Neill's under the Earl of Desmond; on which, with his wife and four children, he was compelled to flee for refuge to Cork." "The lost books of the *Faerie Queene* were supposed to have been burned in the Castle."

He is supposed to have returned to London "with a dispatch, dated 9 December, 1598." His death is recorded on 16 January, 1599. Jonson spread "the legend 'that he died in want of bread,' in King Street, Westminster, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey, the expenses of the funeral being borne by the Earl of Essex."

Now King Street was quite near the then residences of the Earls of Hertford and Essex, at Cannon Row and Essex House, both in Westminster. I believe that a stage or fake death of Spenser was arranged by Hertford, his sons and personal friends including Essex. That this fake death was a welcome event for Hertford is evident. His great enemy, Lord Burghley, who had penetrated his alias and who not only disliked Hertford intensely but disliked the poetry of Spenser and his fellows, had died shortly before. Also Hertford's wife Frances had died; and probably his double in Ireland was anxious to get rid of his chore of impersonating Spenser.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

I believe that the grave of Spenser was opened rather recently to recover some poems dedicated to him and thrown into the grave when he was buried, but that no sign of bones or relics of his body were found.

At any rate, we have the record of the burial of Lord Burghley in Westminster Abbey to show that it was possible to bury an empty coffin in the great Abbey and take the corpse away to a family vault.

If Sir Henry Seymour, whose alias I am sure was Thomas Lodge, was acting as Spenser's double in Ireland he was starting out on a new voyage in this year, as Thomas Churchyard (Spenser's "Old Palaemon that sung so long until quite hoarse he grew") dedicated a book to "The right Honourable, the Lord Harry Seamer, second sonne to the last Duke of Somerset", called *The Fortunate Farewell*. So Sir Henry Seymour was in London at this time. I am inclined, however, to the belief that the double for Ireland was Lord John Seymour, Hertford's half-brother.

Thomas Morley published his *First Booke of Consort Lessons*, "made by divers exquisite authors for 6 instruments." It was published by William Barley. Evidently this was Morley's first effort at ensemble playing. Deems Taylor's *Dict. of Music* calls it "a curious treatise on ensemble playing."

Dowland contributed a Sonnet that appeared this year in Richard Allison's *Psalms*.

We have very little to record of "Our Willy's" activities during this year of 1599. One item seems to show that he was still in the secret service of England: "On June 13, Francis Barney a Catholic spy made a confession which gives a list of Jesuit priests, probably English, and students in the College at Rome, dated June 13, 1599. Included in the list of Lay Brothers are the names of *Mr. Smith* and *Mr. Palmer*." Evidently he and his companion vicar of Clavering visited Rome early in this year, to discover the Catholic or Jesuit activities against England.¹¹

On 28 June, 1599, there was a "Great encounter between Sir Chas. Cavendish and John Stanhope."¹²

The year 1599 saw the opening of the Globe theatre in which Shakespeare acquired a share. Also in this year John Shakespeare was granted his Coat of Arms. From some records it is said to be-

¹¹H.M.C. Hatfield Papers, IX, 203.

¹²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1598-1601, pp. 222-223.

long to the Fillongley line of Shakespeares. "Or, on a bend sable, a Tilting spear of the field". His or William's motto was supposed to be, "*Non-sans Droit.*"

"An English priest writing from Rome says that the Spanish Ambassador had heard from France that the Queen (Elizabeth) will give Arabella in marriage to the French King and declare him her successor; but the French here say their King has taken another mistress, Mlle. d'Entragues, and has promised to marry her if she have a son."

Another letter from the same source says: "The news that I gave you before, sent in cipher in great secrecy, is now in the Roman Gazetter, viz., that the marriage treaty between the French King and the great Duke (of Tuscany) cools, for the Queen of England has promised him a near cousin of her own, who she loves much, and whom she intends to make her heir and successor."¹³ It is supposed that this was Arbell.

"The Hall of the Stationary's underwent as great a purgation as was carried on in Don Quixote's library." (in 1599) "Marston's *Pygmalion*, Marlowe's *Ovid*, the *Satires* of Hall and Marston, the *Epigrammes* of Davies were ordered for immediate conflagration by the Prelates Whitgrift and Bancroft."¹⁴ Probably many other manuscripts were also consumed.

"The Stationer's Company was incorporated by royal charter in 1557. No one not a member of the Company, might print anything for sale in the Kingdom unless authorized by special privilege or patent." Moreover, by the rules of the Company, every member was required to enter in the register of the Company the name of any book that he desired to print, so that these registers furnish valuable information regarding printed matter during the latter part of the sixteen century.

There is a letter having to do with Morley's patent or grant: Richard (Bancroft) Bishop of London to Sir Robert Cecil:

"According to her Majesty's pleasure, I have dealt with Mr. Moreley and Mr. Day, concerning the question betwixt them about printing but I can in no wise agree them, both of them standing peremptorily upon the validity of their several letters-patent from her Highness, which Mr. Morley saith the common law must decide, and Mr. Day will have the matter determined by the Lords in

¹³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1598-1601, p. 327. (Extract Flanders Corr.)

¹⁴"Life of Sir John Davies," prefixed to his poems by E. Chambers, London, 1810.

Star Chamber. The several words of their grants whereon they rely are here enclosed. At my house in London, 18 October, 1599."

(The enclosure)

Printing Licenses

(1) Grant to Mr. Morley to print as many set songs in parts as he shall think expedient, in English, Latin, French and Italian tongues, for the music either of Church or Chamber, or otherwise to be sung or played, strictly forbidding any other to print any song or songs in parts.

(2) Grant to Mr. Day to print the psalms of David in English metre, with notes to sing the same, strictly forbidding . . ." ¹⁵ (Undated. 1 p.)

Evidently Morley won his contention as he continues to print his songs, and we hear no more of Mr. Day.

Lady Arbell was an accomplished embroiderer and employed several people to work in this art for her. We have nothing in the way of news about her in 1599. But evidently she was busy designing beautiful things for her present to the Queen as a New Year's gift was, as the record shows: "By the Barrowness Arbella, one skarfe or head-vaile of lawne cut worke florished with silver and silke of sondry colors. Delivered to Mrs. Luce Hide." ¹⁶ The Queen's gift to Arbella was "in (one) guilte plate, M.19 oz. 3q. di." ¹⁷

There does not seem to be any record of the whereabouts of the Earl of Hertford during the year 1599. He was probably in deep mourning for his devoted second wife, Frances Howard. Also, he was undoubtedly busy with the affairs of the young poets and the printing of their books, as well as trying to raise the immense sum of money that the Queen had demanded of him.

However, in 1600, early in the Spring, we find some notices of his movements from the "Letters of Rowland Whyte Esq. to Sir Robert Sydney." ¹⁸

"My Lord Harbert (Herbert) will be here upon Tuesday; I heare that he brought my Lord and Lady his mother, to the Earle of Hertford's to dinner, hard by Ramisbury, and that a Match is intended between the said Earle and the Lady Anne (Herbert), by the next you shall heare if it be soe or no."

¹⁵C.S.P. Salisbury MSS., XIV, 111-112.

¹⁶Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III, 451.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*. First letter p. 151, second letter, p. 156, third letter, p. 197.

31 May, 1600. "Rumour is here, that the Earle of Hertford is married to the Lady Anne. Yet Massinger protests unto me that he knows not of it, but that it is a thing desired by Friends of both Parties."

Same to same.

7 July, 1600. "The Earle of Hertford comes often to Wilton (the residence of the Herbert family in Wilts.) and hath made knownen to the Lord and Lady Pembroke, the Loue he bears to the Lady Anne; if she can affect him, the Match will go forward."

Evidently the Earl of Hertford had gone to his ancestral home at Tottenham Court, Wilts, which is quite near Wilton the home of the Lord Pembroke family.

According to an item in the State Papers, of 22 April, 1600:

"Warrant for the installing of a debt of 2,500^{lb} remainder of the 50,000^{lb} due to her Majesty by the Earl of Hertford to be paid in 6 days after the date of the Warrant, and 500^{lb} each Michaelmas and Easter following till the whol be paid."¹⁹

If the above statement is a true statement of the facts, Hertford was forced to pay the fine which the Queen originally demanded of him when she first imprisoned him, or rather when he was fined by the Star Chamber in 1564.

On June first of 1600 Dowland had his *Second Booke of Songs or Ayres, of 2, 4, and 5 parts* ready, for he dedicated it to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, with a preface dated from Helsingnoure in Denmark, the first of June, 1600. The printing of it must have been delayed until later in the year or until after August, 1600, because it contained some poems attributed to Thomas Nash, the alias of Thomas Seymour, who wrote chiefly prose, and who died this year in August.

Where Thomas Nash died I am unable to find out. He may have returned to his home at Tottingham in his last days. It seems to be established that he and his father had quarreled. Poor Thomas! He had great genius, but he was overshadowed by his younger brother and his great father as well as by his beloved brother Edward Beauchamp, alias Robert Greene. He was never a well person and he had a stubborn streak, and possibly an inferiority complex. If he had only lived a hundrer or two hundred years later what a reputation he would have made!

¹⁹C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1598-1600.

As we have not followed his work chronologically we will give a brief resume now:

Thomas Seymour, alias Thomas Nash, was born in the Tower to the Earl of Hertford and his wife Catherine Grey, in 1563. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and received his B.A. in 1585. He and his elder brother Edward, commonly called Beauchamp, under the aliases of Robert Greene and Thomas Watson traveled abroad in 1586 and 1587. As far as I can find out neither of these young men were actors nor spies. Certainly Walsingham would not have trusted such fiery spirits as that of Thomas in such affairs.

His first publication was an acrid review of recent literature prefixed to his brother Robert Greene's *Menaphon*, in 1589, which he continued in his own *Anatomy of Absurdities*. He jumped into the controversy of the *Martin Marprelate* affair, because of his hatred of Puritanism. He also adopted another pseudonym, "Pasquille," and wrote *A Countercuffe given to Martin Junior* which he probably knew was an alias of his brother "Our Willy," according to my theories. He rushed into the fray on the side of the Bishops, probably just to be on the opposite side. His controversy with the Harvey brothers is so well known that I will not take that up here. I believe that his quarrel with his father started in these attacks on Spenser's friend Gabriel Harvey.

His *Pierce Pennilesse his Supplication to the Devil* shows us his power as a humourous critic of national manners; "that the brainless drudges wax fat while the seven liberal sciences and a good leg will scarce get a scholar bread and cheese." Nash avenged Gabriel Harvey's attack on Robert Greene, and his own preface to *Menaphon*, with *Strange Newes of the Intercepting certaine Letters*. His brother's work could not be criticized by such a person as Harvey!

In 1592-3 Nash found a patron living in the country away from the plague in London. Some authorities say that it was at or near Croydon and it probably was the country home of the Howard's, his step-mother and the Admiral. Here he is supposed to have written his satirical masque of *Summers Last Will and Testament*. Summers was Henry VIII's jester.

I believe that he spent some time at Clavering with his brother, alias John Smith, and his co-vicar Anthony Palmer, because "being

troubled with religious doubts" he published his repentant reflections under the title of *Christes Teares over Jerusalem* in 1593. He figures as a religious reformer in this work.

He afterwards lived for some time under the patronage of Sir George Carey, Lady Carey's husband (she to whom Spenser wrote his Sonnets) who was governor of the Isle of Wight. Evidently "Our Willy" and friends of Spenser were doing all they could for this rebellious spirit, who was really quite ill.

Nash's *Isle of Dogs* seems to be entirely lost. It was a play in which Ben Jonson and others acted, but it contained such "seditious and slanderous matter" that the authorities closed the theatre for a time. Ben Jonson and the other actors were supposed to have been imprisoned, but Jonson says "that they imprisoned themselves." Also "Gabriel Harvey pictures Nash as being in Fleet prison."

I have already told of his work *The Unfortunate Traveller*, or *The Life of Jacke Wilton*. It was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, who was also related to the Fair Geraldine. It is supposed to be the "earliest picaresque romance in English, and the most remarkable work of the kind before Defoe." Nash often boasted that he could write "as fast as his hand could trot." (In case you have forgotten, the Fair Geraldine guided his young footsteps when he was with his mother, Catherine Grey, at Pyrgo.)

Nash was evidently sick in 1599 while he was visiting at Yarmouth where he wrote, to repay hospitality, his *Lenten Stuff*. This was nominally in praise of a red herring, but really was a description of Yarmouth, and is now supposed to be lost.

"Nash was a journalist born out of his time. His style was brilliant and picturesque. He had a keen sense of the ridiculous and was quick in argument and with an abundance of all sorts of learning."

"He tried to distill ink into gold, and it was as a notable railer against individuals and against the vices and absurdities of the time, as a man than whom none 'used better and more bitter gall in ink' that Nash made his reputation."

Just before his death the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1599, finally suppressed the controversy between Nash and the Harveys.

That Thomas Seymour, alias Thomas Nash, was buried at Salisbury in the family vault along with his mother Catherine Grey

I feel certain, although the only confirmation I can give is that the Earl of Hertford was at Tottenham at the time of his death in August, 1600. I feel quite sure that no matter what differences he and his father had, Hertford, if only in memory of Catherine's last command to him to "be a natural father to her children," would have had this child of theirs buried along-side her in the great family burial tomb he had built in Salisbury Cathedral.

That Anne Herbert could not fall in love with Hertford is not to be wondered at. He was almost old enough to be her grandfather. But Hertford was so devoted to this family that he ventured his fate and lost.

There is another item about Hertford later in this year of 1600. It is from Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney, dated 13 October, and states that the "Earle of Hertford is named (to go abroad) to congratulate the marriage (of the King of France)."²⁰

I have not been able to find a record that Hertford did go to France to congratulate his lifelong friend Henry of Navarre, now Henry IV. The last report of Henry IV's intention of marriage was to his mistress Mlle d'Entragues should she have a son. But at any rate as soon as the Pope had given his consent to his divorce from his wife Marguerite de Valois, he contracted to marry Marie de Medicis, and it was to congratulate his Highness on this marriage that Hertford was supposed to go to France.

It might have been that his memory of Sir Philip Sidney's experience of the Massacre of the Protestants on *Saint Barthelemy's* eve, which marked Henry IV's first marriage, deterred him.

Sometime in 1600, *England's Helicon* was published. It is supposed to be the best collection of lyrical and pastoral poetry of the Elizabethan age. It contains pieces by Sidney, Spenser, Greene, Lodge, Raleigh, Marlowe and Constable's *Diaphenia like the Daffadown dilly* and the pastoral song *Venus and Adonis*, this latter being believed to precede Shakespeare's epic in date of composition. Probably it was composed by "Our Willy" at the same time. "It was said by Mr. Minto that his words flow with happiest impulse 'when his whole being is aglow with the rapture of beauty.' "

The two years 1599-1600 were full of unease in England as a Spanish invasion was expected, through Devonshire. But the enemy they fought was Ireland. Essex and the Queen were in constant conflict and she sent Essex to Ireland to come to terms with

²⁰Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, p. 218.

Tyrone. After arranging the best compromise that he could be returned to England without the consent of the Queen and Council and evidently affronted the Queen by presenting himself in her private chamber in his wet riding clothes, to be welcomed not with commendation but with contempt and abuse.

His proud spirit began to break and from that point on his belief was formed that his enemies, Cecil, Raleigh and Bacon (although Bacon still professed his friendship) had undermined him. It is a long story and a sad one but we do not have space to give to it as it is so well known to every reader.

However, we give a version of Elizabeth's treatment of one who returned with Essex, Sir John Harrington, her godson, showing how her unreasonable animosity extended even to him: "Sir John Harrington who ventured into her presence at this time, says, that 'she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and, I remember, caught at my girdle when I kneeled to her and swore, 'By G—d's Son, I am not Queen. That man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' She bade me go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I should not have made better speed.'"²¹

Sir John Harrington also gives his opinion of Essex:

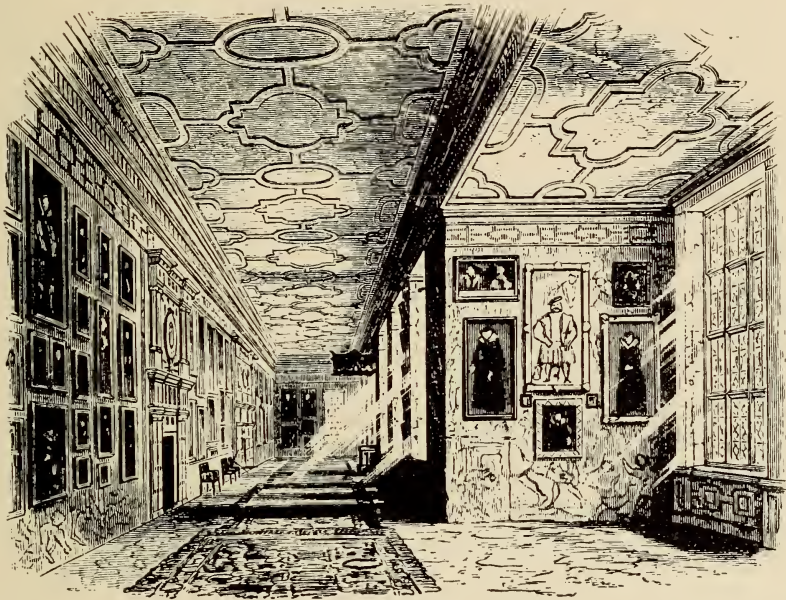
"It restethe wyth me in opynion, that ambition, thwrated in its career, doth speedelie leade on to madnesse; herein I am strenthened by what I learne of my Lord of Essex, who shyftethe from sorrow to repentaunce to rage and rebellion so suddenlie, as well provethe him devoide of goode reason or ryghte mynde. In my last discourse he uttered strange words borderinge on such strange desygns, that made me hasten forth and leave his presence. Thank Heaven! I am safe at home; and if I go in suche troubles agayne, I deserve the gallowes for a meddlynge foole.

"His speeches of the Queen become no man who hath *mens sano in corpore sano*. He hathe ill advysers, and much evyll hath sprunge from this source. The Queene well knowethe how to humble the haughtie spirit, the haughtie spirit knoweth not how to yield and the man's soule seemeth tossede to and fro like the waves of a troubled sea."²²

The Earl of Hertford did not meddle in the Essex affair, al-

²¹Sir John Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae*, I, 354-357.

²²Sir John Harrington in Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III, 444.



HARDWICKE HALL THE GALLERY

Hardwicke Hall: The Gallery. Arbells early home.

though he was such a good friend to Spenser, probably because he, being in deep disgrace with Elizabeth, would have harmed rather than helped his cause. Southampton, however, was quick to rush to Essex's defense and for his efforts was imprisoned for over three years. I do not believe that Raleigh was really an enemy of Essex, but not a friend either. We, in America, have to feel gratitude to Raleigh on this occasion as he did try to keep his cousin, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, our great colonizer, from becoming involved in the affair. But Sir Ferdinando was loyal to Essex and, although he did liberate the Lord Chief Justice Popham, The Lord Keeper Egerton, and the Comptroller of the Queen's Household, Knolly, whom Essex had locked up in his house, it did not save him from imprisonment for over a year.

"The Master of Grey's to the King of Scots"

"Sir, although many misreports have been made of me yet for all that I am no less bold than if none had been, knowing what is the truth.

1. Earl of Bothwell . . .

2. My Lord Sancher and James Graham told me at my returning from Italy, that it was reported I should have made merchandise of some (of) your papers, the poorest pack that ever men did open; for I protest to God if I had all the papers that ever your Majesty wrote, I think for them all I should not get one crown.

3. That I should have dealt with the King of France to match with your cousin Arbell. If ever I heard any such matter all is true.

4. Touching D. Matthias, that I had dealing with Secretary Cecil for his matching with Arbell, I swear not that I eschew to make them see here that your intelligence is so small, I should deal with Mr. Secretary to resolve you of that folly."²³

Undated. Endorsed by Cecil September 29. "This is a copy of the letter which the Master of Grey's hath written to the K." Evidently Cecil's spy at King James's Court had copied it and sent it to Cecil.

There is a letter from the Venetian Ambassador in Germany to the Doge and Senate which bears on this question of Arbell to be matched with the King of France, dated Prague, 22 May, 1600.

²³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., Addenda, XIV, 139.

"They say the Queen (Elizabeth) is very jealous of the prosperity of the French, her ancient rebels and foes. Some weeks ago she told the Scottish Ambassador that his most Christian Majesty had demanded in marriage, Arbell, daughter of Charles Stuart, and descended from Margaret, daughter of Henry VIII, who is a pretender to the Crown, no less than the King of Scotland, for they are second cousins. The Scottish Ambassador complained to the French Ambassador, who pointed out the improbability of this as his Majesty had concluded a contract marriage with Tuscany."²⁴

Of course it is possible that Elizabeth had again used Arbell to match with the French King, as Henry IV had just concluded a peace with Spain. Probably the reason that he had obtained his divorce from his wife by the Pope was an exchange for this peace. Elizabeth, thus being deserted by the French in their former alliance, tried in this way to thwart this peace. They did some fine bargaining in those days, and Elizabeth had used Arbell's name in this way before.

²⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, IX, 410.

BOOK III

CHAPTER XXIX

Discussion of Beauchamp as King

THERE is in the Calendar of State Papers of this year a curious letter, of supposed date November, 1600. This is probably from the secret correspondence of two priests, and reads as follows:

"Intercepted letter relating to Beauchamp."

Father Rivers (?) to Father Parsons (?)

"I hold Beauchamp as unfit to be a King as you do, but there is somewhat in it which time will more discover. Meanwhile take this I write as matter of guess, not of intelligence. The beginning of the Queen's time, there was much ado about a book written by Hales, in favour of the house of Suffolk; Bacon, Lord Keeper, was in trouble and disgrace for it a whole year, by Leicerter's means, that could no way induce the contenancing of that house, which had such a cause of hatred to his. But the late Lord Burghley, secretary, rescued his brother-in-law out of the briars, having his hand in the matter, though not apparently, as well as he, as the pleader for the Queen of Scot's title insinuated by their discourses, giving the cause for that they had, by that marriage incorporated themselves into that house. You know what measure the Queen of Scots had at the Queen's hands during Burghley's reign, as we may term it though in the latter time of the trouble, the hatred thereof was derived upon Walsingham, and Burghley had made his way with her; both the beginning came from his head, and his hand gave the greatest stroke for her end.

"It were absurd to think that a man of such high possessions and authority, which he sought to make hereditary, and of that subtlety and experience seeing the Queen old, and the question of succession every day rudely sounded in their ears, should not consider of that point; that the old fox had not before his eyes a triple deadly feud of a son, a King, and a Scot; that he, delivering his young cub (Sir R. Cecil) lessons for maintaining the greatness he left him, set him down his counsel touching this point. They

probably resolved never, if possible, to be at the King of Scot's mercy.

"It is true both father and son drew the King from depending of any other saint in this Court but themselves, but they served him to little purpose. Either they would not, or durst not do what was required, but shifted things off, and you know the old saying, 'Know me not now, and I will not know you when I arrive to my Kingdom.' They should have foreseen it; certain it is the Scotch King has fore spoken it. Now where should they find a tree to shade themselves under in England, having as little cause to seek a refuge in other foreign title, which threatened too sharp a reformation for their honour or safety.

"The Secretary has found himself greived with the imputation the libellers put upon him of being an Infantist. (Adherent to the title of the Infanta, or Spanish claim.) Touching Arbella, I will say more anon; but for that concerns the present,—besides that Shrewsbury, her great kinsman, till of late was wholly Essex's, and had a deadly feud with the Stanhopes, which lasts yet;—no marriage that the Cecillians could build on presented itself. And she being born on this side the water of Tweed only,—the Scottish King being otherwise in every degree *jure et dignitate potior*—Arbella, otherwise in decent Scottish, were too nice a point to stand on. They have incorporated themselves anew with the House of Derby, but the right of that branch must be maintained with those quirks of law, which cannot carry the people, and is besides in a female, fit enough to make a Queen Jane of, but has not yet been thought of for such purpose, I dare say on this side.

"It rests therefore, passing over the other titles, that they had most reason to make account of that branch to which, before it was engrafted in the house of Suffolk, they were so much beholden, and which since they have made so much beholden to them.

"This mutual obligation; the inclination of our country to keep out strangers, particularly an old beggarly enemy, the Scot, in whose mother's blood the whole State seemeth to have washed their hands; the fair colour given by some former proceedings in favour of the second sister, since the time of Henry VIII ratified by his will; the advantages the Queen's disposition to suppress all titles afforded men in their place to advance any title where time served; the opportunity time might minister to prepare for it, prevailing

upon the Queen, as she increased in years and diminished in sense, all these might be great motives.

"If the Scotch King should happen to go to the other World, what an impediment were there removed, and advantage given to this title, during the minority of a child, and garboils ensuing in that mutinous country. You say he had been fair for it more than once; You know where the suspicion has alighted. All the world takes notice of the occasions taken to lay blocks in his way. The matter of Valentine Thomas, Ashfield, Sir W. Eure, and others, imprisoned only for being in Scotland, argue no good meaning towards him.

"On the other side, as in the beginning, old Burghley served this house's turn, to beat off the storm Leicester's malice raised against it for the marriage, so since their good will to it has been discovered. Beale's negotiations in Germany, about the validity thereof, is winked at. When upon Dr. Aubrey's death, the continuance of the appeal touching the marriage came to light, how soon was Stanhope, special actor therein, released! and, considering the course of our State, how soon the Earl of Hertford discharged, and how easily and privately censured and fined, as he assessed himself! When Beauchamp likewise was to have been transported, how easily was the Queen persuaded to confine him only in the midst of his own kindred! what cause there is of a concurrence of Sir John Stanhope's favour to that blood, mingled by marriage with his own, whose credit with the Queen, and inwardness with the Secretary all men know; also of the Admiral's love to that house, though his sister, Hertford's wife, be dead.

"There is likelihood of Raleigh's concurrence—seeing Essex leans to the Scot—having seated himself in that part of the realm, (Sherbourne House) who is the very Achitophel of all the plots of this age.

"You will say this conjecture is not slight of itself, but when there seemed to be some reason of the Concurrence of a Catholic party, I so acquainted you with it as I do now with all this, that seeing it is a course in your judgment not to be embraced for the good of the Catholic cause, you may have an eye to it. But for the point, he wants those parts you would require in him; yet Essex being suppressed, which is not unlikely, the party, though his alliance be not with nobility, will be greater, than you think, for of

Noblemen and gentlemen of good worth, drawn in by the Secretary, the Admiral, and others, if their credit continue, so as he may have the start of all other competitors when the Queen dies, which will be of a great advantage—before men can or dare declare themselves—to have the principal force, and the treasure of the realm put into his hands, with the name of a King; and it is not unlikely but, to keep the Catholic's from drawing together, to oppose, he may, by proclamation, set them free from the rigour of the present laws, and then all designs depending upon reformation of religion will fall to the ground. As for foreign Princes, he of France is most likely to afford what aid he can to keep the Scot from it, for the particular good of France."¹

"In Phelippes' hand, endorsed by him. A note intercepted touching Beauchamp."

In December, 1600, Hertford married as his third wife the young, beautiful but rather silly Frances Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon, and widow of Henry Prannel, a London wine vintner. She was the sister of Douglas Howard, to whom Spenser dedicated his *Daphnaida*. (Douglas was the wife of Sir Arthur Gorges, whom Spenser called "Alcyon" in his *Colin Clout*.)

According to Whitgrift, Hertford married Frances without a license and not in a parish church. The clergyman, Thomas Montford, was punished for performing the marriage by being suspended for three years.²

This new wife was no sooner married than her forsaken lover, the nephew of Sir Edward Dyer, Sir George Rodney, committed suicide at an Inn in Amesbury after having sent her a large paper of well-composed sonnets written in his own blood. Her later history shows her to have been an unusually beautiful, ambitious and vain woman. "The Earl settled five thousand pounds a year jointure upon her for life."

"When she became too boastful of her lineage, Hertford would say 'Frank, how long is it since thou wert married to Prannel?' which would damp the wings of her spirit." She was exceedingly greedy and many are the stories told of her penuriousness after the Earl's death.

Later we will learn of a son of Sir George Rodney and his actions in connection with Arbell's escape.

¹C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1580-1625, Addenda, p. 406.

²Strype, *Whitgrift*, II, 333, 453.

News of this marriage was of course carried in the correspondence of "*Chamberlain's Letters to Mr. Carleton*." "Mrs. Pranell is like to make a wide stride from that she was, to be Countesse of Hartford, the world sayes they be assured already, if not married. 22 December, 1600."

The question of the Succession was worrying all the English and the foreign Catholics as well. We will give a summarization of the various claimants and their heritage as is found in the Calendar of State Papers for 1600-1601.

"State of England Anno Domini 1600 (Succession)"

by Thomas Wilson (spy) stating the several claims of 12 competitors for the Crown.

- 1—James VI, King of Scotland, from Margaret eldest sister of Henry VIII.
- 2—Arbell Stuart, from the same Margaret.
- 3—Lord Beauchamp, from Mary 2nd daughter of Henry VII or younger sister of Henry VIII.
- 4—Thomas Seymour, his brother from the same. (Now dead)
- 5—Earl of Derby, from the same.
- 6—Earl of Huntingdon, from George Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.
- 7—Earl of Westmorland, from Elizabeth daughter of John of Gaunt.
- 8—Earl of Northumberland, from Mary, granddaughter of Edward Crouchback, eldest son of Henry III.
- 9—Son of the King of Portugal, from Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt.
- 10—Duke of Palma, from the same.
- 11—King of Spain, from Catherine, daughter of John of Gaunt, as from the Portugal family.
- 12—The Infants of Spain, from Henry II as Duke of Aragon, and from the house of Bretagne in France, by Constance, daughter of William the Conqueror.³

We find a letter of: Lady Dorothy Stafford to the Dowager of Shrewsbury that gives us some light on the efforts of Bess of Hardwick to get the Queen to arrange a marriage for Arbell. This is dated 13 January, 1600s-1601 ns.

"To the Right Honourable and my verie good Ladie, the Countess of Shrewsburie Dowager.

³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601, p. 60 (Probably taken from Father Parsons' Succession).

"Righte honourable amd my verie good Lady, I have, according to the purpose of your honble letters, presented your Laps New Yeres gifte, togeather with my Ladie Arbella's, to the Queen's Matie, whoe hathe verie graciously accepted thereof, and taken an especiall liking to that of my La. Arbella's. It pleased her Matie to tell mee, that whereas in certaine former letters of your Laps your desire was that her Matie would have that respecte of my La. Arbella that she mighte be carefullie bestowed to her Matie's good liking, that, according to the contents of those letters, her Matie tould mee that shee would be carefull of her, and wthal hathe retourned a token to my La. Arbella, wch is not so good as I could wish it, nor so good as her Lap deserveth, in respecte of the rareness that wche she sent unto her Matie. But I beseeche you, good Maddam, seeing it pleased her Matie to saie so muche unto mee touching her care of my La. Arbella, that your Lap will vouchsafe mee so muche favor as to keepe it to yourselfe, not makeing anie other acquainted wth it, but rather repose the truste in mee for to take my opportunitie for the putting her Matie in maynde thereof, wch I will doe as carefullie as I can. And thus being alwaies bound to your Lap for your honorable kindness toward mee, I humbly comett your Lap to the safe protection of Almightye God.

From Westminster this Xiiith of Januarie, 1600-1.

DOROTHIE STAFFORD.⁴

Gerald Leigh in his *Accedence of Armorie*, 1612, says that "a tradition ascribes the first performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* to a revel held in the Middle Temple hall in February 1601. At this time the Inns of Court held many revels and masques and the students learned to dance and play musical instruments. It was an old and riotous custom, having a Master of Revels, commonly called "Lord of Misrule."

All through the proceedings of the trial and final judgement of Essex which had saddened the whole of England, when his execution was ordered there was great general grief that such a one should have come to such an end.

Tragic Death of Essex

On February 21, 1601, Essex was executed. The various encounters of the personalities of our story with him have been

⁴Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III, 543.

noted. They were all intimately connected with him and he evidently helped them out in some of their most trying situations. Hertford, alias Spenser, knew him intimately; as did "Our Willy," who as Constable carried out delicate errands of espionage for him. How he assisted in the stage death of Spenser and "sponsored his burial expenses, in 1599" is recorded. He was really one of the most potent and important members of the secret service organization.

Early in our story we showed the vindictiveness of Robert Cecil (probably due to his deformity of a hunchback) against Raleigh when in 1592 he went down to Plymouth to oversee the unloading of the treasure of the *Madre de Dios*. He also hated Essex and was jealous of his growing popularity with the nobility. He did not now have the advice of his wise father, Lord Burghley, to guide him and his enmity toward Essex grew great.

Essex had married the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, who was the daughter of Walsingham, and after the marriage Lady Essex had to live with her mother. Probably most of Walsingham's papers were in the widow's possession, and Essex may have had access to them. This is only a conjecture, but is the only deduction, from the entire lack of any of Walsingham's papers in the public records, that I can make. If Essex did see some of these papers, he might have known more about the internal dangers that threatened England from the Queen's curious dealings on her own initiative than others, and was trying like his great father-in-law to save England from the Spanish, which consequently caused his insane actions toward the Queen. This is pure conjecture on my part.

We now come to some of the actions of friends who loved and honored him, and some who made only profit of his death.

Just a week after Essex execution, we find this letter in the records: "Richard (Bancroft) Bishop of London to Sir Robert Cecil."

"Since I came home from the Court, I am informed that a fellow goeth about the street, selling the ballads, whereof here is a copy enclosed. He giveth it out that the Countess of Essex hath made it, which procureth many to buy it. I have sent divers up and down the city to see if they can meet with him. I am told that the ballad was made half a year since upon some other occasion, and that the knave, to make his gain, doth affirm as is before mentioned. I have sent for the Warden of the Stationers and will take as quick

a course as I can. These villainous printers do trouble me more than I will write of."

At my house in London this 27 of February, 1600.⁵

"Our Willy" evidently decided to do two things by his new publication for which he adopted a different alias, for the compiler, Robert Chester, and about which so little seems to be known: Here is a copy of the title page:

LOVE'S MARTYR
or
ROSALIN'S COMPLAINT

Allegorically Shadowing the Truth of Loue in the constant
Fate of the Phoenix and Turtle.

A Poeme enterlaced with much varietie and rarities; *now first
translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato Casliano*

by

ROBERT CHESTER

With the true legend of famous King *Arthur*, the last of the
nine Worthies, being the first *Essay* of a new Brytish Poet, collected
out of diuerse Authentical Records.

*To these are added some new compositions of seuerall
modern writers whose names are subscribed to their seuerall
workes upon the first subiect: viz., The Phoenix and Turtle.
Mar: Mutare dominum non protest liber notis.*

London

Imprinted for E. B.

1601.

These new compositions have the second title immediately
preceding them. Following is quoted the text in part:

"Hereafter follows diverse poetical essaies on the former sub-
ject, viz., *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. Done by the best and chief-
est of our modern writers, with the names subscribed to their
particular workes. Never before extant. And now first consecrated
by them all generally to the love and merit of the truly noble
Knight, Sir John Salisburie."

⁵H.M.C. Hatfield MSS., XI, 88-89.

(The Phoenix and the Turtle.)

*Let the bird of loudest lay,
On the sole Arabian tree,
Herald sad and trumpet be,
To whose sound chaste wings obey.*

*But thou shrieking harbinger,
Foul precurrer of the fiend,
Augur of the fever's end,
To this troop come thou not near.!*

*From this session interdict
Every fowl of tyrant wing,
Save the eagle, feather's king;
Keep the obsequy so strict.*

*Let the priest in surplice white,
That defunctive music can,
Be the death-divining swan,
Lest the requiem lack his right.*

*And thou, treble-dated crow,
That thy sable gender mak'st
With the breath thou giv'st and tak'st,
'Mongst our mourners shalt thou go.*

*Here the anthem doth commence;
Love and Constancy is dead;
Phoenix and the turtle fled
In mutual flame from hence.*

*So they lov'd, as love in twain
Had the essence but in one;
Two distincts, division none:
Number there in love was slain.*

*Hearts remote, yet not asunder;
Distance, and no space was seen*

*'Twixt the turtle and his queen:
But in them, it were a wonder.*

*So between them love did shine,
That the turtle saw his right
Flaming in the phoenix' sight:
Either was the other's mine.*

*Property was thus appall'd,
That the self was not the same;
Single nature's double name
Neither two nor one was call'd.*

*Reason, in itself confounded,
Saw division grow together;
To themselves yet either-neither,
Simple were so well compounded:*

*That it cried, How true a twain
Seemeth this concordant one!
Love hath reason, reason none,
If what parts can so remain.*

*Whereupon it made this threne
To the phoenix and the dove,
Co-supremes and stars of love;
As chorus to their tragic scene.*

THRENES

*Beauty, Truth, and Rarity,
Grace in all simplicity,
Here enclos'd, in cinders lie.*

*Death is now the phoenix' nest;
And the turtle's loyal breast
To eternity doth rest,*

Leaving no posterity:

*'Twas not their infirmity,
It was married chastity.*

*Truth may seem, but cannot be;
Beauty brag, but 'tis not she;
Truth and Beauty buried be.*

*To this urn let those repair,
That are either true or fair;
For these dead birds sigh a prayer.*

WM. SHAKESPEARE.

We have the following concerning Sir John Salisbury:

Sir John Salisbury, or Salisburie, was a servant of the Earl of Essex and took part in his rebellion, was very loyal to him. He escaped during the confusion in the melee, but was examined by the Lords on March 13, 1601. His wife was Ursula Stanley, natural daughter of the 4th Earl of Derby who was also a claimant to the crown.

Sir John had served Essex for nine years. He was a brother of Thomas who was executed for conspiracy to deliver Mary Queen of Scots from imprisonment in 1586, whose heir he became.

His examination before the Lords reveals that he was in London three weeks before the Earl rose, and lodged with Capt. Peter Wynne near Essex House. Was in the court-yard on Sunday, 8th February, when the Lords from her Majesty, Popham, Ellsmere and Knollys, were shut up in Essex House. Was commended to hold the gate. Went with the Earl and his company, with rapier and dagger to Sheriff Smythe's house, and thence to Ludgate, where he drew his weapon and was one of them that gave the charge; being repulsed, retired with the Earl to Essex House, and defended the House until it yielded. Escaped in the confusion.⁶

While this poem, *The Phoenix and Turtle*, was dedicated to Sir John Salisbury, its main purpose was to let Arbell know that their dream of "Love and constancy" was dead.

"Our Willy" had become jealous of Essex during the time Arbell had been at Court, and knowing Essex's tendency to trifle with the ladies' affection had become convinced that Arbell, or his

⁶C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., v. 6, 1601-1603; Add. 1547-1665.

Phoenix, did not love him any more. Hence this curious poem—probably founded on some former fancy they had concocted together. The Phoenix was the crest of the Seymour family, “granted by Henry VIII and undoubtedly points to the death of his wife Jane Seymour, Queen, in giving birth to Edward VI.”⁷ The Turtle (Dove) was a name for a lover.

This poem seems to have been his effort to resume relations with his great love, seeing that Essex was dead. We will hear from Arbell’s letters and confessions more about her “dearest and best-trusted,” in the letters she wrote to her Grandmother two years later.

Sidney Lee has some remarks on *The Phoenix and the Turtle*: “Both in tone and metre Shakespeare’s verses differ from the other contributions. They strike unmistakably an elegiac or funeral note which is out of keeping with their environment. The dramatist cryptically described the obseques, which the birds attended of the phoenix and the turtle-dove, after they had been knit together in life by spiritual ties and left no offspring.”

Dowland was decorated by the King of Denmark and given his portrait. Later in the year (1601) he came to England to buy musical instruments. While he was here he evidently published *The Triumphes of Oriana* (to five and six voices) under his alias of Morley.

Although there is no dedication I feel sure that “Oriana” was meant for Arbell. One reason for this supposition is that her particular friends contributed to it. Morley furnished two Madrigals and John Wilbye, resident musician to Sir Thomas Kytson, whose son-in-law was Sir Charles Cavendish, contributed a Madrigal *The Lady Oriana*, Thomas Weelkes contributed, *As Vesta from Latmos* and John Farmer contributed *Fair Nymphs, I heard one telling*, which was a Six Part Madrigal.⁸ I think this name of *Oriana* was applied by “Our Willy” to Arbell, because of the story of Amadis. “Amadis of Gaul, the son of Perion, King of Gaul (Wales?) falls in love with Elisena daughter of Garinter, King of Lesser Britain: Their child Amadis is placed in an ark on the river, and until his identity is revealed is known as the ‘Child of the Sea’ . . . He loves Oriana, daughter of Lisuarte, King of Great Britain, who is sought in marriage by the emperor of Rome and

⁷Crouch, *The Unhappy Princesses*.

⁸Grove, *Dict. of Music and Musicians*.

granted to him by her father, but rescued by Amadis. The emperor arrives with his fleet, but is defeated and killed by Amadis. Amadis then comes to the succor of Lisuarte, reconciliation follows, and all ends happily."⁹

We have a letter relating to some lands of Arbell's:

Sir Robert Cecil to the Master of Grey's:

Dated 14 May, 1601. . . . "By this testimony was inferred some support toward's the King's necessary charges, and that particularly directed to the estate in the Lady Arbella's lands, which was rejected peremptorily as soon as it was spoken, the consequences thereof being amongst us like to the disease which is called *nole me tongere* which being denied, both he and Mr. Bruce did move her Majesty to do somewhat else at this present, as well for satisfaction of the King's occasions as for his contentment, who so much desired her good will.

"In this point, Sir, you that know the Queen so well can easily apprehend how contrary it is to her mind to give, when she is offended." . . . ¹⁰

Another letter was written in April, 1601, as near as I can judge the date:

George Kendall to Sec. Cecil.

"I was told by Father Lewknor that the ruin of England was sure; the government all in the hands of one man, a professed enemy to the Catholics; the State apt to rebel, as all policies condemn a government which does not participate with the other foreign kingdoms; that Sir R. Cecil intends to be king by marrying Arbell, and now lacks only the name; for he, has the quarter mastership with the Admiral and therefore strong at sea; has the Cinque Ports in the hands of his dearest friend; his brother has the kingdom of the north; Wales now void, will be put in assured hands; his kindred and wealth are great; he has made Lord Thomas Howard governor of the Tower, and will force the city to make him king. Lord Shrewsbury, who can remove the blocks from the way of the marriage, is for him, thinking he cannot better establish his house." . . . ¹¹

George Kendall is evidently one of Cecil's spies.

On October 3, 1601, there is a letter from John Suckling to:

⁹Oxford Companion to Eng. Lit.

¹⁰H.M.C. Salisbury, XIV, 175.

¹¹C.S.P. Eliza. Dom., 1601-03, Add. p. 37.

"My good Countryman." "It is thought that the Earl of Hertford will go over to France to answer in the Queen's behoof, as godmother to the King's young son."¹² (It will be remembered that Hertford was a great friend of Henry IV.) Probably "Our Willy" went with him, or joined him there, as under date of October (?) 1601, there is in "*Intelligenser*, relative to Jesuits abroad," an item: "Mr. Constable, pensioner of the King of France."¹³

That the poem *Phoenix and the Turtle* reached Arbell and she understood "Our Willy's" utter despair for their marriage is evident, for she made some effort to get to London to see him early this next year. What arguments she used would be hard to find out. Probably her uncle Sir Gilbert Shrewsbury assisted her, and probably had a hand in putting up some argument to Sir Robert Cecil about an income for her as is also evident from some of the following items in the approaching New Year.

We find in the *Biography of Arbell* by Murray-Smith-Bailey, some knowledge of her in "Father Rivers secret correspondence with Father Parsons:

"At this some news of our heroine may be found in Father Anthony River's with the famous Father Parsons, who was hiding on the Continent, England having been too hot to hold him since his book on the *Succession*.

"On March 27 (1602) Rivers writes; 'The arrival of the Duke of Nevers is daily expected. . . . The general opinion is that he cometh out of curiosity to see the Court and Country, but in special he desireth secretly a sight of the Lady Arbell; for that some great person here, bearing the French in hand, that it shall be in his power to dispose of the succession after her Majesty's death, by preferring whom he please to match with the same lady, this Duke, albeit a married man, being a great favorite, is fed in hope thereof himself (if his wife die) or some friend, and there-upon under colour of some other embassy, undertaketh this voyage. How probable this may be I leave to your consideration, only this much I can assure you, that a house is here preparing privately in London, where the good lady, with those with whom she liveth, are expected after Easter.'" (Easter was 4 os. or 7ns. of April this year.)

"The ache of the Queen's arm is falling into her side, but she

¹²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-03, p. 107.

¹³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-03, p. 414.

is still, thanks to God, frolicky and merry, only her face sheweth some decay, which to conceal, when she cometh in public, she putteth many fine cloths into her mouth to bear out her cheeks, and sometimes as she is walking she will put off her petticoat, as seeming too hot when others shake with the cold."¹⁴

Same to same.

On March 30, 1602, we find that Arbell is "shortly to come to town" but the problematical suitor never put in his appearance as he "went off to the Archduke's instead of visiting England."

Under the date of April 27, 1602, there is in the Calendar of State Papers an item ("Information anonymous.") :

"They say—the priests etc., 'That Lady Arbell is a notable Puritan and they hold the Turk more worthy of place than she . . .'

The Rescusants say they have but three enemies in England whom they fear: viz., The Lord Chief Justice (Sir John Popham), Sir Robert Cecil, and the Lord Admiral (Howard).¹⁵

"By this time the spies seem to know that Arbell wanted to marry someone, but even they did not know who this person was. King James called whoever she wanted to marry, 'The forbidden fruit.' "

In May, 1602, there was a conveyance of 107 acres of land in Old Stratford to William Shakespeare, "Our Willy," which he bought from William and John-a-Combe. As Shakespeare was not there at the time he was represented by his foster-brother, Gilbert Shakespeare.¹⁶ Probably the school was no longer functioning, or John-a-Combe was getting too old to carry on, they decided to sell it to William.

On July 9, 1602, The Earl of Hertford was made Lord Lieutenant of Cos. Somerset and Wilts., including the cities and counties of Bristol, Bath, Wells and Salisbury. This had been dated April 24 and endorsed April 27.¹⁷

Father Rivers to Father Parsons.

"Rivers reports that the ache in the Queen's side is increasing, and the like also in her thigh. However, in July "she hunted . . . with good show of vigour and ability."¹⁸

¹⁴Foley Records I, 24-26. Printed in Murray-Smith-Bailey, *Arbella*, I, 95.

¹⁵C.S.P. Dom. Eliza. 1601-1603.

¹⁶C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603, p. 180.

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸Foley Records.

That the Queen expected to visit in her progress this year, the Earl of Hertford's and also Chief Justice Popham's, is recorded as of July 9, 1602. During the month of September, Rivers reports to Parsons, that the Queen "refused help to enter her barge, whereby, stumbling she bruised her shins."¹⁹ Evidently Arbell's efforts to obtain some money from the Government were rewarded, as there is a warrant, dated September, "to pay 800^{lb} per Annum to Lady Arbell Stuart." On September 25, Arbell had trouble about Smallwood, and she took the matter to court, where Chief Justice Popham seems to have befriended her.

William Shakespeare bought the Cottage in Chapel Lane, Stratford-on-Avon, on September 28, 1602. Small pox and foul weather prevented the Queen's Progress to Hertford's and Sir John Popham's houses.

Meantime Father Rivers was busy with his rumours about Arbell. He wrote that "Some have an intention to marry the Earl of Hertford's second son with Arbell." Scarmelli "said that it was with Thomas Seymour that Arbell was engaged with, in her intrigue."

Thomas Wilson, spy, wrote to Robert Cecil in his August 27 and September 6" report:

Mr. Browne is the reporter to me from the mouth of Sir James Linsey, who sweareth and sweareth by no beggars that the King of Scots must be King of England and that he shall and will have it or it shall prove the bloodiest time that ever was, notwithstanding all the plotting they make against him, as that whereof Parsons at Rome shewed him a letter of a marriage which is now concluding for Arbella and others such . . . But this Linsey is one of those which the King of Scots sends abroad to taste Englishmen; and it is thought these two work both upon one frame to join the King of France (should read King of Spain?) and King of Scots together: and perhaps Parsons and that crew, seeing their credit decoyed by their former designs, will now join in the same work."²⁰

Probably "Our Willy" came home from Denmark in 1602, and took up his residence in Fetter's Lane under his alias of Dowland. That he resumed his Morley alias is also evident, as he resigned his connection with the Chapel Royal in October of 1602.

We do not know under which name he had his meetings with

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰H.M.C. Salisbury XII, 324.

Arbell, but I feel it must have been as Morley. That they did meet and perhaps visited Beauchamp's, as the spies had already alighted on the sons of the Earl of Hertford as Arbell's choice. But of course Rivers and Scarmelli were wrong as Thomas Seymour had been buried in 1600.

Arbell and William must have had long sessions together to plan as many and intricate plots as they did. We will consider this later when we get enlightenment from Arbell's writings.

It seems reasonable that "Our Willy" was getting a great deal of money, one way and another; from his shares in the theatres, his salary from the King of Denmark, and returns from the many books of songs he had published. He evidently decided to invest it under his only legal name, William Shakespeare.

Morley, while he was in England, evidently collected and arranged his *Whole Book of Psalmes* with their wonted tunes. "This list of Church Music is simply astonishing in volume."

CHAPTER XXX

Arbell's Rebellion

THE love between Arbell and "Our Willy" grew even stronger than it had been during the ten years until this meeting in London in 1602. The plots they concocted must have been mainly those of "Willy", for not only were they bold but extremely complicated, from what we find out from Arbell's writings and confessions later. Their main goals seem to have been to get Arbell out from under her grandmother Bess of Hardwick's custody, and to do something to draw public attention to her so she might get audience of the Queen to whom she was to reveal their love plight and "Our Willy's" identity.

Arbell's return to Mansfield must have been in November as she evidently saw and talked to Starkie or Starkey, her chaplain. He was in serious revolt against William Cavendish, Bess of Hardwick's eldest son, who was taking advantage of some quirk in the law which called this chaplain John instead of James Starkey. John seems to have been an illegitimate child, as we find his name in the warrant of the Earl of Warwick for concealed wards in June, 1586. Starkey was on the point of leaving for London when our story of him opens which, although from very confused records, manages to tell us that he had been detained by the State authorities for questioning in London.

Deposition of Jas. Starkey

"At my coming away the Lady Arbell told me that she thought her grand (mother) would stay my books (bills) and therefore advised me if I had anything of worth to trunk it up and she would be as careful of it as of her own jewel box, so she sent it me up.

"Besides the Lady Arbell will not deny that she said her Lady Grandmother and her uncle were glad when they could cousen (cozen) her; that her grandmother threatened to take away her money and jewels, but she had prevented her in sending them

away to Yorkshire, and cryingly sent the key to her coffer by me to search for a pearl of 20^{lb} which she doubted she had lost, but that was a device; and lastly she told me she had good friends and more than all the world knew of; but I forbear to set down greater matters, which she in her conscience doth know are true, being right sorry that such a one should be made an instrument of the bad practice of others whose drift was to have me out of my living and to deprive me of life, the Lord forgive them all, and God grant the Queen's Majesty a most gracious and happy reign long to continue over this realm."

At the bottom of the page is written:

"My lady of her own motion returned for me 220^{lb} but wanted one ^{lb} in payment, and since that time by her appointment I have disbursed 79^{lb} 2s 2d as appeareth by a bill, for which she is yet indebted. But now they have taken from me first liberty, then my living, my life and my goods; I trust they will be satisfied."¹

This was in Starkey's hand and unsigned. Evidently his first examination; his second follows:

("Confession of the Preacher Starkey, that hanged himself, January, 1603 n.s.)

"This I thought good to testify to the world for the discharge of mine own innocency.

"From whence those false rumours, which were sped the last year, of the right honourable lady the Lady Arbell did proceed, I could not imagine I protest but until now. Which arose as I suppose by reason of a book with unfit print upon the cover, which unadvisedly was given her ladyship by me, for which gross error committed by me, though unwittingly to the impairing of her fame and good name, I am so inwardly vexed that if I had a thousand lives I would willingly spend them all to redeem the least part of her reputation: Such is her virtuous disposition and so excellent are those ornaments wherewith her mind is adorned, as that they may be rather admired than imitated. Most unfortunate then was I in committing such a fault, although I protest upon my salvation I never intended any such matter as from thence might justly be gathered, yet none of reason, I do think would once more imagine it.

"This is the cause that in just revenge she hath been made an

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., Hatfield House. Addenda, v. 14.

instrument, and gone about underhand to make the world believe that I was very desirous and forward to have her removed from her lady grandmother. Whereas the truth is that she seeming to me but not being indeed, discontent told me, about Easter last, that she would use all the means she could get from thence, by reason she was hardly used (as she said) in despiteful and disgraceful words, being bobbed, and her nose played withal, which she could not endure, and this seemed not feigned, for oftentimes being at her book she would break forth into tears. Whereupon I promised that if she would use my services, I would deliver her letters or messages whilst I stayed in London, and told her that I was resolved not to stay in the country any longer and acquainted her with the cause for that I was weary of that servitude and bondage wherein I had lived more than ten years, having taught one of Mr. William Cavendish's sons six or seven years without any consideration for my pains, and being then enjoined to teach another his A-B-C; and, besides, my living which was given me being indirectly detained from me by Mr. Cav (endish) who had kept the same in his hands seven or eight years, whereas his faithful promise to me was that I should be restored to it in very short time. Whereas also the world may intend some great matter of the *program coulur des roy*, (probably a piece of embroidery) and of the silver fire shovel sent for a new year's gift, the former was expressed by her own mouth though not set down in her note but under the name of some slight colour, and the fire shovel was also expressly named in her letter. There was neither pearl nor border not anything else sent down by me (a few books only expected), but I had a note under her hand for the same, which my lady said were either for herself or to give away, all which may show my innocency.

"In the margin is written)

"My lady's promise emboldened me to gain her furtherance for my preferment, who also told me that if she were appointed to another place, she would, entertain me as her chaplain; what may be inferred I know not, but God knoweth my simplicity (innocence).

"Some also have been suspicious for the letters of my name because I appointing the stationer long time since to set upon a Bible these three letters J.A.S. that the two first letters might distinguish James from John, he mistook it and set the three letters apart, whereas God is my witness I intended nothing but my

name. The pretended sending down of Mr. Holford to Newark was to make men think that some of her ladyship's friends should aid her in making an escape, whereas I am persuaded there was no such matter, and if there had her ladyship knoweth well that I exhorted her rather to endure her grief and discontent patiently than by inconvenient course to prejudice herself. For mine own part, I was busied about the recovery of my parsonage, as some civilians can testify, who informed me that a pardon was requisite, having incurred the danger of the law: which I also laboured for only to keep my living. My friends and kinsfolk I protest are blameless and without fault, being unacquainted in this matter. Henry Travier now of late told me that there was a book of Tithes published by authority, that so by making inquiry for it I might be entrapped and brought into further danger.

"The scope whereat all these matters do aim is evident and though I am able truly to clear myself, being altogether innocent of any crime intended by me, yet by reason of some probable conjectures, which by my sore enemies will be aggravated against me I may easily be overthrown and suffer the greatest infamy, reproach, and shame that maybe which in such a case will be more heavy than many deaths.

"Wherefore to avoid the same and yet providing a mischief for a remedy, as I must needs confess, I do commit myself into the hands of the Lord, who is a God of infinite mercy, and in Whom is plentiful redemption; beseeching Him to pardon this notorious crime. His mercy is not restrained but often times at His pleasure he doth extend the same, *inter pontem et fontem, inter jugulum et gladium*. To conclude, I do in all submission crave pardon of that honourable Lady for so great an indignity unwittingly offered to her, and likewise of all her friends, of my dear mother, whose grief for this fact I fear will be her end, and generally of all the world for this enormity which I commit.

"Bowing, therefore, the knee of my heart with all sorrow and compunction, I do pour forth my soul unto Thee, O Lord, beseeching Thee to supply my soul with the oil of Thy Grace, that I may be fully penitent for such faults as I have committed or duties that I have omitted.

He ends with a prayer.

"Have mercy upon me, O. God, according to thy great mercies and according to the multitude of Thy compassions do away with

my iniquities. O clense me from my secret sins and cover my known sins with the innocency and righteousness . . . (a line illegible) O enter not into judgment with me. Put forth thine Holy arm and receive my wandering soul into the Ark of Thy Holy Tabernacles that so I may receive the joys which are there unspeakable.”²

“Holograph. Endorsed by Cecil: The confession of ye preacher Starky yt hong him self.”

(In the Record’s Society Pub. there is a grant to John Starkey, Warrant, 1601-02, and an office in November 1603.) Probably this name should have been James Starkey, as the chaplain seems to imply in his confession, and undoubtedly William Cavendish was using this error to keep the chaplain, James, his ward, out of his living.

Poor Starkey thought that the mistake of the printer in putting his initials on a Bible he had given Arbell, was the cause of the rumours that were spreading against her. It seems that these rumours had another ground entirely and dated from a long time before. This we find out from a letter written much later, or after James was King. It must have been that Arbell and Thomas Morley were indiscreet in their love-making in the forests and some of the villagers of Mansfield had seen them, or some such matter. It had come to the notice of Arbell and she had had her uncles make a charge against these gossipers, but on their apprehension Arbell had interceded for them and they were not prosecuted. Now, however, the gossip was rife again and Starkey had evidently heard it and in his illness blamed himself. The letter will be given later on in the story.

Whether Arbell sent some letter to “Our Willy” by Starkey is not revealed in Starkey’s confession, but I presume she sent some letters by him.

In the meantime she embarks on another adventure, or plot, to get the Earl of Hertford and his sons involved and cause some notoriety, probably before she has heard of Starkey’s misfortune.

About the first of December, 1603, Arbell called an old man by the name of Dodderidge to her and we give his story from the records:

“January 2, 1603, John Doddridge’s Confession.” (to the Earl of Hertford).

“About three weeks afore Christmas, as I guess, my Lady Arbell

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., Hatfield House, Addenda v. 14.

asked me, if I would go a little way for her, and I answered I would do the best I could: so she rested for that time. Not long after, she told me I must go a hundred miles for her. I made answer that I durst not, for fear of my Lady's (Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury) displeasure and endangering the loss of my service. She said to me that if I did, I should not need to care, for I should find friends, whereupon I granted that I would go. Then she told me that I must go to a place called Amesbury in Wiltshire, and deliver a message to one Mr. Kirton, my Lord of Hertford's solicitor of his causes; the effect of the message as far as I can remember, is as followeth: Mr. Kirton, 'Your are my Lo. of H.'s ancient and faithful servant and reputed to be a discreet and honest man, your son married a child of Sir William Cavendish's, and I am a well wisher to some of his, and am sent to you by some of good worth to let you understand that about that time when you went into Wales to lease your Lord's land there, for so I understood it, his Lordship commanded you to speak to Mr. Owen Theoder (Tudor) to move my Lady Shrewsbury about a marriage betwixt his Lordship's grandchild, the Lord Beauchamp's eldest son, and the Lady Arb., so that if his Lordship be desirous for the same still, he must take some other course, for my Lady her grandmother would not seem to deal in it without the Queen's knowledge, and, as my Lady Arbell told me, My Lady Shrewsbury bad Mr. Owen return answer again to my Lord that he durst not move My Lady in the matter. This was the effect of it as it was first delivered to me, which was afterwards called in again, for as I was very unwilling to go without leave, though my Lady Arbe. was desirous that I should, and therefore requested one of My Lady's gentlewomen to get leave of My Lady for me to go into the country to see my friends, who when she moved her Honour (Lady Shewsbury) in my suit it would not be granted. My Lady said to me 'that I had gone five or six times within this little while as all that wasted can testify.' So that when My Lady Arb. understood what course I had taken in the matter, and yet she thanked me for it for that I was willing to do my good will, and told me that she would get one Mr. Starkey, but I am not sure whether she writ to him or not, yet I gather by a note which was sent to one of her gentlewomen, called Mrs. Sherland, that he should have come to Hardwick, or some place thereabouts, to receive money in the country which before was appointed to be paid at London. I know the note of his

handwriting and yet his name not set down in it. The effect of his note was that she should receive a silver fire shoule (shovel) the weight thereof, as far as my memory will serve, was 24 ounces and a quarter. I think it was rated at 5s-8d the ounce. The rest was that he was sorry he could not ease her of that labour of sending the money for he hath not been *well of late*, as he saith, but at Easter next he meeneth to come into the country and to speak to Mr. Cavendish about his living. This note is in my chamber at Hardwick, it was delivered me by one Mrs. Frances Pierpoint, and withal she said, My Lady Arb. would have me go to the place she spoke of, for the man could not come, as I might see by the note. After this my Lady Arb. altered the first note and bid me desire some of trust about my Lord of Her., to speak to him to give me leave to speak to him secretly, but I should not be known to any, from whom I come. But if My Lord were earnest to know, then I should say, from some of her uncles, but should not be known that I come from her, for then would my lord think that she sought such a matter. And the effect of that which I was to deliver to his Honour when I came to him was thus:—‘It is best known to your Lordship what your desire was of a marriage betwixt your Honour’s grandchild, the Lord Beauchamp’s eldest son, and my Lady Arbell. The matter hath been thoroughly considered on by some of her friends, for that they think your Lordship do not take an orderly course in your proceedings, for it was thought fitter that my Lady Arb. should have first been moved in the matter and that the parties might have had sight the one of the other to see how they could like. So that if his Honour were desirous thereof still, he might send his grand child guarded with whom his Lordship thought good, and he should come and go safely and at his own pleasure, either to tarry or depart. And that, as they would not be seen in it, no more would they wish his Lordship should, but at their meeting the gentleman and my Lady Arb. to deal as they think good, they should not be seen like themselves but, when they come, to make their occasion to sell some land, to borrow money, or what else my Lord thought good. The ancient man, while he was talking with my lady, the gentleman might have conference with my Lady Arbell.’

“The effect of all this my Lady Arb. delivered me herself, for I had no conference with the Cavendishes, though my Lady Arb. willed me to name her uncles: yet I asked her whether they were

acquainted in the matter or not, and she answered they were. I asked whether there were any danger in it; she told me 'None', 'but, if her Majesty should not like of it, it would prove some money matter, but let my Lord of Hert. look to that, he was wise enough.' I may fail in setting down the right order of it, but if it please you to make question of anything I will declare it to the utmost I know. I will be deposed that my La. Arbell did give me these instructions and yet was desirous to have her uncles parties in it, with whom I never had conference, for M. Henry Cavendish was not at Hardwick till the day before Christmas Eve. My Lady Arb. borrowed a horse of him for me, which on Christmas day, presently, after dinner, he went out at the gates, and calling me to him, he told me his man should deliver me a horse; which he did at a place where his horses stood some little distance from Hardwick House. I must not hide from your Honour that I alleged reasons to my Lady Arb. of my unworthiness and insufficiency of a message to such a one as my Lord of H. She answered me that if I only delivered the message to my Lord, it would be entertained at the first. I can bring no witnesse of this, and therefore will be deposed that it is as I said afore. Whereunto I have set my hand this second day of January 1602.os. (1603 ns.)

Holograph, End. by Cecil: "John Doudridge", and in another contemporary hand, "concerning the La. Arabell."³

Although the manuscripts do not follow the following order, I am going to adopt it as it give the story more clearly of John Dodderidge's reception at the Earl of Hertford's place at Tottenham Court; the Earl having removed himself and staff from Amesbury to this his main residence.

John Dodderidge had adopted the alias of John Good and it had taken him about five days to make the trip from Hardwick Hall to Tottenham Court in Wiltshire.

Report of the Earl of Hertford's Man

"Upon Thursday the thirtieth day of December, 1602 os., about three of the clock in the afternoon, one Daudridge alias Good (who affirmed himself to be servant unto the Old Countess of Shrewsbury), came to your Lordship's house at Tottenham, and inquired for Mr. Gilbert Prynne, Steward of your house, unto whom he signified that as a messenger he had matters of great

³H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, XII, 583.

consequence and importance to impart and deliver to your Lordship. Asked what his message was and from whom he came, he replied, 'I may not tell you. My errand is only to my Lord in private.' Where-unto Mr. Steward answered 'It is not his Lordship's wonted use to entertain any such messengers, therefore I pray you tell me what countryman you are.' And then he said, 'I am a Derbyshire man, and may by no means deliver anything but to his Lordship.' Hereupon as also in regard the said Daudridge, alias Good, was a mere stranger, although unknown to your Lordship, and such his earnestness for secrecy and close concealment did minister just occasion of jealousy and suspicion, your Lordship not holding it anything agreeable to discretion to afford him audience or answer alone, first expressly commanded the said Mr. Prinn, your steward, and Mr. Edward Daniel, one of your gentlemen, to attend and observe what he should any way utter, and then admitted him to your presence, being then in your dining chamber. Where at his first coming he kneeled down and declared unto your Lordship the cause of his repair, which your Honour (as it seemed) mightly distasting and disliking, grew so far impatient as to prohibit him to proceed any further. At which time, myself upon other occasions coming into the said dining chamber, found your Lordship very much moved and distempered, where standing before the said messenger's face you did openly relate and repeat unto us what he had delivered to yourself, which was, that your Lordship had caused your servant Kyrton at the time you sent him into Wales to let leases of your lands, to deal with one Owen Tewder, who sometime served the old Lady of Shrewsbury, to treat of a marriage between the Lady Arbell and your eldest grandchild. And then your Lordship giving many bitter reprehensions unto him for his unadvised presumption in attempting to charge you with that matter, of the least cause or knowledge whereof your very intents and thoughts were never so much as once guilty, and to acquaint you with that which was well known to be opposite to your pleasure, told him, 'Thou art prepared for punishment,' and willed me to bring pen, ink and paper, which I accordingly performed. Whereupon your Lordship strickly commanded him that under his own handwriting he should set down and specify the place from which he came, the parties who sent him, the directions given him and all other circumstances he knew concerning this cause. And he, upon command, wrote a

not (as he said) of all things that he either was willed to do or had knowledge of, the true copy whereof remaineth in your Lordship's keeping. It likewise pleased your Honour to commit him to the charge of the said Mr. Daniel and myself to be by us safely kept in a private chamber untill you might conveniently transmit him to the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and commanded us to move no questions touching the matter, but yet with our best discretion to observe and understand what we could of him, if he were any way prone to deliver.

"When he remained in our charge, suspecting your Lordship took him for a counterfeit only, and hoping (as it would seem) if he could justify himself, your Honour would either entertain his message or return the messenger and proceed to no further course, was very desirous to write a letter to the Lady Arbell, and so did, and sent the same by me to your Lordship, the true copy whereof your Honour hath. About ten of the clock the same night, your Lordship commanded us to bring him before you into your dining chamber, where you again proceeded to further examination, being present Mr. Prinn, your steward, Mr. Edward Daniels, Mr. Thomas Hammond and myself, at which time he confessed no matter of substance more than that he had already done. Whereupon your Lordship dismissed him to his bed. When he came to his chamber, we discoursed of many matters, thinking to have got some more from him, but could not at that time. At my going to bed, I locked the door and put the key under my bed's head, whereat he fetched a great sigh, fearing as it would seem some ensuing troubles. The next morning, being Friday the last of December, as soon as it was day, I called unto him and asked him how he did. Whereunto he answered and protested he had not slept one wink all that night, uttering his speeches so lamentably, that we might discover in him an extraordinary pensiveness. Whereupon we thought it requisite to aggravate unto him his offence, and did particularly discourse what harm he had done in meddling in a matter of so high importance and so contrary to the pleasure of her Majesty, and told him unless he did sincerely confess all to your Lordship, you would prosecute the cause so vehemently, that the danger would light upon my old Lady, my Lady Arbell, and both the Cavendishes because they were all partakers of his offence. And that therefore, if he would reveal the whole truth, we would become suitors unto your Lordship in his behalf, that you would

impute the fault unto his ignorance, as not knowing what did belong unto such matters, albeit he was willing to do any service for the Lady Arbella and her friends, which we told him was the only way to help himself and do them all good. Whereupon, he made answer that (if we would promise him, that his Lordship should conceal what he would deliver us, and not bring the Lady's name in question) he would show us a letter written with the Lady Arbells own hand whereunto we replied, that we would move your Lordship to perform his desire. And then he delivered us the letter, the copy whereof remaineth with your Lordship. By nine of the clock, your Lordship had made ready your letters to Mr. Secretary with the notes concerning this cause. Whereupon you commanded the prisoner to be brought before you in your dining chamber, there being present Mr. Prinn, your steward, Mr. Edward Daniel, Mr. Hammond and myself. Your Lordship did then signify unto him that you did intend to send him to Mr. Secretary and did exhort him to deal plainly, when he came before him to be examined. And then he humbly desired upon his knees, with weeping tears, that your Lordship would have compassion on him and send him back to his Lady. Which, notwithstanding your Lordship did commit him to the charge of Mr. Edward Daniel and Mr. Thomas Hammond to be conveyed with as much speed as they could to the Court to Mr. Secretary, and the custody of the letters and papers to Mr. Hammond only, and appointed one of your grooms to attend on them. Forthwith about ten of the clock the said Friday, being the last of December in the morning, they took horse hard by the porter's lodge, your Lordship having appointed John Daudridge, alias Good, the prisoner to ride upon his own horse. And so he did. And then they did set forward on their journey."⁴

"Endorsed, 1602 os. The report of my L. of Hertford's man."
Letter of John Daudridge to Lady Arbells Stuart.

"My entertainment here is contrary to all expectations, so that except your Honour fully satisfy this bearer, my Lord will not think otherwise of me but I am some conterfeit, and so am in danger of trouble, for I have signified to his Lordship, that I am sent by Mr. Henry Cavendish and Mr. William Cavendish, whereof my Lord must be fully satisfied, and till my Lord be resolved thereof, I must rest his Honour's pleasure. I beseech your Honour,

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, XII, 627-638.

therefore to consider the estate I am in, for I would be sorry to do any thing that may be offensive anyway to any.”⁵

(Holograph. Undated. Much blotted. End. 1602.)

Fragment of Arbell's Instructions of John Dodderidge

“If they come to me themselves, they shall be shut out at the gates; if locked up, my grandmother will be the first shall advertise and complain to the queen. If dismissed, they must fully prove themselves to be no sycophants to me. For the first, let them make some offer to sell land, and Mr. Hancock and Mr. Proctor are good patterns to follow, so that they shall have whom they will to tarry in the house, and be welcome for a longer time than shall need. I desire this may be some ancient grave man; the younger may come as his son or nephew, and tarry or go away as we shall then think good. For the second, I protest your witness, either by word or writing shall fully satisfy me. But it will be counted discretion in you, and confirm their good opinion of me, if you require them to bring all the testimonies they can, as some picture or handwriting of the Lady Jane Grey, whose hand I know, and she sent her sister a book at her death, which were the very best they could bring, or of the Lady Catherine, or Queen Jane Seymour, or any of that family, which we know they, and none but they, have. And let some of the company be of my uncle Henry's acquaintance who yet must not come to the house because of my aunt Grace and his servants, but shall meet him at some other place. Their care is no more but to come speedily and secretly to Mansfield, or some place near and after you, and such intelligence as you have in the house will provide for the rest. You know none can better advise than Good, whom I pray you acquaint with no more, but that it greatly concerns me, and he will without any inquisitiveness do his best, and perchance take them for northern than western men, and that were their best way both to him or anybody else. No mention of the E. of Hertford in any case, nor of that county (Wilts); if they can, Cornish and Devonshire men, and generally out of all parts of England, referred to Sir John Biron's, therefore let them be wary, the shortness of time will help to keep counsel.”⁶

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, XIV, 135, 108.

⁶This Fragment is found in Bradley's *Arbella Stuart* and she found it in the Cecil Papers, V, 135, 107. It is also to be found in the H.M.C. Hatfield Papers, XIV, 135, 107.

"Unsigned, on a half sheet. Endorsed by Daudridge." "This is the note which my Lady Arbella writ and gave me for my instructions to deal in this business, in witness hereof I have set my hand, John Daudridge!" "Endorsed in another hand—"Packington, Swepson, Bilson, Libson, Nonetan, Atterton, Dreiton, Canketn, Earon, Caulton, Greffe, Bedworth, Longbord."

John Dodderidge's confession to the E. of Hertford was probably first made by word of mouth and then set down and signed as the following document shows:

"John Daudridge, alias Good, to (the Earl of Hertford)"

"I am sent by Mr. Henry and Mr. William Cavendish to let my Lords of Herford understand that his Honour caused Mr. Kirtton to speak to Mr. Owen Theoder to move my Lady of Shrewsbury in a matter touching a marriage betwixt his Honour's grandchild and the Lady Arbell, and that I should not name them because they will not be seen to deal in the matter, still may take what course his Honour thinks best, for my Lady Shrewsbury will not deal in the matter, though it were never so good without the Queen's Majesty's knowledge, and that this motion was made about that time that my Lord sent to lease his Honour's lands in Wales, as I understood it. All this was delivered to me by word of mouth at Hardwick, from whence I came on Christmas day in the afternoon. If my Lord think good to send his grandchild, guarded with whom his Honour think good, he shall have access to my Lady Arb. to see and to speak with her and at his pleasure to depart with as good safety as he comes to her. They may come, but not like themselves, to avoid suspicion, either to offer some land to sell, to borrow money or what my Lord thinks best, but if they come, they must bring with them some specialties whereby it may be known that he is the man, to avoid all doubts. So because I can give my Lord no certain ground whereby his Honour may know that I am no counterfeit, I will yield myself to his Honour's content, or also I will go with whom his Honour's please to send, and will perform all I shall undertake. John Daudridge, alias Good."⁷

Holograph. Undated. Endorsed, by Cecil, "1602."

Evidently Preacher Starkey or Mr. Holford had been unable to keep from the Queen's Council the fact that Mr. Henry Caven-

⁷H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 586.

dish was going to make an attempt to liberate Arbell, his niece, from the strict guardianship of his mother's custody. Upon learning this and before the Earl of Hertford had sent his men and Dodderidge to him, Cecil had posted away Sir Henry Brouncker to Hardwick to take notice of what was going on there. As is seen by a hint in Arbell's instructions to Dodderidge, she knew that her uncle Henry was going to make this attempt to get her away, and her attempt to get the help of the Earl of Hertford in connection with it seems to reveal itself. At any rate Sir Henry Brouncker was sent to Hardwick, but we have only this short letter of his to Cecil to tell this part of the story. (Certainly "Our Willy's" advice seems to have been taken in real earnest by Arbell, now about twenty-eight years old).

"Letter of Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil"

"After my letter was sealed I had cause to observe the meeting of all those gentlemen almost as one instant, about Hardwicke, being of several counties and seldom here of many years before; Mr. Fulgearn and Mr. Hacker, out of Nothinghamshire; Mr. Pott, out of Devonshire; Mr. Humfreson, out of Shopshire; Mr. Henry Cavendishe out of Staffordshire; Mr. Stapleton, out of Yorkshire."⁸ 2 January, 1602-3. Endorsed 1602-1603.

⁸H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 283.

CHAPTER XXXI

Arbell's Troubles Continue

MEANWHILE the prisoner, John Dodderidge, and his escort of the Earl of Hertford's men were galloping on their way to London, and an examination by Sir Robert Cecil. John Dodderidge seems not to have known of the attempt by Arbell's uncle Henry to get her away from Hardwick. But of course Cecil knew and now this new development sent him into quick action. Again Sir Henry Brouncker was speeded to Hardwick, this time with a letter for Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shewsbury, Arbell's terrific grandmother. We do not have a copy of the letter but we will give Sir Henry Brouncker's letter to the Queen on the results of his interviews with both the Countess and Arbell. In the meantime, Cecil wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper (whose reply was dated January 3, 1603) concerning Owen Tydder.

"Sir Thomas Egerton to Sir Robert Cecil."

. . . "For Owen Tydder, I know no such man. But this is all I have heard of any such person in Anglesly. Richard Owen Tydder, David Owen Tydder and John Owen Tydder were brothers, all pretending to be of the house of the great Owen Tydder. Richard died without issue, David is his brother and heir and is living. John the youngest followed the wars, and I have heard, served with the enemy. Whether he be living or dead I do not know. There is another one Roland Owen, a soldier likewise, born in that country, serving the enemy also, as I have heard. But this deriveth not himself from Tydder as the other does. It may be you will conjecture more upon this my idle relation than I imagine, and so I leave it to you to make you merry with a Welsh pedigree. 3 January, 1602-1603.

"Sir Henry Brouncker to the Queen:

"On Friday I came to Hardwick and found the house without any strange company. My Lady Shrewsbury, after she had my name, sent for me into her gallery, where she was walking with

the La. Arbell and her son, William Cavendish. I told her Ladyship, in the hearing of her grandchild, that your Highness having occasion to send me down into those parts, commanded me to see her Ladyship and to commend your Majesty unto her with all gracious favour. The old lady took such comfort at this message as I could hardly keep her from kneeling. Then drawing her on with other compliments towards the further end of the gallery to free her from the young lady I delivered your Majesty's letter. In the reading thereof I observed some change of countenance, which gave me occasion again to comfort her with the assurance of your Majesty's good opinion and favour and to desire that according to your Highness,' good pleasure I might speak privately with the Lady Arbell: which, after protestations of her own innocency and love to your Majesty, she easily granted. So leaving her there I led the Lady Arbell to the other end of the long gallery, where I told her that your Majesty wished her well, gave her thanks for her New Year's gift and did graciously accept it and would be glad to hear how she did, and added withal that your Highness had observed in somethings a dutiful respect in her towards your Majesty; only I must break a matter unto her Ladyship which your Majesty willed me to tell her that you took unkindly, considering how ready she would have been upon any notice from herself or grandmother at any time to have yielded to any her reasonable desires if your Highness had been made acquainted with it. In which point although she had deceived your expectations yet there was an open way for her to give your Majesty a great testimony of her integrity to you if she would truly and sincerely impart unto your Majesty all the particular circumstances of the matter, how it hath proceeded, and whom she had used in it, a matter wherewith your Highness is so well acquainted as you do nothing for inquisition, for it is so openly confessed as there is no denial, unless she would have your Majesty believe that in her action she hath laid aside that duty and affection, which she doth owe to your Majesty both as her subject and of her blood, whereas otherwise upon the naked laying open of her heart, both of herself and others, she should show her desire to repair any error committed by her. During the delivery of this message, it seemed by the coming and going of her colour that she was somewhat troubled, yet (after a little pause) she said that the matter was very strange to her; she was much grieved that your Highness should conceive

an ill opinion of her; if it pleased me to acquaint her with the offence, she would answer truly and either justify herself or confess her fault, yielding herself to your Majesty's mercy. I asked her whether she were not guilty of any practice that might be offensive to your Majesty? She would by no means acknowledge so much as a thought to offend your Highness. I then demanded whether she had had no late intelligence with the Earl of Hertford or employed any man to him. She denied all, but with great show of humility both in words and gestures. Here I was bold to tell her that she failed both in duty and judgment. Your Majesty's nature was not jealous or suspicious: in accusations you never take hold of anything that is not manifest, though in your great wisdom you foresaw almost all things. It was not strange for a young lady to err. That which had passed could not be recalled; it might be amended with repentance and plain dealing. I would be glad she did so carry herself as it might appear her offence to proceed of vanity and love of herself rather than of want of duty and contempt of your Majesty. I prayed her to remember herself before she waded too far in this course of wilfulness; that she must needs do. I persuaded her to do it willingly. Finding her still obstinate I asked her whether she knew one Daudridge and when she saw him. She said she knew him well and saw him a little before Christmas, but he was now with his friends, as she thought in Berkshire. I then enquired whether he had nothing to do for her in those parts and whether he was not sent to Amesbury. She still denied. I told her I was sorry to see her so wilful, I could draw the matter at length and trouble her with many questions, but seeing she was resolved to be wilful I would shew her something against which there could be no exception, and therefore I shewed her Daudridge's confession. She knew the hand, confessed she had once a meaning to send him to the Earl of Hertford but that, upon better advice had revoked her instructions. I asked whether any man would undertake such a matter of his own head without good warrant. She said he was a bold lewd fellow, and would do anything for gain. I told her that now she could not doubt that all was discovered and therefore prayed her to tell me who was the first mover in this marriage. She said, 'a man of the Earl of Hertford's to one Owen Tether, servant to my grandmother.' I said that that was moved long sithence, but I desired to know how it was lately renewed. She said she would tell me all, and that was done so

confusedly with words so far from the purpose as I knew not what to make of it. At length I told her that she might do well to deal plainly, which she protested she would and then confessed all, in a manner, which Daudridge had set down saving that she faintly denied that her uncles were acquainted with the matter. Then I thought good to tell her that she could not be alone in a matter of this nature and consequence, and therefore every person used in this business must be made known. She promised she would deal plainly and sincerely so as I would promise to conceal it from her grandmother, wherewithal I was well contented if she dealt soundly. I prayed that all might be set down in writing that nothing might be left to my report, which might err through ignorance or forgetfulness. So for that night I left her to herself and the next morning expected her letter. When I read it, I perceived it to be confused, obscure and in truth ridiculous. I told her it was not a letter fit for me to carry, nor for your Majesty to read; I assured her it would best satisfy your Highness if she omitted all ceremonies and delivered the truth plainly. She wrote again and little better than before, which made me believe that her wits were somewhat distracted either in fear of her grandmother or conceit of her own folly. At the last, perceiving me moved with her often and idle writing, to show her good will to satisfy your Majesty, she entreated me to set down what I would and she would subscribe it, which by any means I would not: but, to conclude this endless business I was forced to make a collection of all particulars, wherewith she was charged, which she willingly confessed and humbly sought your Majesty's pardon. For end I imparted all to the old lady whom next to your Majesty it most concerned. She was wonderfully afflicted with the matter and much discomforted, till I assured her of your Majesty's favour and gracious good opinion of her faithfulness, which, I said, I understood from your Highness' own mouth. In truth, she took it so ill as with much ado she refrained her hands. This is the effect of all that passed saving that the old lady at parting would have fastened a purse full of gold on me in honour of your Majesty, which likewise for your Majesty's honour I refused. Because I stayed longer than I meant and do fear that I cannot this day be admitted to your Majesty's presence, I am bold in haste to trouble your Highness with this scribbled paper, which I humbly beseech your Majesty to accept

of till you may be pleased to hear the rest.”¹ Undated but probably 9 January, 1602/3.

Sir Henry Brouncker on his return from Hardwick to London, took a nasty fall from his horse near or at Northampton, from which town he wrote two letters as follows:

Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil, dated Jan. 10, 1602 os.

Letter No. 1 (evidently for the Queen.)

“Being stayed on my way by an unhappy accident, lest your Majesty might think me negligent, I am bold until mine own coming to advertise your Honour of the chiefest occurrents in this business. On Friday I came to Hardwick & . . . (almost word for word the same as his report to the Queen above, except that Arbell was finally brought to confess by its being represented that ‘she might hope by the course which her Highness held with her that no extremity was meant to any’ and the following:) Now seeing that things succeeded no better by my promise to conceal it from her grandmother, I told her she had brought me into a great strait, for I perceived that she had acquainted her uncle William with all my proceedings, which I was sure would not be silent, and therefore I was bound both in duty and discretion to disclose all unto the old lady; but if her Ladyship would under her own hand open all the particular circumstances of this practice, I would conceal her instructions to Daudridge, as she desired, but withal I told her that she used many instruments in this business, and therefore every party whosoever must be made known, which faithfully promising she fell to writing anew, and performed it as ill as before, though it seemed she had will enough to have done it better, for she entreated me to set down what I would and she would subscribe it. Which I would not yield to by any means. From Northampton this 10 of January, 1602/1603.”

Endorsed by Cecil and in another hand Sir H. Bron.

Letter No. 2, which was evidently intended for Sir Robert Cecil himself.

“I have sent you a true relation of the business committed to me, wherein it appeareth what help I receive by your instructions. The Lady Arbell is persuaded that the Earl of Hertford was from the beginning acquainted with the matter as a thing he much affected, but because I am persuaded that the poor lady was

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 593.

abused, my Lord guiltless, and the truth may easily be known by the examination of Owen Tither, I thought it not fit to press it too far to my Lady, nor in the report of my proceedings, lest his Lordship might be wronged by an ill opinion, which once settled in her Majesty would hardly be removed. This is my discretion and conscience, which upon better advice I would be most glad to reform, if you find occasion." From Northampton, this 10th of January, 1602/3.

P.S. "I had a very shrewd fall, and am scarcely able to ride, which forereth this rude dispatch, which I pray your Honour to Pardon."

Sir Henry Brouncker sent his reports and a letter, besides the two he sent to Sir Robert Cecil, that the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury sent to the Queen by him all by courier to Cecil in London. Here is the letter Bess of Hardwick sent to the Queen:

"Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to the Queen."

"Most gracious soverign; I cannot sufficiently in words express the infinite and great comfort I have continually received by your Majesty's most princely favours to me and now by your most gracious letter and messages sent by Sir Henry Bronkhouse, who will particularly inform your Majesty of all things here. His preciseness at his first coming to keep the offence from me till he had privately talked with Arbell, did make me doubtful that your Majesty had some suspicion in me, but when I considered your Majesty's great wisdom in it, I did in my heart most humbly thank your Majesty for commanding that course to be taken. These matters were unexpected of me, being altogether ignorant of her vain doings, as on my salvation and allegiance to your Majesty I protest. Notwithstanding her vanity, I rest most certain of her loyal and dutiful mind to your Majesty. But seeing she hath been content to hear matters of any moment and not to impart them to me, I am desirous and most humbly beseech your Majesty that she may be placed elsewhere, to learn to be more considerate, and after that it may please your Majesty either to accept of her services about your royal person, or to bestow her in marriage which in all humility and duty I do crave of your Majesty for I cannot now assure myself of her as I have done."²

From Hardwick, the 9th of January, 1602/1603.

In London the Queen's Council got very busy on a hunt for

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., v. 12.

Owen Tedder for the letter from the Lord Keeper, Egerton seemed to show that he knew little about the man they wished to find. So they wrote to Sir Richard Bulkeley at Beaumaris, Wales:

"The Council to Sir Richard Bulkeley"

"For as much as it is confessed by the Lady Arbella and some others that one Mr. Owen Tydder hath been a dealer with her in a matter of marriage with the grandchild of the Earl of Hertford, we give you authority hereby to send for him privately to yourself, and to command him to deliver unto you ingeniously what he knoweth of that matter, and to set it down under his own hand, which declaration we do hereby require you in her Majesty's name to advertise us by post, and to take bond of him in the sum of 1,000^{lb} for his appearance. You may let him know in this matter one Kyrton is also accused to have been a dealer. We are also informed that he hath a son or a kinsman attending the young lady. Do not make either his examination or his declaration known, of what nature soever they be." Draft. End. by Cecil's Sec. January 12, 1602/3 "Minute to Sir Richard Buckley from my Master."

In the meantime Sir Henry Brouncker returned to his home in Lambeth Marsh, and wrote a note to Sir Robert Cecil:

"I came here this morning, but very secretly, as you advised me, and do attend your pleasure for my coming to you either this evening late or early in the morning. I had thought that being sent to you for my despatch, I should first have addressed my travail unto you. I humbly thank you for reforming my error. If her Majesty be well satisfied, I shall think my labours well bestowed." From Lamberth March, this 13 of January, 1602/1603. Sir Richard Bulkeley to Sir Robert Cecil:

"I received your letter to-day; and Mr. David Owen Tither, dwelling but six miles from this town I sent for him, and he immediately came, whose examination I herein enclose, together with his bond of 1.000^{lb} for his appearance. I was forced to give him the day set down in the bond, for he protested he wanted both horse to carry him and money for his charges, and being unwieldy and aged, said he cannot now ride past 16 or 18 miles in a day. I know him to be a poor gentleman of a mean living, and giveth himself only to good fellowship, pleasure and hunting, without respect of his profit, and of a plain wit. Hugh Owen, who he nameth in his examination, is a gentleman that for the most

part used to dwell in Pembrokeshire near Milford Haven, but sithense his father's decease, has used his year to remain much at his house in the south part of this Isle, about 16 miles from this town. I am told he rode lately out of this Isle not known whither, but thought towards the Marches. The Lord President may soon send him to you if he be at the Marches or in Pembrokeshire or returned. I have charged Mr. Owen Tither to conceal this cause until he come unto you and he wrote his examination, I have sworn upon the Bible not to reveal any part thereof." Beaumaris 15. January 11 of the clock at night." Holo. End. "1602."

The Enclosure:

"Examination of David Owen Tudir, Esquire. Taken before Sir Richard Bulkeley, knight the 15th day of January, 1602/1603.

"Being examined whether he hath dealt in any matter of marriage with the Lady Arbella for any person at any time, denieth that ever he spake unto her of any matter concerning marriage, and being examined whether any did deal with him to further any marriage to the said Lady Arbella, saith that about three or four years past, the certain time whereof he remembreth not, but he thinketh it was before one Hugh Owen of Bodeon, esquire (in the pay of the King of Spain) was married unto the Earl of Northumberland's sister, the said Hugh Owen came to this examine's house, unexpected of this examine, and there in talk mentioned this examine to move a marriage between the Lord Bewchampe's eldest son and the lady Arbella, which this examine utterly refused to do or have any dealings therein. He, the said Hugh Owen, then entreated him to do so much favour as to help him to speech of the said lady Arbella, and he would come thither as a suitor to one of the old Countess of Shrewsbury, her grandmother's gentlewomen: which he also refused to do for him, and told him that he had no occasion to go into that country, yet within short time after the said Hugh Owen sent to this examine divers notes declaring all the Earl of Hertford's livings and commodities, which remained awhile with this examine, but he never read them over, and, within a short time after, the said Hugh Owen came for them again to him; which he delivered him, and denieth that ever any other person but the said Hugh Owen had any speech with him touching the marriage of the lady Arbella: and denieth also the knowledge of any man called Kirton; and being demanded whether he have

not a son that serveth the lady Arbella, said about midsummer was twelve months he sent his eldest son, being about 14 years old, to the old Countess of Shrewsbury, whom this examine had served above twenty years in house with her, meaning that his said son should have been her page, but as he hath heard since, the said old Countess hath put him to serve the lady Arbella as her page, for this examine hath not been with the said old Countess since Whitsuntide was twelve months."² Signed. End. "1602"/1603.

This letter and enclosure certainly shows that Arbell did know of some effort by someone connected with the Earl of Hertford to arrange a marriage with young Edward Seymour and herself, two or three years before; but how much the Seymour family was connected with it is problematical.

Now comes the strangest part of the contest between Arbell and her grandmather. Evidently the imperious old Countess was determined to get the upper hand of Arbell and determined to absolutely deprive her of her freedom of action. She evidently employed someone outside her usual number of servants to watch both Arbell and her servants and to intercept all her letters and calls for help to her aunt Mary, her friend, and other friends that Arbell had in the neighborhood, and fake replies were sent to Arbell and her servants to these appeals. How this was managed and by whom has not come to light. All that the records show is that the old Countess and her son William did so intercept these letters and fake the replies. From the letter to the Queen by the old Countess of Shrewsbury of 29 January, she says that she had sent these following "scrolls," as she calls them, up to Sir Henry Brouncker.

Here are the so-called scrolls:

Lady Arbell Stuart to Mr. Hacker.

"I pray you advertise my aunt of Shrewsbury that my lady grandmother and all here are as well in health, or better than when she was here, and this I assure her on my faith to be true and no excuse. But if she will make me bound to her then ever I have been in my life, or ever shall or can be hereafter to her or any living how great so ever they be or how well soever they love me, I beseech her to come down with the like speed she would do if my grandmother were in extremity . . . for the matter I would impart to her, and will neither for love nor fear impart to any other till I have talked with her, it imports us all, and especially her and

me, more than the death of any one of us; and yet she hath no cause to doubt, much less to fear, that any harm how little soever should happen to any of us so she come in time, that I be not constrained to take the counsel and help of others who would make their own special advantage without that respect of any but themselves that I know she would have. It is not for fear of a chiding, but some other reason, . . . that I beseech her not to take notice of my sending for her, and she shall be bound by promise to keep my counsel no longer than it please her after she know it; for else it is such as I dare and mean to trust a mere stranger withal, and will win her Majesty's good opinion of who ever is employed in it."

Holograph endorsed by Cecil "Lady Arbella to Mr. Hacker."
(Mr. Hacker was a servant to Mary, young Countess of Shrewsbury.)

Bridget Shorlande to Mr. Hacker

"GOOD MR. HACKER. It is my La. desire to heave me write to you for to come to speake with me because I sholde have toulde you sum things wch I will not write, but I praie these thinges that I write of, if you will ever doe any thing for my lady, afecte it for my lady; it is her desire that you doe seande for ye younge La. of Shrewsbury to come with all ye speade yt maide be for her for she is restrained from her liberty and therefore she wolde in-treate you for heave you seande poaste for her to com or else she will make my Lady thinke if she doo not com that all her frindes will for sake her when she heath moste neade, and you have promised yt you will doo what lieth in youre power for her and I am sure yt is in youre power to heave this matter eaffected if you will doo it as my La. heave reposed her trouste in you. Thus, with moste kind salutes, from Suttin in Ashfelde, this xv of Jennery."

Holo. Addressed "to ye worsupfull and my very loving frinde Mr. Hacker at Bridgford on ye Hill." End. by Cecil's Sec. "Mrs. Shoreland." Mrs. Shorland was Arbell's waiting woman.

This is the first of the letters of Mrs. Shorland's which received feigned answers. The feigned answer to this first letter which Mrs. Shorland sent to Mr. Hacker is as follows: "Am sorry my occasions are so great that I cannot come to you."

Mrs. Shorland wrote to Mr. Bradshawe to the same effect as that of Mr. Hacker."

"The messenger that was to have carried the letter returned a feigned answer by word that Mr. Bradshawe was not at home."

Mrs. Shorland wrote to Mr. Bradshawe: "My lady would entreat you to ride post to the Court and deliver this letter that is enclosed, to Sir Henry Bronker. Sutton in Ashfield, 15 Jany."

"The messenger that was to have carried the letter returned a feigned answer by word that Mrs. Bradshawe would send Sir Henry Bruncker's letter to her husband, 'to be carried with all speed.'"

"Then Mrs. Shorland wrote to Mr. Frank at Heath:"

"Would entreat you . . . to come to speak with me," or "write to me what news at Hardwick and send me my letters that you brought me from London." Undated.

"The messenger that should have carried the above said letter returned a feigned answer by word 'Frank would come to her within two or three days, but at that time he durst not.'"

"The feigned answers were in the same handwriting as the body of the Countess' letter to the Queen of the 29th of January."³

Elizabeth, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to the Queen

"I understand by Sir Henry Brounser's letters some part of your Highness pleasure touching this unadvised young woman here, and do most humbly desire that I may know your Majesty's further pleasure. I cannot yield to your Majesty such humble and dutiful thanks as I am most bound to do for your Majesty's most gracious favour and goodness to me and princely acceptance of my faithful poor service. I will not respect my trouble or charge to do your Majesty any service that shall lie in me during life, but I doubt it is not in my power now to do that service to your Majesty in this matter as I desire, for the bad persuasions of some have so estranged her mind and natural affection from me that she hold me the greatest enemy she hath, and hath given herself over to be ruled and advised by others, so that, the bond of nature being broken, I cannot but doubt there is another match in working, but who the party should be, I cannot conjecture. Some vain words she hath spoken tending to such a matter, which I thought at the first were to make me more negligent in looking to that which was before discovered. She is borne in hand, as I gather, that she shall have your Majesty's good liking and allowance of anything she doth, and have liberty to have resort to her and herself go or ride

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 606 et passim.

at her own pleasure. For my own, *I should have little care how meanly soever she were bestowed so as it were not offensive to your Highness.* So far as my credit doth extend with her, I advise her to attempt nothing without your Majesty's pleasure first known. She saith she will do all duty to your Majesty, but desireth me to forebear to examine her. Her vain speech puts further doubts into me of her folly. Your Majesty in your wisdom upon this small light will look further into this matter than I can imagine. The greatest light I gathered was by those scrolls I formerly (sent) up to Sir Henry Brouncker. They grow now so wary that I doubt I (shall) hardly meet with any more. Sometimes she will say that she can be taken (away) off my hands if she will, which I trust for the short time your Majesty's pleasure shall be for her to stay here, I shall sufficiently look to, but I cannot do it and give her liberty to walk and ride abroad and have resort to her. I humble crave pardon of your Highness for presuming to trouble your Majesty with my rude scribbling:—From Hardwick this xxix of January, 1602/1603.⁴

Signed. Endorsed by Cecil. "The Countess of Shu. to the Queen."

Not only was Arbell deprived of her liberty of action, but her friend and servant John Dodderidge was languishing in the Gatehouse in London in her cause. We have an item in the records. "John Dauridge: Petition to Sir R. Cecil: 'Asks pardon for his offence and prays for liberty. The Gatehouse, 16 Jan, 1602/1603.' "⁵

It would appear from Sir Henry Brouncker's reports and the "scrolls" sent down to him by Bess of Hardwick, that Arbell was being held a virtual prisoner by her old grandmother. The council evidently considered the matter and decided that the old lady had gone too far in her treatment of Arbell and answered the Countess' letter by the following:

"The Vice Chamberlain⁶ (Sir John Stanhope) and Sir Robert Cecil to the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury."

"Madame, it hath pleased her Majesty upon receipt of your letters by Sir Henry Brounckard, with which and all other particulars he acquainted her, to command us two to let you know how much she remains satisfied with your proceedings, nothing appearing in them but fulness of care to prevent inconveniences

⁴H.M.S. Salisbury MSS., XII, 624-5.

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 232.

⁶Sir John Stanhope, Earl of Hertford's uncle

and desire to accomplish in all things her Majesty's pleasure. But lest you by mistaking her meaning or apprehending more than is needful, should peradventure take some course that is not convenient, we are commanded to let you know; first, what her Majesty conceives of the young lady's actions and how from henceforth she would have it ordered, to avoid idle talks and rumours, whereof there is aptness in most men to take liberty in this time. In the observation of the root from whence this motive sprung in the lady, she doth perceive that some base companion, thinking it pleasing in her youth and sex to be sought in marriage, were content to abuse her with a device that the Earl of Hertford had a purpose to match his grandchild with her: a matter wherein they knew in their own consciences how lewly they dealt, but that they hoped so to have practised upon that nobleman as to have profit if they could once have been admitted only to have entered into such communication with him. For of this your Ladyship may be assured, that if his own precise carriage in the matter and clear and innocent dealing with the Queen, as he hath done, were not sufficient to clear the Earl, yet the incongruity of his grandchild's years, being between 17 and 18, besides the absurd election of the ministers and course of proceedings, is sufficient to satisfy all the world that this matter had a corrupt beginning as it hath a fond end, and hereof is her Majesty pleased that you should make the young lady partaker to this intent, both that she see her folly and withal to receive this admonition hereby, that howsoever her Majesty may be contented, in respect of her penitence for her fault, to pass over the presumption in her to hearken to a match in that place, whereby it might be collected that she had some other idle conceit than the marriage, yet that if she shall not take this for a warning, and content herself to live in good sort with so dear a parent and so worthy a matron, without dealing in such things or any matter of importance, whereunto she shall not either first make you privy, if she be the first author, or, immediately after she is acquainted by any others, shall not resort to you and plainly and dutifully declare all circumstances even at the first instant, she shall be made to know that therein she abuseth that liberty which otherwise her Majesty is pleased she should hold, as hereto fore she hath done, for all correspondencies and the exchanges of courtesies and acquaintance with her friends or yours, in matters that tend not to such like plots or practices: wherein

she must know that, being of that blood she is, her Majesty will look for an extraordinary account of her proceedings. Next, Madame, to concur with this purpose of her Majesty in the manner of her treatment, we are commanded to tell you that she would have you by all means avoid any such manner of guarding your house, or excluding resort, as may continue the fond bruits that are raised, and that you therein return to your accustomed manner without any other over-curiosity. Your Ladyship may, notwithstanding, sufficiently observe how she carries herself; and because of your age and sickness cannot permit you to be always in her company, you may impose some care upon some discreet gentlewoman to be in her company and some honest gentleman to attend her amongst the rest, who, without using any extraordinary restraint, may have eyes sufficiently unto her if she do anything unfit for her, either in duty to the Queen or in prejudice of her own honour or well doing. To conclude, Madame, we must again reiterate unto you her Majesty's gracious acceptance of your dutiful care and affection to please her. Only you must receive this answer for your suit to be freed of her, that her Majesty cannot think of any other place so fit for her as this is, and therefore desireth you to remain contented, and to look to your health that God may give you a comfortable life, which her Majesty wishes you as much as any friend you have. And so for this time we, etc.

Draft. End. "1602" by Cecil. "La. Shresb, Mr. Vice Chamberlain and my lre to ye Lady Shewsbury."⁷

The above letter must have given the old Countess considerable of a jolt as it quite plainly disapproves of her treatment of Arbell in virtually taking away her liberty and practically forbids such action in the future.

Arbell, being shown the letter from the Queen's Council by her grandmother, on their orders took their suggestions seriously and so not only wrote to the Queen but also to her grandmother, trying to apologize to the Queen and to explain her conduct to her grandmother.

What a predicament for her! She could not disclose either her lover's name, nor his confidence! She could only tell her story as best she could, and what a story! If she had really told the story, as she knew it, probably she would then have been considered quite

⁷H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 626.

mad. This letter, however, proves my contention that it was Thomas Morley, an alias for "Our Willy" who had been her tutor and with whom she had been in love. To use her own words, "*it is he, whom I have loved too well (ever since I could love).*" This letter from Arbell to her grandmother is very important to my story and should be studied well.

Arbell Stuart to the Queen

May it please your most excellent Majesty:

"Sir Henry Brouncker hath charged me with many things in your Majesty's (name), the most whereof I acknowledge to be true, and am heartily sorry I have given your Majesty the least cause of offence. The particulars and the manner of handling I have, to avoid your Majesty's trouble, delivered to Sir Henry Brouncker. I humbly prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, craving pardon for what is past, and of your princely clemency to signify your Majesty's most gracious remission to me by your Highness's letter to my lady my grandmother, whose discomfort I shall be till then. The Almighty increase and for ever continue your Majesty's divine virtues and prosperity, wherewith you blessed, bless us all.

"Your Majesty's most humble and dutiful handmaid.

ARBELL STUART."⁸

⁸H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 681.

CHAPTER XXXII

Arbell's Declaration

“THE Letter from Lady Arbell to her Grandmother.”

“To the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury. No date.

“I acknowledge myself most bound to her Majesty for her gracious pardon of my offence, which appeareth more disgraceful in her Majesty’s eyes, your ladyship’s and those two grave and honourable concillors by whose letter it pleaseth her Majesty to reprove my offence, than it yet doth in the opinion of many others upon whose opinion I have laid the foundation of all the rest of my life. Pardon me, therefore, I beseech your ladyship, if, without those ceremonies which, either through ignorance or anxiety of a mind yet distracted between fear and hope (I have omitted), I set down the true reasons of this my proceedings. To employ any, much more such base and unworthy persons in such a matter, had been a blot to my reputation never to be washed away with floods of repentant tears, if my intent had not been to have it known to her Majesty that such a matter was propounded seriously, and by some desired, by others not misliked, but utterly neglected or rejected by myself from the first hour I heard of it till the last, and not more now than at first, for all my Lord Hertford’s discourteous dealings with me, who hath deserved better at his hands. And therefore, restraining my friends I respected, I sent such as I thought likeliest to displease his lordship, though I instructed them not to give his lordship cause of offence, and adventured no more than I was desirous they should divulge—so it were without my consent, for in truth I cannot find in my heart to disclose the counsel of any stranger or enemy, that either by their consent or chanceably cometh to my knowledge, if it may be, or I do but doubt it may be prejudicial to them. *And I thank God it fell out better than I and my dearest and best trusted, what so ever he be, could have devised or imagined, though we have beat our brains about it these three years.*

“The ridiculous and contemptuous style, I beseech you excuse with the reasons, *which this gentleman who taught me alleged, before he could persuade me to play the fool in good earnest.* It was convenient her Majesty should see and believe what busy bodies, untrue rumours, unjust practices, colourable and cunning devices are in remote parts, against those (herself) whom the world understood to be in a sort exiled her Majesty’s presence underservedly, though themselves be never so wary or unwilling any should so much as speak to them.

“And so herein your ladyship’s wisdom and fidelity hath been at least comparable with my Lord of Hertford’s, so I have many good witnesses, and more than for their own sakes I would I had, had that I have been as precise and circumspect in avoiding all occasions either of alluring or encouraging any to reveal their affection, how great soever, how respectfully soever, how well soever loved or liked by myself. And whosoever hath made trial what would either persuade the most virtuous lady, or the greatest lady, for by their commandment I must needs tell your ladyship they will needs say and swear I am the one of their knowledge, and they could wish me in the highest degree of her Majesty’s favour, and put me in hope, if ever I may attain her Majesty’s presence, I shall receive the like gracious countenance for all this that I have ever done. They, I say, who have most trial what promises, oaths, vows, threatenings, unkindness, fair means or foul, neglect of others, withdrawing of comfort, counsel, hope or redress or anything in the world could constrain or entice one of my sex, years, and hitherto unhappy fortune, can bear me witness that I am too stout to request a favour till I be sure I may command it. And they would take it (the Queen’s forgiveness of Arbell) as a favour done to them and not to me—of whom they crave not so much as thanks, I assure your ladyship, nor anything in the world *but love—of whom in such honourable and Christian sort as I were to be condemned by your ladyship specially, if for comfort and my own advancement I should still have rejected, or, like a deaf asp, stopped my ears against his voice, who never requested anything but was more for my good and honour than his own. All the injuries he could he hath done me, and his credit being, as he right well deserves great with her Majesty, and his friends many, I impute even all my wrongs to him, and freely forgive them all who have been his (unwitting, I am sure) perchance unwilling instru-*

ments, and if they had known by whom, to what end they were employed, as I think very few did if any—for secrecy is one of his virtues, and he hath so many as I believe any subject or foreign prince in Europe, or more. The only request that ever I made to him (many other things I have in rude and uncivil manner bid him do, and he can take nothing ill at my hand but one, as he protesteth, and I am sure as one can be of any mortal creature that knoweth the nature of an oath, and esteemeth it the pawn of his soul) that he would procure my remove from out of your ladyship's custody: not that I would not think myself most happy to spend all my life under your ladyship's government, but that I cannot rule love and ambition in others, as I thank God I can do very well in myself, and in truth am not infected at all with the latter, nor so apt to believe and suddenly to resolve in so important a matter, as I was content it should seem to my Lord of Hertford of purpose and not of error I protest.

“As I may compare the love of this worthy gentleman (which I have already unrevocably accepted and confirmed and will never deny, nor cannot nor will repent, whatsoever befall), to gold which hath been so often purified that I cannot find one fault to me, jealousy only excepted, so I have dealt unkindly, shrewedly, proudly with him, and if any living have cause to think me proud, or ‘shrowd’ (shrewish), it is he, whom I have loved too well (ever since I could love) to hide any word, thought, or deed of mine from him, unless it were to awe him a little when I thought his love converted into hate—for I did him wrong to think so a great while—and to make him weary of his jealousy by letting him see it was the only way to make me fall out with him and anger him in the highest degree I could imagine. With my Lord of Hertford I have dealt so precisely that it hath neither been in his power to do me more hurt than reveal all he knew by me, nor should have cause or colour to take anything so kindly, and keep my counsel. When I writ, I wept, and I marvel it was not perceived, for I could neither forbear weeping at meal-times nor in truth day or night till I had performed my promise, and set down in good and orderly sort some of the devises and shifts which more than one had devised or practised without my knowledge, till it was past, or allowance either for what was past or to come.

“And this party, who trusts me with more than I would have him, even the secretest thoughts of his heart, hath not nor ever

had so much as a promise that I would keep his counsel. He taught me by the example of Samuel that one might pretend one errand and deliver another with a safe conscience. By the example of Samson that one might and (if they be not too foolish to live in this world) must speak riddles to their friends, and try the truth of offered love and unsuspected friends in some matters wherein, if they dealt unfaithfully it shall but make their ridiculous malice appear to their own discredit and no manner of hurt to others. He assured me her Majesty's offence would be converted into laughter, when her Majesty should see the honest cunning of the contriver, to such an end as will be highly to her Majesty's liking, and to your ladyship's and my good many ways. He told me he would have me enter into some great action to win myself reputation, try her Majesty's love to me, though neither of us doubted of it, try what my friends would do for me, and how I could employ my friends and servants, and make strangers to me effect my desires without being beholden to them. And building my hopes upon the rock, let the winds and billows and tempests show that though my building be low, yet it is not builded upon sand, for then I had been ruined, but like the wise architect who first draweth his plat, and after maketh an estimate of the charges, giving some allowance more than he thinks will be needful, and then finding himself able to go through cheerfully, setteth his workmen to their several works, so we first did deliberately consult, and after speedily execute that which we knew for a short time would be offensive to her Majesty, your ladyship, the Earl of Hertford, and divers others, and work an effect which I am most assured will be most acceptable to her Majesty, and it is even the best service that ever lady did her sovereign and mistress.

"I am more desirous her Majesty should understand every part and parcel of the devise, every actor, every action, every word and syllable of that her Majesty hath, under my hand, or John Good's (alias John Dodderidge), than your ladyship has, because I know more than your ladyship doth or shall (because it is most for your ladyship's honour and good it should be so, till her Majesty be acquainted and fully satisfied that I have done nothing foolishly, rashly, falsely, or unworthy of myself. Therefore I humbly thank her Majesty for that liberty it pleaseth her Highness to allow me, by the which I may confer with my friends, without which I could not discover the truth so soon and so well to her Majesty as I trust

to do, if it please her Majesty to allow me the space of one month to clear myself in, and liberty to send to any privy councillor, I will be accountable to her Majesty, but not to your ladyship, for all that ever I did in my life, or ever will do. *And I will reveal some secrets of love concerning myself and some others which will be delightful to her Majesty to understand.* I will send some to complain of themselves. *I will inform her Majesty of some matters whereof her Majesty hath yet no manner of suspicion.* I will offend none but my uncle of Shrewsbury, my aunt, and my uncle Charles (Cavendish) and them it will anger as much as ever they angered me, and make myself as merry at them as the last Lent they did at their own pleasant device, for as I take it, of the gentleman with the red eyes. And if they will, as they ought in duty, reconcile themselves to your ladyship, your ladyship shall command me to forget all injuries they have done me, only excepted, *and that is the wrongs they have done this most worthy gentleman, for whom I have already forsaken parents, kin, and all the world, her Majesty only excepted.* For, I vow, as I shall be saved, he tells me plainly he will not offend her Majesty for my sake, and will rather forsake me for ever than incur her Majesty's displeasure; though the time be never so short. *And therefore though I have kept his counsel these many years, and will do whilst I live, if it may be the least hurtful to him and any of his (for I never acquainted any of mine one or the other I take God to witness), so I think it long till I may let her Majesty know his name, who so far exceedeth all the examples of her Highness's best-favoured (courtiers) that he dare not see nor but by stealth send to her he loves as well as ever they did any.* And if it please her Majesty so to accept of him, I shall think myself most happy if her Majesty will grace him with her favour, and win his heart from me, if that be possible: and I will daily pray for her Majesty's favour more and more, as I know he will endeavor, and if it please her Majesty to give me but liberty to send to him and hear from him (which in truth I must do and he must do, though it offend your ladyship, and can do, whosoever oversee us), I will show your ladyship every letter of his I shall hereafter receive, and be content your ladyship shall reveal all that to your ladyship knowledge passeth betwixt us, not only to her Majesty, but to all the world. For I am so far from being ashamed of my choice, that even for my own honour's sake I could find in my heart to reveal him, but that in truth I dare not without his

consent, and he dare not till he have his pardon for himself and his friends signified unto me by her Majesty's letter, which after I am to send to him and hear from him again, and then he shall either himself, by what means it pleaseth him, acquaint her Majesty with his fearful presumption; or I will tell your ladyship, upon condition it may please your ladyship to join with me in begging her Majesty's gracious pardon to certain offenders, whose penance shall be to make confession first to her Majesty, and after to your ladyship, how gladly they would have offended your ladyship, and how far they have offended her Majesty for my sake.

"And if they receive the sentence of death out of her Majesty's mouth, I dare answer for them they shall die content; but I trust her Highness will with a smile deride their follies and at one of their hands accept a poor present I am in hand with for her Majesty, (and) give another leave to deliver a letter or message to her sacred Majesty from me, her then fully absolved handmaid, and give us all leave to impart our joy of her Majesty's pardon to us all one to another, and devise the best manner how to represent to her Majesty the joy we conceive thereof. And make ourselves merry with making ourselves perfect in our parts, which for want of conference we have partly forgotten and partly understand not, and her Majesty more merry if it please her Highness but to keep our counsel; and I will instruct them and send them to her Majesty one after another, *and none living shall understand my drift but her Majesty, the noble gentleman whose name I conceal, and whom it pleaseth them two to acquaint with limitations.*

"One only suit will I make to her Majesty, wherein I humbly crave your ladyship to assist and further me, that is, that it may please her Majesty to suspend her Highness judgment of me till her Majesty see the end, which cannot be so soon as I could wish for; I think every minute long but (it) shall be hastened as much as may be, I assure your ladyship on my faith; and surcease her displeasure to myself and all those with whom, for my sake I doubt not, her Highness is offended; and suffer some of them whose names her Majesty hath under my hand to come or send to me at my request, or are sent for, either I will acquaint your ladyship, or send them post, or cause them to advertise some Privy Councillor, what they do at my request and to what end.

"I trust I have fully satisfied your ladyship that I am neither so disobedient or inconsiderate as your ladyship might think me,

and because I report many things *which to your ladyship seems impossible, your ladyship next under her Majesty's gracious letter or messenger unfoldeth these dark speeches, which let others so as it please them, I will never reveal but to her Majesty; neither will I presume to present my unworthy service to her Majesty, till it shall please her Highness to command it, for some reasons wherewith I will with all speed advertise her Majesty, whom the Lord bless and prosper for ever every way.*

ARBELL STUART¹

Holo. End. "My Lady Arbell; Declaration to my Lady hir Grandmother;" and by Cecil, "The Lady Arbella's first Ire." This ye old Lady sent up."

This letter must have been written soon after her grandmother's receipt of the Privy Councillors' letter, which she was ordered to show to Arbell, and in which Arbell was commanded to impart everything about her affair to her grandmother. This was her amazing reply.

Knowing what we do about the Arbell romance, and "Our Willy", this letter seems quite comprehensible to us, but to her grandmother it must have seemed quite fantastic and, like her other statements to her grandmother impossible to believe.

Of course Arbell and "Our Willy" could not have known of the really desperate illness of the Queen, for the Council was keeping it quiet so that at her death James of Scotland could be crowned without any trouble.

Of course the Ambassadors of the other countries knew it, as well as the Jesuits and other spies as I have stated.

I found an item about Shakespeare and Elizabeth which illustrates Arbell's statement that her lover "Our Willy" was much admired by Queen Elizabeth.

"It is well known that Queen Elizabeth was a great admirer of the immortal Shakespeare, and used frequently, as was the custom with persons of great rank in that day, to appear upon the stage before the audience, or to sit delighted behind the scenes, when the plays of our bard were performed.

"One evening when Shakespeare himself was impersonating the part of a king the audience knew of her Majesty being in the house. She crossed the stage when he was performing, and, on receiving the accustomed greeting from the audience, moved po-

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 683 et passim.

lately to the poet, but he did not notice it. When behind the scenes, she caught his eye, and moved again, but still he could not throw off his character to notice her: this made her Majesty think of some means by which she might know whether he would depart or not from the dignity of his character while on the stage. Accordingly, as he was about to make his exit, she stepped before him, dropped her glove, and recrossed the stage, which Shakespeare noticing, took up with these words, immediately after finishing his speech: and so aptly were they delivered, that they seemed to belong to it:—

‘And though now bent on this high embassy

Yet stoop we to take up our cousin’s glove.’

He then walked off the stage, and presented the glove to the Queen, who was greatly pleased with his behaviour, and complimented him upon the propriety of it.²

The old Countess sent Arbell’s letter to her down to the two Privy Councillors, Sir John Stanhope and Sir Robert Cecil, which was dated Feb. 2, 1602/1603.

*The Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir John Stanhope
and Sir Robert Cecil*

“I understand her Majesty’s gracious pleasure by your letters, and rest infinitely bound to her Highness for her Majesty’s gracious favours to me. I will follow your directions as near as I can. To my grief, I see with what vanity, base and lewd instruments this inconsiderate young woman hath been abused, as by Daudridge and others not unknown to you, who bare her in hand for my Lord of Hertford’s grandchild. I protest before the living God, I think his Lordship as clear from this practice as they that never heard of her. Some of the plotters hereof by undoing her thought to bring me to my end, with grief if not with violence, as upon good grounds I think, and not vainly. Lately I suspected she had some other like matter in hand whereof I advertised your Majesty; since then, I still persuaded her to manifest all to her Highness and to crave pardon, but I could not prevail, neither learn more than I formerly advertised, until the receipt of your letter, which according to her Highness’s pleasure I showed to her to make her look into her great follies, and to see that her Majesty’s pleasure was she should impart to me any matter of practice what so ever.

²Footnote “M”, Dodsley’s *Old Plays*, Shakespeare Soc., v. 4, Supplement 4. *Dramatic Table Talk* (London, 1825) VII, 156-157.

Your letter, together with my earnest persuasions, prevailed so far as that she set down with her own hand this declaration fraught with vanity. Such as it is, I have sent it hereinclosed, but I could not by any possible means prevail with her to set down the matter plainly, as I desired she would, in a few lines. These strange courses are wonderful to me, and cannot but greatly grieve me to see how wickedly she hath been abused. If I can learn more I shall advertise, but I think it must be some strait commandment to her from her Majesty to declare the truth and all circumstances; otherwise I doubt she will not. She protests nothing shall force her to it, but I think she will be better advised upon a new commandment, seeing she hath been brought to set down so much already, which is more than I looked for. Upon these circumstances, you in your wisdoms may have some conjecture who the party is, by what means she hath been wrought. Their malice to me was so great that they respected not her undoing, but what should I complain of their malice when they forget their duty so greatly to her Majesty. What truth there is in this new matter, I know not, I have found her to 'swarve' so much from truth, and so vainly led in the first practice, that I cannot give any credit to her. It may be the matter is not so far proceeded as she makes show, and that it is but a practice, as the former was, but I cannot but doubt the worst.

"I have often heretofore in time of infection restrained resort from my house, as at this present the country hereabouts is infected with agues, small-pox and measles. But I see it is increased by some lewd, and idle persons or rather by this unadvised young woman's letters. I have not had in my house above two persons more than my ordinary household and those but for three or four days. (Probably the persons that intercepted the letters of Arbell and her servants.) I was more careful and somewhat more precise in looking to the safety of my house *for that I was told in plain terms she could go away at her pleasure and against my will, which I made sure she should not.* These new matters falling out may make some alteration of her Highness' pleasure for her stay here: in a strange place she cannot have those means of the sudden to send and hear; but what it shall please her Majesty to command me, to the uttermost of my power I will do my best service, though it be to the shortening of my days. I have ancient gentlewomen in my house which are much with her, and gentlemen and others of good sufficiency. *By her own servants she hath conveyed and re-*

ceived letters and hath corrupted some of mine. I presently mean to part with mine and give example to the rest. Even to the last hour of my life I shall think myself happy to do any acceptable service to her Majesty.—From my poor house at Hardwick, this second of Februarie, 1602, os.³

Signed. Endorsed by Cecil. "The Countess of Shewsbury to Mr. Vice-Ch. and me."

Arbell, after having thought over Sir Henry Brouncker's treatment of her story, evidently decided that possibly she might, if the Queen appointed him as her trusted agent, dare to tell her secret to him which was of such terrific importance to her and her beloved. So she informed her grandmother that that was her thought. Accordingly the Dowager Countess wrote to Sir Robert Cecil the following letter:

"The Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil"

"Arbell is now in mind, as she saith, to make the party's name she favoureth known to her Majesty by any that shall please her Highness to send hither, as may appear by her own letter to you hereinclosed. For that Sir Henry Brouncker hath been employed before in these matters, her humble suit is that he may be sent again. He is a very discreet gentleman. She saith she would more willingly impart her mind to him that doth already understand some part of these matters than to an other. I wish she had been better advised than to have entered into any of these courses without her Majesty's good allowance. Hardwick 6 Feb. 1602/1603."⁴

The enclosure is Arbell's letter which accompanied that of her grandmother and reads as follows:

*"Lady Arbella Stuart to Sir John Stanhope, the
Vice-Chamberlain and Sir Robert Cecil"*

"May it please you, for asmuch as my lady my grandmother did interpret the letter which, by her most excellent Majesty's commandment her ladyship received from your honours concerning her Majesty's gracious acceptance of her ladyship's faithful discharging the trust reposed in her by her Highness; together with her Majesty's pardon of my offence and interpretation of the original grounds thereof, and direction for my treatment hereafter,

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., 12, Feb. 2, 1602-1603.

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 684.

in other sense than I, to whom it was her Majesty's pleasure it should be imparted, do understand it. And, during that variety of opinions, her ladyship may suppose herself charged to look to me with more strictness than I assure myself it is her Majesty's pleasure I should be, as hereofore I have found, and with most dutiful thanks acknowledge. And on the other side, I supposing the limits prescribed me larger than perhaps they are, may unwillingly transgress her Majesty's commandment, when I mean nothing less. It may please your honours, for avoiding all errors, both on the right hand and on the left, to expound your own meanings in these points which now come in question, or any other which hereafter may. Whether it be her Majesty's pleasure I shall have free choice of my own servants, to take, keep, and put away whom I think good, either telling or not telling the reason? And whether I may send for whom I think good, or talk with any that shall voluntarily or upon business come to me, in private if they or I shall so desire, without yielding account to any but her Majesty, if her Highness require it? And whether it be not her Majesty's pleasure I should as well have the company of some young lady or gentleman for my recreation, and scholars? Music, hunting, hawking, variety of any lawful disport, I can procure or my friends will afford me, as well as the attendance of grave overseers, for which I think myself most bound to her Majesty, for it is the best way to avoid all jealousies. Whether if the running on of years be not discerned in me only, yet it be not her Highness's pleasure to allow me that liberty (being the 6th of this Feb. twenty-seven years old), which many infants have to choose their own guardians, as I desire to do my place of abode? Finally, whether it pleaseth her Majesty I should be bound within straiter bonds than the duties of a most dutiful subject and servant, to a gracious sovereign and mistress, of an obedient child, (or) faithful friend, according to the laws of God and man in the strictest sort, without claiming at all to infringe or abuse Christian liberty? And then, if it please her Majesty to impose an extraordinary yoke of bondage upon me, I protest it will be more grievous to me because her Majesty imposeth it, than that I am not very well able, and enured to endure the heaviest crosses wherewith God maketh His (chosen) known. But my humble suit is, it may please her Majesty, for God's sake to let me know the true causes whereof; because the misjudging of them may be very prejudisical to myself and

others. And to set down the time—how long—and without ambiguity to prescribe me the rules, whereby it pleaseth her Majesty to try my obedience.

“And forasmuch as by my lady my grandmother’s commandment I did set down some things which it seemed good to her ladyship to send to your honours, before I could either point or correct any error therein, great or little; in such slight sort as may only be a witness, how merry secure innocence can be, even in the presence of a revered and yet unappeased parent; and rather give an inkling that there is yet some farther matter for which, if I durst or could tell how, I would crave her Majesty’s pardon, and her ladyship’s, and the intercession of some for their worth gracious in her Majesty’s eyes, than give only certain light of truth given. I humbly crave of your honours, to whose hands, by God’s direction, the first fruits of my scribbled follies were presented that you will vouchsafe to excuse the errors of youth altogether. And to the end her Majesty may, with that speed that I desire, be fully satisfied that this action had no corrupt beginning (which it is no small grief to me her Majesty should believe of any action of mine), it may please her Highness to hasten the conclusion by sending down some faithful servant of her Majesty’s to see whether it will prove so fond (foolish) as your honours write, or so ridiculous as by my trifling manner of handling it yet seems; or so serious, and many ways acceptable to her Majesty as I dare (with the adventure of my life if it otherwise prove), assure her Majesty it will be. And as at the first I presented an humble suit to her Majesty’s faithful servant, Sir H. Brouncker, which her Highness, most gracious fore diviner of the thoughts of my heart, before I craved it had granted; even at that time when her Majesty had reason to think I full little deserved that or any other favour. So I humbly reiterate the same suit to your honours, that few may be acquainted with this matter till it be fully determined and judged by her Majesty, who yet may rather doubt a relapse, or greater faultiness, than hope of my innocence heretofore, or better government thereafter.

“Therefore my most humble suit to her Majesty is (and I humbly crave your honours’ effectual mediation therein) that it may please her Majesty once more to send down that worthy, Sir H. Brouncker, who, partly (and but partly) understanding the matter already, will sooner conceive and consequently advertise

the rest; and will with fidelity deliver the names of the beloved, which, especially my dearest, I dare not trust paper withal, nor any living but whom it shall please her Majesty to choose. And bind him—with all the strictest commendments that may be, whereof any one were sufficient but that it concerns my soul, and almost all for whose sake I love my life more than for my own, and if the least hair of any one of their heads should perish, or her Majesty's displeasure continue for my sake, it would ever after be more uncomfortable to me than if I endured a great adversity for theirs to deliver only to her Majesty whatsoever I shall deliver him, without either omitting any part thereof, how displeasing so ever to himself or any friend of his, or ever revealing it to any without my consent. And if I might receive her Majesty's promise, under two lines of her Highness' own hand, that it would please her Majesty to keep my counsel, I should with greater alacrity, deliver my mind in what sort it should please her Majesty to command; and think myself happier of those two lines than a patent of a greater value than ever prince granted under the Great Seal of England: and with as great confidence venture all I have to adventure, as others would do a small matter all manner of warranties. How much I shall think myself bound to them by whom I shall obtain this high favour or treasure—I know not what title worthy enough to give it—I hope your honours see by the inestimable rate wherewith I would buy it or beg it, and therefore I humbly beseech you make me for ever bound to you by becoming humble and importunate suitors to her Majesty. And it obtained, vouchsafe, I beseech you, with all speed to satisfy my expectations, who cannot but assuredly hope of good success, considering so just a suit is craved of so gracious a Queen, by so worthy intercessors as your honours to so good an end as her Majesty's service. And I beseech you let Sir H. Brouncker be the happy and swift messenger. The Almighty protect and direct your honours and all your counsels amid actions, and continue to prosper them as He doth to His own glory, her Majesty's honour and safety, and consequently of the whole Commonwealth. Vouchsafe to remember her Majesty sometime, I beseech you of.

"Her Majesty's most humble and dutiful handmaid.

ARBELL STUART

"From Hardwick, the 6th of February."⁵

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 684 et passim.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Arbell's Illness Begins

SOON after Arbell's letter of February 6 to the Councillors, she seems to have been taken sick with what must have been a very serious illness. This information comes from the letter of her grandmother to Robert Cecil, on 21 February, which will follow; and also from a letter by herself to the Queen later, in which she speaks of it.

Added to her bodily illness, Arbell was suffering from the fact that neither she nor her grandmother had received any answer to the request that the Queen send Sir Henry Brouncker to Hardwick.

Also there had come the news of the suicide, by hanging, of James Starkey, her former chaplain and friend who had been in custody in London. His confession has already been given here. These two factors must have contributed greatly to Arbell's bodily ailment. However, one can understand the delay of the Councillors in sending a messenger, seeing the Queen was determined that all other candidates to the throne should be suppressed excepting the King of Scots, and these Councillors, especially Cecil, knew (as he had been helping the Queen) that "at no matter what cost—even their heads, or their liberty" she would give the crown of England to the King of Scots, and Arbell, was a candidate, whether she wanted to be or not.

Also the Queen was showing signs of illness and everything concerning that illness had to be kept close, so that when she died James could come to the throne without riot or troubles, as there would have been no time to foment them. Then too, Sir John Stanhope knew the fury of the women of the Cavendish family, as has been shown by the fights between these two families recorded earlier.

Also during this time—February 6-21—Cecil wrote the following letter to Scotland, probably to Thomas Douglas:

"1602/3 about February 10. "I do confess that I would have been

glad to have heard from you before this time, especially when such variety of reports have filled this place, concerning practices in that kingdom; but I am apt to believe that absence has been the occasion of that silence. For the matter concerning Arbell of whose professed Papistry you write: first, it may well be so for any extraordinary inspection the State has thought fit to take with her, who is in the custody of those parents who were not to be used as persons suspected to be so ill affected, where (unless she had been made a prisoner) I know not how any minister of State could have made that point secure. But Sir, though consciences are secretly wrought in youth, whereof strangers can take no notice, if it be so carried, as outward circumstances do not conclude it, yet I assure you (for my own part) I have heard so little proof of her being Catholic, as if I were to speak for a wager, I should think it an extravagant information. First, because her own grandmother earnestly professes the contrary; and secondly, because some of those that are likeliest to deal with her in points of conscience were known to be otherwise. As, for an instance, one Starkye, a minister (who lately laid violent hands on himself) having been hardly used by some of her friends was ever reputed a Protestant, and (besides that he was her chaplain) in all his exercises of study and learning he was most inwardly conversant with the young lady. So as for anything the State could take notice of, she is taken to be otherwise. Wherein (for my own part) for any further curiosity, I have not used it, to hearken after her, or any in her predicament, and therefore, whatsoever I speak therein, it is but by observation and collection of circumstances, against which if I might hear any one particular proof (that were not *invidum vagum*) I should then, by comparing that with my own, better beat out the truth, although I am apt enough to believe that if she had been taught to value herself, for higher expectations (to which it is an easy matter to lead ladies' thoughts) that in that case she may have also received this doctrine, to give hope to either side to whom she speaks, of such inclination in matter of religion as she conceived will make her soonest acceptable to the parties. To which I will only make this addition, that if I were you, as I am not, I would never give counsel to a King of Scotland, to procure an extraordinary observation of her person or disposition as might more prejudice him by the lustre it will give her than all the effects which may arise of her being, as you say, infected with Papistry.

"For I have often observed Tacitus' rule to be true, in this point when he writes, *Punitis ingeniis gliscit autoritas*. But this, Sir, I answer not, as taking myself bound to study these cautions, being only interested in the present, without any certain future object, but rather to make you see that if this were a negligence, it has done the King no harm; though I cannot say that that respect has been the cause of such proceedings. Of this answer, therefore, I do leave the application to yourself, to be managed as you please, for though I have not entertained any by-correspondencies from the King, but only when I have been commanded by the Queen, yet shall I not mislike that you take notice that I have written thus much unto you, since the cause moves from you."¹

Undated. Endorsed: "Minute for Scotland concerning the Lady Arbell." Draft with corrections by Sir Robert Cecil, is endorsed.

Probably Arbell was almost, if not quite, distraught by the lack of the Queen's reply to her suit that she should send a messenger to her to hear her story and finally decided to appeal to Mr. Edward Talbot, her step nephew, for his help in getting an interview with the Queen about her desperate position. In this state she wrote the following letter to him, which she sent to her aunt, Grace Cavendish, who in turn sent it to her brother, Mr. Talbot, at Bothall, on 16 February. He received it on February 21. It is among the documents pertaining to Arbell's case in the official list.

Lady Arbell to Mr. Edward Talbot

"Noble Gentleman,—I am as unjustly accused of contriving a comedy as you (on my conscience) a tragedy; councillors are acquainted with both our bad hands, but, whilst we may wash our hands in innocency, let the grand accuser and all his ministers do their worst, God will be on our side, and reveal the truth to our most gracious sovereign, maugre all wicked and indirect practices wherewith some seek to misinform her Majesty. But I thank the Almighty, it pleaseth her Highness to deal most graciously with me, and by her Majesty's commandment (I) have liberty to choose my friends by whom I may better inform her Majesty of some matters nearly concerning myself and divers of my very best friends you and I have. Therefore I request you most earnestly to

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 657. Also in Camden Soc. Pub., Old Series, vol. 78.

deliver a message from me to her most sacred Majesty, which shall be greatly to her Majesty's contentment, your honour's behoof (behalf), and is of great importance. It requireth great haste, and I have advertised a most honourable Privy Councillor that I have sent for you to employ you in her Majesty's service, so that you may not excuse yourself, or lose time in your own respect, whom it concerns more ways than this. And of your own honourable disposition I doubt not but you would bestow a journey hither, and so to the Court for my sake.

"Your father's love, (Earl of Shrewsbury) and your faithful friend.

ARBELL STUART

"I pray you in kindest manner commend me to my Lady Ogle and sweet Mrs. Talbot, whom I am very desirous to see; and entreat her to hasten you hither, for the sooner you leave the better for all of us."²

(Copy, in the hand of Cecil's Secretary) Endorsed in the same hand, 1602. "Copie of the lady Arbella her lre to Mr. Edward Talbot.")

The letter Mrs. Grace Cavendish sent to her brother, Mr. Edward Talbot: "Good Brother, I have sent you here enclosed a copy of a letter which my lady Arbella sent to Mr. Cavendish and me, the principal whereof she writes she hath sent to you already, and lest it should not be come to your hands, I send you this, with her request that you will make the more speed into this country. How glad I shall be of any occasion to see you. I hope you will imagine, nothing can be more contentment. Besides, my lady my mother-in-law hath told me of late many things touching your state in some great lands of her jointure, which may also behovable to us, as her ladyship assureth, wherefore if it were but for that cause your presence would do much good. Thus with Mr. Ca. and my best well wishing and most loving commendation to my good sister and yourself, we wish to you as to ourselves.

"Tutbury, 16 Feb."

"I pray you commend me to Lady Ogle."³ Holo. Seal.

Although not in chronological order we are giving Edward Talbot's letter to Sir Robert Cecil:

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., v. 12, document listed (8) on page 684. Also in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 119-120.

³H.M.C., Salisbury MSS., XII, 685.

"Edward Talbot to Sir Robert Cecil"

"I received a letter the 21st day of this instant from my sister Lady Grace Cavendish, wife of Mr. Henry Cavendish, wherein was, as she writeth, a copy of a letter from the Lady Arbell, both which I have here inclosed sent to your Honours; which is so strange a thing to me as I know not what to make of it, and because it toucheth a message to be delivered to her Majesty, I thought it my duty to advertise you of it with all convenient speed. I protest to the Almighty God that I have ever lived a stranger to that lady, without ever having had a thought of anything concerning her, or ever so much as a letter or message from her in all my life (but this only), nor ever gave her any testimony to think me a man fit for her employments. Bothall, 23 Feb. 1602-1603.⁴ (Holo. Seal.)

Evidently Arbell obtained permission from her grandmother, probably during the latter part of her illness, to write again to the Queen direct. We do not find a date for this letter but it must have been after her illness, after the letter which is so illuminating to us and evidently to the Council, and before her grandmother's letter to Sir Robert Cecil dated February 21, 1603 ns. It was undoubtedly read by the interested members of the Council, but there is no endorsement by Cecil or his secretary.

"Lady Arbella to the Queen"

"I yield to your Majesty most humble and dutiful thanckes for your Highness's most gracious interpretation of this accident, most humbly craving the continuation of your Majesty's good opinion, which ever hath been my greatest comfort. And after this royal and singular testimony (that) it pleased your Majesty, not withstanding all presumptions of the contrary, to esteem me not unworthy of your Princely care and love, (which) I shall never hereafter doubt of, and consequently not willingly yield to grief as I have done heretofore, and very lately to almost my utter overthrow of body and mind. But I see the Lord's miraculous goodness shine in your Majesty, his best resembling image, and admire to see any so near imitate His infinite goodness, love, and wisdom to all His creatures, and make that the happy cause of my never-ending felicity which if your Majesty had censured according to

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 685.

the appearance, might have made me the most unhappy of all living, by continuing my exile out of your Majesty's presence, which hath been the only motive both of this and many other occurrences, which, as hitherto they have been rather by me untold, than unknown to your Majesty, so I have with all sincerity unto your Majesty, by this worthy gentleman, your Majesty's most welcome messenger.

And I protest I have not swerved at all from the plain and direct truth, neither in one respect or other, as I shall answer to the Almighty when the thoughts of all hearts shall be revealed. And upon my allegiance to your Majesty, whose displeasure and not any punishment whatsoever is the only thing I fear, and the fear of God makes me most secure and confident that I shall not only avoid that, but for ever win or rather confirm that most evident and native affection which your Majesty hath even from my cradle showed unto me, above all other of your Highness's most royal lineage. I have not dealt rashly in so important a matter, but, taking the advice of all the friends I have how I might attain your Majesty's presence, and trying all the means I could possibly make, or they devise and none succeeding, I resolved to crave my grandmother's leave to present my service (and) myself unto your Majesty, and if I could not obtain that (for even that small and ordinary liberty I despaired to obtain of her, otherwise my most kind and natural parent), I determined that should be the first and, I protest, last disobedience that I would willingly offend her with. For though I have done very many things without her knowledge, yet I call the Judge of all hearts to witness they have been such as (if she had not been stricter than any child how good, discreet, and dutiful soever, would willingly obey) she should have had more reason to wink at than to punish so severely as she hath done. And as I have forborne till now to impart this much unto your most excellent Majesty, lest it might diminish your Majesty's good opinion of me, and increase her severity; so I have all the other ways I could devise, not by way of complaint, but moan, disclosed my most distressed state to your Majesty, of whom only I have expected, and with silent and stolen tears implored relief. And have utterly neglected or rejected all other means how well liked of others soever, and what so ever I have pretended so my soul find favour with the Almighty, and myself with your Majesty, as this hath been the principal end of all my desires,

without which I can think no state happy, and with which all adversity will seem small in comparison. And if it please your Majesty to examine the whole course of my life, *your Majesty shall find God's grace hath so mightly wrought in me, poor silly infant and wretch, that howsoever others have taken wiser ways, I have had as great care and have with more, and in truth mere innocence preserved your Majesty's most loyal lineage from any blot, as any who soever. And as I should have adjudged myself unworthy of life if I had degenerated from the most renowned stock whereof it is my greatest honour to be a branch, so, for truth and not ostentations sake, I protest I have endeavoured to contribute my mite to the treasure of honours long heaped up by the most worthy and without comparison of all Europe most worthy princes, whose great measure of worthiness, renown, and felicity your Majesty without comparison exceeds. And that you long and ever may do so is and at all times hath been my daily and fervent prayer to Almighty, and ever shall be to my life's end.*⁵

Undated, unsigned, and unendorsed.

It is difficult to determine, from this letter, whether Arbell sent it by some other messenger than Sir Henry Brouncker, or how it reached (if it ever did) the Queen, or her Council. However it is in the Salisbury MSS. and was therefore published among the other papers dealing with her case in the official records.

The following letter does not have a date. Bradley puts it around 7 March, 1602-1603, but the H.M.C. Salisbury MSS. places it before Arbell's examination on 2 March, 1602-1603. I believe that this is about the correct position in the series:

"Lady Arbella Stuart to Sir Henry Brouncker"

"Sir Henry—I sent my page this afternoon for somm bookes into my quondam study chamber, which he might not be suffered to enter, much lesse I to receive the comfort and good counsell of my dead counsellors and comforters. If you thinck to make me weary of my life and so conclude it according to Mr. Starkey's tragicall example, you are deceived; if you mean to shorten the time for your frend's sake, you are deceived in that too, for such means prevaile not wt me; if you thinck it hir Matie pleasure, hir commandment should either be unjustly pretended or covertly

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 135, 144, 145.

and cunningly infringed, I hope it is not hir Matie meaning nor your delusive dealing, and sure I am it is neither for hir Matie honour nor your creditt, I should be thus dealt withall. Your will be donne. I recommend my innocent cause and wrongfully wronged and wronging frende to your consideration and God's holy protection, to whom onely be ascribed all honour, praise and glory for now and for ever, Amen. For all men are liers. There is no trust in man whose breath is in his nostrilles. And the day will comm when they that judge shall be judged, and he that now keepeth theyr counsell and seemeth to winke at iniquity and suffer it to prosper like th greene bay tree, will roote out deep-rooted pride and mallice and make his righteousness shine like the noone day. I was halfe a Puritan before, and Mr. Holford, who is one whatsoever I be, hath shortened your letter and will shorten the time more then you all, as he, he (sic) hath already driven me my La. my G. presence wt laughter, which upon just cause, you are my goode witnesse, I cannot for beare. Farewell good knight. Monday.

This letter was addressed to Sir Henry Brouncker at Lambeth March, and had no signature.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Arbella's Hunger Strike

“THE Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir Robert Cecil: “Sir:—I must beseech you to bear with my often troubling you. Since my late letter to you Arbella hath been very sick with extreme pain of her side, which she never had before, so as I was in great fear of her. She hath had a doctor of physic with her for a fortnight together, and enforced to take much physic this unseasonable time, but finds little ease. I see her mind is the cause of all. She saith that if she might speak with Sir Henry Brouncker or some other sent from her Majesty, she should be well; for that she hath a great desire to satisfy her Majesty in all matters, whose gracious favours and good opinion she desireth above all earthly things. Good Mr. Secretary, my most earnest suit is that it will please you to be a means to her sacred Majesty for the speedy sending down of Sir Henry Brouncker, or some other, to whom Arbella is desirous to declare sundry things which she saith she will utter to none but one sent from her Majesty. The Almighty love and prosper her Majesty with the continuation of his good blessing. And so, desiring you, my good Mr. Secretary, to hold me excused for importuning you in this sort, I will take my leave, praying God to grant you all honour and happiness.

“From Hardwick, this 21st of February, 1602/1603.

“Your most assured, loving friend.

“E. SHREWSBURY.”

P.S.

Arbella is so wilfully bent but that *she hath made a vow not to eat or drink in this house at Hardwick, or where I am*, till she may hear from her Majesty, so that for preservation of her life I am enforced to suffer her to go to a house of mine, called Old-cotes, two miles from here. I am wearied of my life, and therefore humbly beseech her Majesty to have compassion on me. And I earnestly pray you to send Sir Henry Brouncker hither.”¹

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 135, 150.

Endorsed, "The Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecil, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty."

What could have happened to cause Arbell to become suspicious that her grandmother had poisoned her or was going to poison her we have no means of knowing. Of course, it may have been just another device of hers to get away from Hardwick so that she could send her pages or other servants to communicate with her friends, and to have some freedom from her grandmother and uncle's constant vigilance over her every action: even if she could not be absolutely free, yet she could feel freer. We do not know. Whatever it was, she from this point on became more wilful and suspicious of everyone. (As we know from the old Countess' first letter, she had been obliged to sleep in her grandmother's bedroom.)

The very day the old lady wrote this last letter to Sir Robert Cecil, the Council were writing to her and their letters must have crossed. Here is the letter they wrote to her 21 February, 1602-1603.

*"(Sir John Stanhope) and Sir Robert Cecil to the
Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury:*

"Madame,—Her Majesty being pleased to send down this gentleman, Sir Henry Brouncker, to whom she hath committed the trust and carriage of this business, which groweth from the last declaration which the Lady Arbell sent you, seconded with a letter of her own to us, bearing the date the 6th of February (all which her Majesty hath seen and read), there remaineth little more for us to say than this which followeth. First her Majesty reiterateth her gracious acceptation of your sincere and careful dealing, wishing still that your usage of the lady may be accompanied with those circumstances which were expressed in our late joint letter unto you. For, although it appears by her letters that some vain rumours so possess her mind, who, being young, is easily mislead with false and flattering tongues, yet her Majesty would have you only to use her according to our last letter, except when you shall discover her actions tend to any dishonourable practices, lest the world should think she were to be used as a prisoner. Considering that your ladyship keepeth a house so full of discreet servants, both men and women, and having also Mr. William Cavendish, who, being her uncle and a wise gentleman, cannot but

be an excellent companion for her, as well an observer when any matter more than ordinary is travelling in her mind or put in practice. To whom as well as to your ladyship her Majesty hath commanded us to deliver thus much; that, seeing by the young lady's letters it is almost impossible to make judgment whom or what she meaneth (so many contrarieties appearing), and therefore that it will be hard to resolve precisely what should be done, except we were upon the place—her Majesty requireth you and Mr. W. Cavendish both to give credit to this gentleman, Sir H. Brounker, and—when he shall have spoken with the young lady and find cause to advise of a course to be taken until her Majesty be advertised—that in such case, that she, or any other whom it may appertain, be conformable to his advice, being that which we have given him authority to signify, as he shall find fit for her Majesty's honour in such a case. And thus having delivered you as much as the present time requireth, we recommend your ladyship to God's protection. From the Court at Richmond, the 21st of February, 1602-1603. Your ladyship's very loving friends.²

We pause now to consider the conditions surrounding the Queen while these Councillors were studying Arbell's case and its possible effect on their letter to the old Countess of Shrewsbury, and Arbell pursuing her hunger strike at Oldcotes; around the 20th of February 1602-1603.

"The old Countess of Nottingham, wife of the Admiral Howard, lay dying and although the Queen was sick she still went to visit her. All contemporary writers bear witness to the increased dejection of the Queen after the visit; but the particulars of that visit rest on tradition only. It is said that the Countess of Nottingham, pressed by her conscience on account of her detention of the ring that Essex had sent to the Queen as an appeal for her mercy, could not die in peace until she revealed the truth to her Majesty and asked her pardon.

"The romantic story of the ring which, it is said, Queen Elizabeth gave to Essex in a moment of fondness, as a pledge of affection, with the intimation, 'that if ever he forfeited her favour, if he sent it back to her, the sight of it would insure her forgiveness', must not be lightly rejected. It is not only related by Osbourne, who is considered a fair authority for other things, and quoted by historians of all parties, but is a family tradition of the Careys

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 685.

who were the persons most likely to be in the secret, as they were the relations and friends of all the parties concerned, and enjoyed the confidence of Queen Elizabeth. The following is the version given by Lady Elizabeth Spelman, a descendant of the house, to the editor of her great-uncle Robert Carey's memoirs.

“ ‘When Essex lay under the sentence of death, he determined to try the virtue of the ring, by sending it to the Queen, and claiming the benefit of her promise; but knowing he was surrounded by the creatures of those who were bent on taking his life, he was fearful of trusting it to any of his attendants. At length, looking out of his window, (in the Tower), he saw early one morning a boy whose countenance pleased him; and him he induced by a bribe to carry the ring, which he threw down to him from above, to Lady Scrope, his cousin, who had taken a friendly interest in his fate. The boy by mistake, carried it to the Countess of Nottingham, the cruel sister of the fair and gentle Scrope, and as both these ladies were of the royal bed-chamber, the mistake might easily occur. The Countess carried the ring to her husband, the Lord Admiral, who was the deadly foe of Essex, and told him the message, but he ‘bade her suppress both.’ The Queen unconscious of the accident, waited in the painful suspense of an angry lover for the expected token to arrive; but not receiving it, she concluded that he was too proud to make this last appeal to her tenderness, and after having once revoked the warrant, she ordered the execution to proceed.”³

The story now proceeds to the deathbed of the Countess of Nottingham. When she had confessed, “Elizabeth in a transport of mingled grief and fury shook, or as others have said, struck the dying penitent in her bed, with these words, ‘God may forgive you, but I never can.’ Her distress on that occasion, though not generally known till more than a century afterwards, is mentioned by De Beaumont, the French Ambassador, in a letter to Monsieur de Villeroy.”

That Stanhope and Cecil had approached her in regard to the case of Arbell at this critical period is problematical, they probably therefore continued her instructions contained in their former letter, as has appeared in their letter of 21 February, 1602-1603.

John Webster, one of the later members of the “Packer,” has put this incident this way:

³Strickland, *Life of Queen Elizabeth*.

*" let me die
In the distraction of that worthy princess
Who loath'd food, and sleep, and ceremony,
For thought of loving that brave gentleman
She would fain haue sav'd had not false conveyance,
Expressed him stubborn-hearted; let me sink
Where neither man nor memory may e'er find me."*

We do not know when this was written but it was published in 1623.⁴

Although the letter from Stanhope and Cecil to the Countess is dated 21 February, 1602-1603, it probably was carried to the Countess of Shrewsbury by Sir Henry Brouncker. When he reached Hardwick we do not know, as the next document that has come to light is dated 2 March, and is the examination of Arbella, which evidently took place at Hardwick, to which she must have gone from Oldcotes. That she has found out that Sir Henry did not have those *two lines* from the Queen is evident from her most remarkable answers to the questions put to her. They show a calculated ingenuity that must have astonished the good knight and her grandmother, and we also of this modern age.

"The Examination of Lady Arbella, the 2nd of March, 1602-1603."

"Being demanded why she was distracted between fear and hope; she answered that she feared her Majesty's displeasure, by reason of the letters she received from her; and by her innocence she hoped to recover her Highness's favour.

"Being examined by whom the practice with the Earl of Hertford was propounded, desired, and well liked of; her ladyship said it was propounded by Mr. Owen, and (to her understanding) desired and well liked of by my Lord Hertford.

"Being demanded why she restrained her friends and employed such as were likeliest to offend the Earl of Hertford; she said because she desired to bring it to light, and would not use those, (that being of credit) might have bound her by their act.

"Being demanded what these untrue rumours, unjust practices, and colourable devices were, and what is meant by the remote parts mentioned; she answered that the rumours, etc., concerning the report of my Lord of Hertford's people in the country, and

⁴Shakespeare Soc. Pub.

that she accounted the remote parts to be those which are far from the Court.

"Being demanded who the gentleman was that had tried her by all means, and knew she was too stout to request a favour since she might command it; she said that she meant by that the *King of Scots*: the word 'command' was an error of the pen for 'haste' (these words added in Arbell's own hand).

"Being demanded who it was against whose love she had long stopped her ears, though he had never requested anything, but was more for her good and honour than his own; she said that it was the *King of Scots*, whose messenger, Thomas Nelson, (this name inserted in Arbell's hand), had been shut out of the gates, and yet returned again in this time (when all the world had forsaken her) with a very kind message, and token to be delivered by Nelson from Roger Aston, but yet not sent for. This Nelson dwelleth at Elsor Hall, upon my Lady Arbell's land, and served some time the King of Scots last dead.

"Being demanded who the gentleman was that was so worthily favoured by her Majesty, and had done her so much wrong, and wherein; she answered that it was the *King of Scots*, whom her Majesty favoured so much, as for fear of offending him she might not be allowed the liberty of the law to sue, nor to send into Scotland to claim an earldom, or the recompense for them (it).

"Being demanded who it was, that was so famous for his secrecy, and had more virtues than any subject or foreign prince; she plainly answered that it was the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded who it was that had done many things at her commandment, and promised to procure her remove from the Countess of Shrewsbury's custody; she answered that Nelson promised, in the *King of Scots'* name, to endeavour her remove by her Majesty's favour.

"Being demanded who they were that were so unruly in their love and ambition; no answer given. A note by Bradley in *Arbella Stuart*, says that Arbell probably refused from prudential motives, since she evidently referred to some about the Queen, to answer this question.

"Being demanded what this gentleman was with whom she hath dealt so unkindly, shrewdly, and proudly, whom she hath

tried as gold in the fire, and hath already accepted him, and confirmed it, and will neither repent nor deny him, whatsoever befall her; she answered that it was the *King of Scots*, with whom I appeal to Nelson, whether I have dealt proudly or no.

"Being demanded who it was she had loved so well ever since she could love, as she could never hide any thought from him, unless it were to awe him a little, and to make him weary of his jealousy; she said the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded what the noble gentleman was that taught her to present one errand and to deliver another with a safe conscience (coincidence in the copy), to speak riddles to her friends, and to try the truth of offered love; she said that she learned those lessons out of the Bible, by the *King of Scotland's* example, who proveth all things by the Scripture.

"Being demanded who assured her that her Majesty's offence would be turned to laughter when she should see the honest cunning of the contriver to such an end as will please her Majesty, and her grandmother and be for her good many ways; she answered that she must confess that it was one of her sole conceits.

"Being demanded who persuaded her to enter into some great action to win reputation to herself, to try her Majesty's love, to try her friends, and prove how she could make strangers effect her desires, and not be beholden to them; she said it was the desire of some in this country to see some of our own family (by a quite contrary example) recover the reputation which others had lost by not defending the weeremen whom themselves set on. (Arbell is here referring to the fight between the Stanhopes and the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury.)

"Being demanded what it was that the noble gentleman and she did first deliberately conceive, (*consult* in the copy) and after speedily secrete, which they knew would for a short time offend her Majesty, the old lady, and the Earl of Hertford, but in the end will be a most acceptable service to her Majesty, and the best that ever lady did to her sovereign and mistress; she said that this great matter was John Good's despatch, which, though recalled afterwards by myself, took affect, which I trust in the end will be acceptable to her Majesty.

"Being demanded what it is which she so much desireth that

her Majesty be persuaded was not done foolishly, rashly, falsely, or unworthy herself; she said it was this practice of the Earl of Hertford, for which she perceiveth that her Majesty condemneth her.

"Being demanded what her meaning is by requiring a month's space to clear herself in; she answered she desired that time to inform herself better of that practice, to the end her Majesty may be better persuaded of her.

"Being demanded what those secrets of love are which she promiseth to reveal of herself and others, whom she will send to complain of themselves, and what things are whereof she will inform her Majesty, having already some suspicion of them; she answered that she cannot perform this promise till her friends have free access unto her again, which as yet they dare not take.

"Being demanded wherein she can offend my Lord of Shrewsbury, my lady, and her uncle Charles; she said she could do that by discovering their dishonourable dealings towards herself many ways.

"Being demanded what the injuries were which were offered to this worthy gentleman by the Earl of Shrewsbury, my lady, and Sir Charles, and what the gentleman was; she said that the party was the *King of Scots*, and the wrongs are the contemptuous words and scorns which they often do utter against him, for whom she hath forsaken all the world, her Majesty only excepted.

"Being demanded who the gentleman is that would forsake her rather than offend her Majesty never so little; she constantly affirmeth that it is the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded whose counsel she hath kept these many years, and will do whilst she live, if the *disclosing thereof will be hurtful to him or his*, and what he is whose name she longeth to discover to her Majesty, and who dareth not see her nor send but by stealth; she saith that it is the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded who it is that she desireth her Majesty to grace, and win his heart from her; she saith that it is the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded who it is that she desireth liberty to send to, and then she will be content that her grandmother shall see his letters, and reveal them to all the world; she saith it is the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded who that gentleman is by whose love she is so much honoured as she cannot be ashamed of her choice, nor would stick to reveal him if she durst without his consent; she saith it is the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded whether the *King of Scots* dare not give his consent till he have pardon for himself and his friends; she answered she thinks not.

"Being demanded who those friends are who would be content to die for her Majesty's sake, after they have made confession to her Majesty how far they have offended her; she saith that many are signified by one, meaning her uncle Henry, who, she is persuaded, being commanded, would think his life best bestowed in her Majesty's service.

"Being demanded whether she thought that her Highness would smile at these follies and accept a present from her, standing in no better terms with her; she saith that she shall never think herself fully pardoned, till it please her Majesty to accept a present from her.

"Being demanded what those parts are, and who be the players that must impart their mutual joys, and make themselves merry with making themselves perfect in their parts, partly forgotten for lack of conference, and partly not understood; she answereth that those are the innocents who have been abused in this practice by the Earl of Hertford, as she is.

"Being demanded whom she will send to her Majesty, one after another, without acquainting any creature living but her Majesty, the noble gentleman, and whom it pleaseth them two to acquaint, she answereth that she cannot determine that till she speak with her friend.

"Being demanded who that noble gentleman is; she said the *King of Scots*.

"Being demanded what those dark speeches are which her Majesty by her letter or messenger must unfold before she will reveal them; she answereth all this above written.

"Signed in her own hand," Arbell Stuart.

"The above is taken from the transcript made in Sir H. Brouncker's hand, of Arbell's examination (No. 155) the answers evidently put down from her mouth, and one or two slight corrections or

editions made by herself. Indorsed, 3 March, Sir H. Brouncker being sent to learn the particulars of the enquiry, the which is marked—A— (Arbell), brought this from her.”⁵

This examination takes up sentence by sentence Arbella's letter to her grandmother, which we found so illuminating, but which the old lady found of no worth. Evidently the Council found it sufficiently serious to get direct answers to each sentence. However, Arbell still holds firm that she will not disclose the name of her “best loved.”

Next we have a declaration evidently written after the examination, but still the same day, which is heart rending:

“Arbell's Declaration”

“I take Almighty God to witness, I am free from any promise, contract, marriage, or intention to marry, and so mean to be whilst I live, and nothing whatsoever shall make me alter my long-settled determination, but the continuation of these disgraces and miseries and the peril of the *King of Scots* his life, and if her Majesty continue her hard opinion of me, and I continue in my lady my grandmother's hands, then, whatsoever befall, I have determined of a course, which, if it please her Majesty to like of, will be for her Majesty's honour, and best to my liking. But yet so far from my liking is it to marry at all, that I take God to witness I should think myself a great deal happier of the sentence of death, than of her Majesty's choice, or allowance of my choice, suppose I might (as I am far unworthy and am not so unwise as to think) have my choice of all Europe and loved and liked them better than ever I did or shall do any. The reasons whereof I have delivered to Sir Henry Brouncker. And take it upon my soul I do not dissemble at all herein, but speak from the bottom of my heart, as I shall answer it to God and her Majesty.

“I presumed to draw Sir Henry Brouncker hither to an allegory, which I have moralized to him, and howsoever it please her Majesty to interpret it, I protest I thought the matters I have declared worthy her Majesty's knowledge, and durst not reveal them in plainer sort to any but her Majesty, or one whom it should please her Majesty so strictly to command.

“It may be my scrupulous fear made the matter seem greater

⁵From Bradley's *Life of Arbella Stuart*, II, 234-230. Also in H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., v. 12.

to me than to the wiser, and therefore I may be thought presumptuous in that earnest begging so great a favour, but I protest, I yet take them to be so important, that I shall think myself happier, if it please her Majesty to pardon, and pass them over in silence, than of anything whatsoever happened or could happen to me; and life shall be uncomfortable to me whilst it lasteth, if either it be revealed to any but the unnamed party, till I see how it will please her Majesty to deal with me. And if it please her Majesty to consider that I am debarred her presence, nor suffered to confer with my friends, nor advertise her Majesty, without acquainting my lady my grandmother, which I neither have nor dare do; and that I have reason to doubt all my actions shall receive the hardest interpretation, especially if I do not with speed and sincerity deliver them to her Majesty, sure of of whose most gracious goodness I with most dutiful thanks acknowledge all the favours I receive in this or any other matter. And that this is a matter which heretofore would have been offensive to her Majesty, and even the greatest and only matter wherein, for all the space of my life, I have offended her Majesty voluntarily, and that, being in my opinion forsaken of all the world, I have resolutely and with a settled determination grounded all my weak hopes and comfort upon this, I confess, doubtful foundation, but the best I had left, now her Majesty's favour, which—might wishes and endeavours have prevailed—should have been my only rock and defence, was won, and withheld from me. Which (foundation) shaken, despair may drive me for mere fear to mislike courses, and that I am resolved to end my life in tears and solitariness, or else to possess her Majesty's gracious opinion of my innocence and upright dealing as I have deserved, or else to do worse in my own opinion. And that experience had taught me there was no other way to draw down a messenger of such worth from her Majesty, but by incurring some suspicion, and having no ground whereon to work, but this, and this being love. And, being bound in duty and conscience to make all the means I could to defend myself from perishing, for, if her Majesty's favour be withdrawn, I condemn death, torment, or whatsoever can be inflicted upon the most grievous offender, I adventured, and—oh! if her Majesty do not more graciously conceive of it—have incurred her Highness's indignation.

“But yet less grievous shall it be to me now than at any time of my life heretofore it hath been, because I could never accuse myself

before of giving her Majesty the least colour of just offence, and I protest my conscience doth not accuse me of any fault herein, but a small, honest, necessary and consequently most pardonable presumption, for which I doubt not but to obtain pardon, in regard of the satisfaction and expiation I offer to make therefore, which I know will be acceptable to her Majesty, and were sufficient penance for the greatest offence, as I take (it) is the smallest that ever was made. First, I will never trouble her Majesty with any suit hereafter, but forget my long-desired land, and confine myself to close prison, or as little liberty as it shall please her Majesty in the severest rules of wisdom and policy, to allot me; and think it the highest favour I can possibly obtain, for I perceive daily more and more, to my increasing grief, I am and ever hereafter shall be more unfortunate than I lately thought I could possibly have been. Secondly, I will make a vow, if it shall please her Highness to command, upon condition I may reobtain her Majesty's favour, and have my dear and due liberty, I will never marry whilst I live, nor entertain thought, nor conceal any such or other matter whatsoever from her Majesty, which I shall think worthy for her Majesty to incline her princely ear unto. And if this be not sufficient reason to prove my dealing faultless, or at least pardonable, or this be not amends sufficient, I must confess myself void of sense, and careless of anything in this world can happen to me, for my cause cannot be made worse any manner of way. In her Majesty's hand it is to mend it, and make me think myself as happy as I can be (and will never be absolutely I perceive, such treacherous dealing have I found in this matter) and in God's (time) to end my sorrows with death, which only can make me absolutely and eternally happy."⁶

Indorsed "Arbella's declaration, 2nd Mar." And in Arbella's own hand, "This she (her grandmother) also gave him." (Probably Sir H. Brouncker.) "The letter is very much blotted, as if tears had fallen as the lady wrote it."

"Contemporary copy of the above. Endorsed by Cecil:" 2nd March, this she also gave him, "and in another hand 'Arbella' declaration," Endorsed: "This Sr. H. Brouncker bought."

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 568-570.

Arbell Continues Sending Letters

SIR Henry Brouncker must have had an interview with the Countess of Shrewsbury and her son William Cavendish, and given them instruction in regard to their treatment of Arbell. Certainly after this she seems to have been able to send her letters and order her servants to do as she said although there is no record of it; only the fact that she did later send letters to Sir Henry and also sent her pages on various errands to London.

From all the following records I find that she must have remained at Hardwick, but she evidently had more freedom of action than she did before. The next record we have is that of the letter of the *Countess* to the Council, the next day or March 3, 1602-1603.

*"The Countess—Dowager of Shrewsbury to Sir John Stanhope
and Sir Robert Cecil"*

"May it please you, Sir H. Brouncker will make relation of all that hath passed here, which may ease you of reading and keep me from writing of a long discourse, of that which to my infinite grief I find. It is not unknown to you what earnest and importunate suit my unfortunate Arbell hath made for Sir H. Brouncker's coming down. I was in hope she would have discovered somewhat worth his travel but now she will neither name the party to whom she hath showed to be so affectionate, nor declare to Sir H. Brouncker any matter of moment, spending the time in idle and impertinent discourses. And though Sir H. Brouncker hath left nothing undone that might bring her to conformity, he could not in any sort prevail with her, though she put him in hope from time to time that she would name the party.

"If it had lain as well in my power to have made all things plain as I had a desire to further Sir Henry Brouncker's service, it would have been less trouble to him, and he should not have departed with such uncertainties. This is the fruit of them that have

laboured to withdraw her natural affection from me, and to persuade her to all these vanities. They little respected her undoing so they might overthrow me with grief. Soon after Sir H. Brouncker's departure hence, I look she will fall into some extremity of making wilful vows (i.e. refusing to eat or to drink or to see her grandmother till she was removed from Hardwick), as she did lately. She said before Sr H. Brouncker that if she had not been suffered then to remove hence, she would have performed her vow, and the like I daily doubt she may do upon any toy she will take discontentment at. And therefore I must earnestly beseech you both to be a mean to her gracious Majesty for her speedy remove; it may be that change of place will work some alteration in her. Sir H. Brouncker can testify how careful I am to keep her quiet till I may understand further her Majesty's pleasure. She most vainly hath prefixed a day to Sir H. Brouncker for her remove. Both he and myself advised her not to stand on days or times. She is so wilfully bent, and there is so little reason in most of her doings, that I cannot tell what to make of it. A few more weeks as I have suffered of late will make an end of me. Notwithstanding, if it might be for her Majesty's service, I could not be conten to spend my life; but I have had over-great trial now that she is brought to this extremity, that her remaining here is like to breed over-great inconveniences which will not lie in my power to prevent.

"I beseech the Almighty for ever to prosper her Highness, and to send you all honours and happiness and myself quietness in my old days." From Hardwick, this 3rd of March 1602-1603.¹

As one reads these letters of the Old Countess, one can see how her egotism is always her greatest characteristic. It is no wonder that "Our Willy" finally persuaded Arbell to rebellion. But she held out about disclosing his name, and certainly he could have said of her as she said of him, when she compared him "to gold which hath been so often purified that she cannot find one fault." She evidently was willing to die should she by so doing spare him any injury. Heavens knows what would have happened had she weakened in her resolve not to reveal his name. However, Elizabeth was failing so fast that her Council could not have told her anything about Arbell's examination or her declaration. Perhaps she had guessed at the truth, because she had read Arbell's first letter to her grandmother in which she, to one who knew the truth, as

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., v. 12. Also in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 135-7.

perhaps the Queen did about the bastardizing of the younger son of Hertford's, and was keen enough to put it and Arbell's recent actions in the affair with the Earl of Hertford together. We do not know!

After Sir Henry Brouncker had left, Arbell still had things she wanted to tell him, not of course, the party's name, but the actions of her guardians, the old lady and her uncle William, and so she wrote the following letter to him, which is endorsed as being March 4, 1602-1603:

"Lady Arbell to Sir H. Brouncker"

"Sir Henry—I cannot but wonder at your light belief when great ones tell you incredible tales, and incredulity when you have the word and oath of a Puritan for certain truth. If your Commission be not to examine such great ones as I presume to accuse in matters of truth, alas! what a dwarf am I thought at Court! If your Commission stretch not beyond the Albion Cliffs and the Cheviot Hills, *I would I were with that most noble gentleman whom I constantly affirm (but will not swear) to be the King of Scots, and then we should agree in our tales, and make English, whereas now I think even you are doubtful what will become of us.* Truly I can tell and I will tell you truly, even as I told you, even as I would have it. For if I do not, or rather have not since I saw you, broken some of your good friends of their will, I am greatly deceived. For whereas if the noble gentleman you would need suspect had been transported by Archimedes to Newstead as miraculously, especially to himself, as certain Romans (these Romans were full of unsuspicious magnanimity) were hoisted (hoisted) over the walls of the besieged Syracuse, and drawn by one poor scholar (who lightly are not the wisest nor strongest faction) through the town; which feat I think, unless you will believe for the author, my disgraced friend Plutarch's sake, you are like never to see executed by any architect, mathematician, or engineer living—I will not swear, but I tell you as I think. Now suppose he should land at Bludworth Haven, and come attended with five hundred, as I think that is the smallest number he is answerable for, and that dare answer for his good behavior even at this present time, I will not, no, I will be sworn (if you minister the oath, I will not, if I can choose, see him, nor speak to him—I vow) for I can rule my tongue, howsoever I be over-ruled otherwise till he have been at Court, and upon his oath and allegiance—and, but that your

courtiers are wonderfully hard-hearted and slow of belief, his word might be sufficient in a greater matter—(declared) that he never had such a thought as you—God forgive you—would impute unto him, so highly to offend her Majesty for an imaginary device of them who would shroud their own practice under his honoured name. This is but the device, I say, of some great ones who would make you believe miracles (for if you do not they are half undone) or else of my little, little love, that you knew not how to understand, though I think you meditated on my last words all night till you called me to a rehearsal in the morning, and I thought (it) scarce worth the little, little labour of reiterating to your ears, stopped with the enchantments of deluders in such a crooked dump (for then is *altume silentium* betwixt us) that I would not be entreated and could not be constrained to speak one word more than was very necessary till this morning. And now, because I am accountable for idle words, which is much, and idle conceits, which is more, and cannot entreat you to stay so long as to satisfy your own eyes and ears with the visible truth which is most unkindly done of you, I pray you understand that after my cousin M. (probably Mary Talbot) and I had spent a little breath in evaporating certain Court smoke, which converted into sighs, made some eyes besides ours run-a-water, we walked in the great chamber, for fear of wearing the mats in the gallery (reserved for your courtiers), as sullenly as if our hearts had been too great (full) to give one another a good word, and so to dinner. After dinner I went in reverent sort to crave my lady my grandmother's blessing. Which done, her ladyship proved me a true prophet, and you either a deceived or deceiving courtier; for after I had, with the armour of patience, bourne of a volley of most bitter and imperious words, at last, wounded to the heart with false epithets, and an unlooked—for word—only defending myself with a negative (which was all the words I said, but not that I could have said in my defence) I made a retreat to my chamber, which I hoped by your charter (orders) should have been a sanctuary. You came with authority, as you said, and I saw it under two hands (Cecil's & Stanhope's signatures) that might have made any but me believe your word should have gone as current as the word of a prince, or the Great Seal of England—by which I might have recovered a little land which a most noble great-great uncle of mine gave his niece when he bestowed her of (on) a noble exiled gentleman—but I knew by

what was past what would be, and provided thereafter. I stand greatly upon my reputation, and resolutely leaving my weary standing, went away (but did not run away, nor ever meant it, I assure you) a good sober pace, and though my ears were battered on one side with a contemned, and in truth contemptible storm of threatenings, with which my lady my grandmother thought to have won my resolved heart, (as my little love hath done), and on the other (side) summoned to a parley with my uncle William, I rather doubting to come to the loss by being undermined (for the West of Derbyshire and Wales are full of rich mines, and consequently passing cunning miners, else why should courtiers take the paines to oversee them? And the office of the Stannaries is both honourable and profitable) than that, deaf asp as I am, I feared to be won to my loss to a dishonourable composition, for I stand upon points of honour, went my way without so much as looking behind me (for fear of Eurydice's relapse). And, vowing I would never answer to those names by which I was called and recalled and cried out upon (for if I should my love might be ashamed of me, as now he may well be of himself). I took my way down with a heavy heart, and, being followed by them, it might better have become us both I should have followed, I was fain to set a good face on bad fortune, and there we had another skirmish, where you and I sat scribbling till twelve of the clock at night. But I, finding myself scarce able to stand on my feet, what for my side and what for my head, yet with a commanding voice, called a troop of such viragoes, as Virgil's *Camilla*, that stood at the receipt in the next chamber, and never entreating them to give or take blows for my sake, was content to send you the first news of this conflict.

"But though he were my own man I sent for, yet he being not so forward as certain voluntaries you know to go on my errand, I set me down in patience and fell a-scribbling, my lady my grandmother and my uncle little knew what or to whom, though they looked on, till, having written what I thought good, whilst they talked what they thought good, I was not only content to let them know it was to you, but to read it to them; and immediately leaving the disadvantageous chamber, where nobody could hear me or durst come at me, I went down a little lower, not pressed down with one abject thought of yielding, but because I thought there to have found some of my regiment. And so I did, for there was

Key talking with a gentlewoman (what they said I never examined), and there I made a stand, bethinking myself whom to send, because they receive such rude entertainment that it were enough to make me destitute of messengers, if it *stood upon the loss of my life to send to my love*. But raising my spirits with the assured fair words of certain hopeful young men, who do just as I did therein without other reason or warrant than my pleasure and service. I went up to the great chamber, and there I found a troop of, for my sake, malcontents, taking the advantage of the fire to warm them by, till the sun shining on our world with hotter and further distant beams make it needless; and amongst them one I little thought had been there: Who was that, Sir Henry? My sudden apparition coming alone through the hall, and coming in at that door where they least looked I should, made a sudden alteration and wonderment amongst them, for they stood shrunk back as if they had been afraid of me, and certain auxiliaries (which I both left and found walking around with their shrinking fellows), and with a general putting off of hats, to the end I should not doubt they would stop their ears against me, perchance expected I should have yielded them a reason of my going out at one door and coming in at another. But I without ceremony, *directing my speech to the unnamed young man who stood with his hat in his hand and my glove in his hat*, said, as this bearer can witness (evidently something deleted here) and for brevity's sake leaving that to this bearer's report, my undaunted and most trusty servant. What happened after were tedious to write, for you care not what becomes of me, nor I neither greatly; for I am resolved, and knowing my own invincible power of uncorruptible assistance (even the best of Heaven lest you should think I have changed my mind since I told you there was no trust in man), stand upon my guard, and setting my heart at rest and a watch before my lips, have fortified my weak body as well as I can; and getting all the munitions of comfort and patience that the country will afford me or my little circuit is capable of, *resolve rather to endure a ten years' siege, and even lose my Hector, than you shall get my love into your danger that deal thus with me*. Are you not ashamed to see your word broken before you be at your lodging? Truly by your letter methinks not, for it seems you are no sooner gone hence but you forget and mistake all you hear or see concerning me. But the noble George, Earl of Shrewsbury (the old Earl), pre-

suming on his godson's word to him that he would not suffer his word to be broken, though he had no commission to promise a rebel pardon, yet as you did assured a sometime noble gentleman and till he was a traitor (a) friend of his, to put his life in (to) his hands, and he did so, and as it proved with him *so may it prove with my love; for he is at your discretion and not mine*, if he have deserved it as I trow not, but I will not swear for him, but for myself, I will—"2

"Here the letter breaks off, with no signature, ending or date." in the hand of Cecil's secretary—"Endorsed: 1602-1603, 4 March", and by Cecil, "D." This was written since Sir H. came up with his exposition marked "B", "so by this time you see, I think that she hath some strange vapours to her brain."

The above letter seems to have been sent by Arbell, by the hand of Mr. Chaworth, accompanied by the following letter to Sir Henry:

"Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Henry Brouncker"

"Sir Henry—This gentleman, Mr. Chaworth, can witness my many, great and increased wrongs, which, if you will not believe, I cannot help; if you do, and help not to redress to your power, I think you do not discharge the charge imposed on you by her Majesty to see my treatment according to my condition and desert, nor the trust I have reposed in your sincerity and fair promises. Unregarded menaces I assure you shall neither daunt me, nor the worst that any mortal creature can do unto another shall not extort a thought out of my mouth. Fairer means might have laden you home with the treasure you came for without a quittance; but now I have no more to say to you, but I will say no more, think, say, or do what you list. Hardwick, this Friday

ARBELLA STUART.

P.S.—I deal better with you than you with me, for I do not torture you with expectations, nor promise better than I will perform. *Damnata jam luce ferore.*³

Arbell evidently had some news she wanted Sir Henry to know so she wrote to him again on Sunday, March 6, as follows:

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 135, 161-3.

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 135, 164.

"Arbell Stuart to Sir Henry Brouncker"

"Sir Henry,—This day of rest doth not privilege my travelling mind from employing my restless pen in performing part of my promise in sending up certain innocents to play their parts like Adam's regenerate children. If it please you to examine this long since offered and newly entertained servant of mine, what matters of profit and love his young years have been crossed in, and he make as good a rehearsal as he did loverlike and gentlemanlike partly deliver, partly forget, and partly excuse his first employment hither, it will neither be impertinent nor unpleasant for you to hear. His errand to you is no more at this time but to know if you will admit him for an actor; his part is in planning, and if it please you to let me know anything concerning myself, it shall be welcome whatsoever (it is) coming from you. You shall shortly have a resident within a few miles of you, by whom you may satisfy your inquisitiveness and still new springing cavils. In the meantime, Almighty God be with you, most worthy knight.

Hardwick, this Sunday. Your poor friend

ARBELL STUART."⁴

This was a holograph and was addressed to "Sir Henry Brouncker at Lambeth Marsh."

The news that Arbell wanted to give Sir Henry was that her Uncle and Aunt, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, had taken a place near London, and we will hear of their actions from the spy activities of the various Ambassadors at the Court later.

It is interesting also to note how Arbell's mind constantly reverts to the original plot or play that she and "Our Willy" concocted for the disclosure of his name, and his noble ancestry. She speaks of her servant as an innocent actor, and defines his part and speaks of his rehearsal. Certain it is that she and "Our Willy" meant to enact a real live drama, but how different it was to one meant for the stage!

Just before this last letter was written, the Venetian Ambassador Scarmelli wrote a letter as follows:

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate of Venice"

"The marriage of Lady Arbella is discussed every day with greater freedom, and especially are the minds of the King of

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., v. XII.

France and Spain well disposed toward her, for neither one nor the other would willingly see a single sovereign in England, Scotland and Ireland. The King of Scotland, as a male and senior to Arbell has the popular favour, but he lives surrounded by conspiracies which threaten his death; he has sons, however. On the other hand Arbell is second grade and the Earl of Hertford in the third grade of claim, have no taint of rebellion nor ought but schemes for the future against them, and so it would be impossible in the ordinary course to prosecute them. All the same, as the situation is growing more serious, and the Queen's anger is mounting, many people fear that, just as Mary Stuart's first crime was her secret betrothal to the Duke of Norfolk, so the joy of Arbell's ill-matched and unconsumated marriage may be changed to a bloody tragedy." London, 3 March.⁵

⁵C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Attempt to Rescue Arbell

WHILE we have Arbell's and her grandmother's reactions to the events that were going on at Hardwick, London, Scotland and the Ambassadors were all busy with rumours and gossip about Arbell: as the Councillors spoke of the rumours in their letters and we will consider a few of them, some true, some far adrift.

Rumours and gossip about Arbell and her affairs with the Queen.

"George Nicholson (spy) to Robert Cecil."

. . . "It is marvellous to hear the people here say the Lady Arbella is married to the Lord Beacham's son. Edinburgh, 8 March.

Same to same, same date.

"The King is rumoured to have said 'regratingly' (sic) that the time and place was appointed for the meeting and seeing of the Lady Arbella and the L. Beacham's son, but to me he saith nothing."¹

"Hen. Garnet, spy, to Thos. Lancaster"

"The Queen is said to be very sick. Arbell is diversely reported of—and is like to be sent up for shortly to be guarded." London, March 9."²

"Ant. Rivers (Catholic priest) to Creleto (Venice)

"Lady Arbell is under guard; some say married to the Earl of Hertford's grandchild, which is most false; some say she is mad and has written to the Queen that she is contracted to some one near and in favour with her Majesty, and will not name him, if he may (not) be pardoned. Mr. Secretary, (Sir Robert Cecil, a widower at this time); Lord Montjoy and Fulke Greville are guessed at. Lord Brouncker is sent to bring her to Woodstock, where she

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 669.

²C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603, p. 298

is to be kept. Meanwhile the Secretary has often secret meetings with the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, after which they dispatch messengers and packets of letters." London, 9 March.³

"Ant. Rivers to Gio. Battista Galfredi, Venice"

"The Queen has permitted the Deputy to pardon Tyrone, but he little respects his pardon, having joined Tyrell to cut off some companies of the garrison. The rumours of Arbell much afflict the Queen; she has not been well since the Countess of Nottingham's death, rests ill at night, forbears to use the air in the day, and absolutely abstains more than usual from her meat; resisting physic, and is suspicious of some about her as ill-effected."⁴

"A.A.—to Giacomo Creleto, Venice"

"The Queen's sickness continues and every man's head is full of proclamations as to what shall become of us afterwards. She raves at Tyrone and Arbell, and is infinitely discontented. It is feared she will not long continue. Her sickness makes sending persons over sea very difficult." London, 9 March, 1603.⁵

Again we have recourse to Scarmelli, the Ambassador of Venice to England, and as he is the most neutral observer of note in England at this time his observations are worth much as getting at the unbiased truth.

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate of Venice"

"The Queen for many days has never left her chamber. And although they say that the reason for this is her sorrow for the death of the Countess (of Nottingham), nevertheless the truer cause is that (the) business of Lady Arbell has reached such a pitch that the son of the Earl of Hertford, to whom they affirm she is betrothed, has suddenly disappeared and is nowhere to be found, and Arbell for this reason has been removed from the custody of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and taken to the same castle Mary of England kept her sister, the present Queen, a prisoner (Woodstock), opposing her right to the succession on the ground of her illegitimacy, and her Calvinism; disabilities subsequently removed by an Act of Parliament upon which Queen Mary, to please Philip II, declared her sister capable of succeeding to the throne.

³C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603, p. 299.

⁴C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603 p. 301.

⁵C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603 p. 302.

"It is well known that this unexpected event has greatly disturbed the Queen for she has suddenly withdrawn into herself, she who was wont to live so gaily—especially in these last years of her life, when, as far as health was concerned, her days seemed numerous indeed, but not burdensome—and to force herself to throw off all care but that of enjoying life; now she allows grief to overcome her strength, and so anxious is she that rumours of this beginning of troubles should not spread beyond the kingdom, that she forbade either persons or letters to leave any of the ports although perceiving that this provision came late and was too violent to secure silence, and subsequently abandoned it. All minds are anxious *and the partizans of the King of Scotland, the most powerful party, in order to destroy public sympathy for Arbell, are spreading reports prejudicial to her character as an honest woman, both in the past and in the present.*

"I shall, however, do all I can to prevent these public affairs from interfering with the despatch of my particular business, as I have no desire to be a witness of what may happen here." (London) March 10 os.⁶

His mistake about Arbell being removed might have come about by the fact that her Aunt Mary and Uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury, were somewhere near there. We know that Arbell was not removed from Hardwick till King James ordered her to Wrest.

While things were uncertain in London, so were they in the case of Arbell, for her Uncle Henry and his friends were again making an effort to free her from her grandmother's care, and they were anxious days for her. She sent her best trusted servant Chaworth to London with messages and some plan of action, for getting her information to the Queen. The old Countess as usual sent a report to Sir Henry Brouncker of the doings of her bad son Henry and his friends.

"The Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir Henry Brouncker"

"Good Sir Henry Brouncker, this Thursday the 10th of March, about 12 of the clock, Arbell came out of her chamber, went toward the gates (as she said) intending to walk, but, being persuaded it was dinner time, did stay. About two of the clock in the afternoon, there came to my gates my son Henry Cavendish and one Mr. Stapleton, son and heir to Stapleton of Carleton in Yorkshire, with him. For that Arbell was desirous to speak with my bad son

⁶C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603, p. 552.

Henry I was content to suffer him to come into my house and speak with her, rather than she to go to him, but sent him word not to remain here above two hours. I would not suffer Stapleton to come within my gates, for I have disliked him of long for many respects; it is about eight years since I saw him. He hath written to me many times to know if he might come, but I misliking him, would not suffer him, so as he never durst presume till now to offer to come. Arbell and Henry Cavendish had not talked as I think a dozen words together but they both came down and offered to go out of my gates. One of my servants intreated them not to offer to go out until they had my consent. Arbell seemed unwilling to stay, yet at length by persuasion did stay till word was brought to me. When I understood of it, I sent to her that I did not think it good she should speak with Stapleton, and wished her to forbear it, for I thought Stapleton no fit man for her to converse or talk withall. She asked if she were a prisoner, and said she would see, and so went to the gates, and would have gone out but was not suffered, yet she did speak to Stapleton, looking through the gate, some vain, idle words of salutation, and bade him to go to Mansfield and stay there till he heard from her, with some more words to no purpose, many being present and hearing what they said. So with much sending to Stapleton to depart, at length he went from my gates. She had appointed Henry Cavendish to come hither again tomorrow, which I forbade, so I think he will not come. He was no sooner gone out of my gates but she made herself ready to walk abroad, which I thought not convenient she should do and so she stayed. Other days she has walked to take air in several places. One came hither yesterday morning from London to Arbell from her servant Chaworth. I hear he brought back to her a letter which Chaworth should have delivered to you, which she was seen to burn presently upon the receipt of it, and returned with him with other letters to you again. She saith she hath likewise sent Basset her page to London post two days since with letters to you. She never rests writing and sending up and down in the country and to London, as she saith. Henry Cavendish here showed to have but three or four men with him and Stapleton but one. I suffered but one of Henry Cavendish's men to come into the house with him, but I am informed that there are of their company who kept themselves secret within a quarter of a mile of the house, above forty horsemen well weaponed and some of them

with dags (a kind of heavy pistol or hand gun). They were in four several companies, some at Hucknall, viz. at one Mrs. Ireton's twelve; at one Chapmen's house there, ten; in a bushy near here in Rowthorne Carr, nine or ten; and ten at one Dove's house in Rowthorne where Stapleton hath lurked these three days, as heard even now. They being thus wickedly disposed may as well have five hundred men within a mile of the house and I do not understand of their ill-intent. Arbell threatens and will give it out upon any little occasion, being intreated not to speak with any bad body, that she is kept a prisoner. I should not so much have forgotten myself to have troubled her Majesty and some of her Majesty's privy council for Arbell's remove hence but that I feared the danger that I was not able for my life to withstand, and she being here one day. I fear I shall not have her here the morrow if I should suffer her but to go without the gates. In my opinion it were best she were removed farther from the North, which way I fear she would go. She shall not of long time in the South be acquainted with so many to help her as she is hereabouts. I hear that one of the company had a pillion to carry a woman behind him and covered it with a cloak. And so, being very late this Thursday night, the 10th of March, I cease, wishing you all happiness. From Hardwick.⁷ Signed

Addressed, "To my very loving Frend Sr. Henry Brouncker at his house in Lambeth Marshe." Endorsed by Cecil, "The old Countess of Shewsbury, to Sir H. Bronkerd," and, in another hand, "1602." Seal.

Again the Lords of the Council wrote to the old Countess, no date:

"Madame, We are very sorry to find by the strange style of Lady Arbell's letters that she hath her thoughts no better quieted, especially considering her Majesty's own ready inclination notwithstanding her first error in dealing with the my Lord of Hertford, to have taken no other course with her than was expressed by our first joint letter under two of our hands, and because we would be very glad, even for the suppression of vain reports, that the bottom of her heart were known, seeing the bearer hereof is known to us to be of good religion (Mr. Holford) and seemeth to be agreeable unto her in respect of his depending upon her house, it is thought fit that your Ladyship should suffer him to

⁷H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 689-690.

have access unto her as often as she shall desire him. Next, whereas your Ladyship complains that she is not removed from you. We must reply unto you for the present her Majesty can in no sort be brought unto it, but wisheth, seeing she groweth so troublesome both to herself and to others, that you will deal as mildly with her in words as you can, howsoever she may offend you in this time of her passion, because that is one pretence of her quarrel, and that as much as may be, her sending up and down such strange letters, may be forbourne, in that which we must tell you truly, and so we pray you to let Mr. William Candish (Cavendish) know that her Majesty and My Lords' do expect at his hand that he should interpose himself more earnestly and particularly toward the discovery of her meaning by these vain fancies than he doth, seeing it is her Majesty's pleasure, and so we do again signify to you that he do ease your Ladyship of that continual care which we see you take, the same being a great trouble to yourself and more proper for him whose company is more agreeable to her.

“These directions we have thought fit to give you in her case, first, because the dispersing of her letters abroad of such strange subjects as she writes is inconvenient for many respects, and in our opinion disgraceful to herself, which maketh us the rather wonder that her uncles there are no more sensible of it, nor do not by their letters or otherwise open themselves unto us in their desire and industry to prevent and suppress these things, or in discovering their knowledge of such particulars as have come to their understanding, especially Mr. Henry Candish (Cavendish), who knowing himself to be charged in the first matter of My Lord of Hertford, ought in duty either to have written or come up to have given satisfaction, whereof we pray your Ladyship to take notice unto him in that head, as to Mr. William Candish, of that which is expected by the State at his hands. Lastly we entreat your Ladyship for our own part to lay from you all suspicion of fear that any of her unquiet information can touch you in her Majesty's opinion, neither ought in wisdom to be so apprehended by you towards her as to be so moved thereby to any such course as might hurt your health or give her cause of further vexation to herself, who her Majesty would have barred of no thing fit for her where she remains as long as those discreet friends of hers, whom you assign to accompany and attend her and keep her within bounds of temper and quietness; of both which, though we can judge but

by her letters, yet you must think that we assure ourselves that they which do daily accompany her have so much discretion as to discover the causes, the ends and the remedies of all actions if they list.

"Fashion all things as the young lady may not mislike her habitation, as your Ladyship do assign Mr. William Cavendish to attend her, who is a gentleman that can both please and advise her in due proportion. And thus for this time we commit your Ladyship to God's protection. From the Court at Richmond this.....of March, 1602-1603."⁸

Although the date is not given it must have been before they received the letter that the Old Countess had written to Sir H. Brouncker about the actions of Henry Cavendish and his friends, which must have been about 14 March. This letter was evidently sent by the hand of Mr. Holford.

The "Draft is in Munck's hand and has been largely added to and partly rewritten. Endorsed Mar 14. Minute to my Lady Shrewsbury by Mr. Holford," and in another hand "1602-1603, concerning the Lady Arbell."

It can readily be seen that every possible precaution was taken to keep the extreme illness of the Queen from the knowledge of the household at Hardwick. Also that Cecil and Stanhope were too busy arranging for the change in government that must surely come, should the Queen die, and so far Arbell had shown no signs that she wanted to succeed to the throne, but only to be free from her grandmother the terrible Bess of Hardwick, her virtual jailer.

The time must have seemed long for Arbell since she had sent her trusted servant, George Chaworth, to London to see if he could reach the Queen with her information. The records show his letter to her, which she never received:

"George Chaworth to Arbella Stuart"

"May it please your Honour to understand that I presently, after receipt of your Honour's letters (which was the 13 (14) of March presently after dinner) I went and delivered them in all speed possible to Sir Henry, and had delivered your Honour's letter which came by Ned Franke, before Travis had delivered his letter from my old Lady. What he said, I leave till the next messenger, but he appointed me to come to him the next day, and I

⁸H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 690-692.

should have answer without fail. I went the next day, being this now present, Tuesday, the 14th (15) of March, and found him gone from Court. I went to my cousin Carre's; she was with the Queen, for she is sick, though the Courtiers say contrary. I was there assured that if I spake to my cousin for your Honour, I should be heard and it would be well accepted, and that she would do anything she could for your Honour, and the rather because my old Lady said her nay in disgraceful sort when she proffered to her service my cousin Quarles. This her chambermaid told me, and I mean to go again tomorrow to move myself for your Honour what I can, and so assure yourself. But to the matter, I better be-thought me of Sir Henry's going from Court against his promise made to me. I presently departed to his house with all speed, at Lambeth, he was gone from thence post, as thy told me, into the country. I followed him to know the cause of his sudden going; I overtook him, and, as I perceived, against his will. I feigned to him that I heard matters reported of his going down, which indeed I had not, as that he went to fetch your Honour to the "Towere" or to London, or to procure your Honour's strait keeping in the country and hard usage from my old Lady, all which he with solemn protestations denied, saying he went not to your Honour, but about her Majesty's business into Nottinghamshire, not to Hardwick, except he went in kindness to see my old Lady, else, he protests, he hath nothing to speak to your Honour, nor will not any more of this matter, because he hath you not at any certainty, but in a hundred minds, and that you say and unsay, and divers several things; he protests to me there is no hurt meant to your Honour but all good. As I think by his asking me how far it was to Haddon, he goeth to Mr. Maners, and whether to bring Mr. George up or no, I know not, or else to give charge that you be not suffered to pass through the country or to give charge to the gentlemen in the country, or else northward, that none help your Honour away— (Marginal note: "These be only my foolish conjectures") —for, as I heard, the posts northward be stopped already, I thought it not amiss to certify your Honour thus much if it were possible before his coming to the country, which I hope I do, though this messenger, I am assured, was, at his first setting forth, as I think, at least ten miles behind him, but I gave him strait charge to post night and day without rest. His name is Hutchenson. I have delivered him 3^{lb} 5s. for his charges. "P.S. I wish your Honour

all happiness. This present Tuesday in the afternoon, half-an-hour past 4 o'clock, being the 16th (15) of March. I will answer your Honour for other matters and letters to-morrow by Dringe. In the interim let it suffice your Lp. that Mr. Holford is well, and at liberty, and will be with your Honour so soon as his age will suffer him. I will write more by Dringe."⁹

Holo. Endorsed by (Cecil's Sec.) 1602 "George Chaworth to Lady Arbell."

Addressed "to the right honourable my very good ladye, the L. Arbell at Hardwick."

George Chaworth was the son of Henry Chaworth, High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire.

Probably Hutchenson was carrying a letter from Stapleton in London to some one near Hardwick, and when he had this additional incentive to ride with all speed, he rode so furiously that he overtook Sir Henry Brouncker, who had the authority and stopped him in his mad haste and demanded his errand. Of course Hutchenson had to hand over the two letters which he carried and which Brouncker took from him. If Brouncker sent back to Cecil, the letter of George Chaworth, then probably Chaworth was prevented from seeing his Aunt Carre, the Queen's nurse. If Brouncker just continued his way, then Chaworth was able to see his Aunt and convey Arbell's message to her and she in turn told the Queen, of Arbell's desires, to tell her story 'to her alone.' If this latter supposition be true then it would explain the Queen's great anxiety about Arbell, during her last hours. We probably will never know the truth, as there does not seem any record to this effect, other than the letters of the Venetian Ambassador and others about her rage and last minute ravings concerning Arbell and Tyrone.

There is another interesting rumour from Scotland about Arbell's religion from her supposed friend Roger Aston.

"Roger Aston to Sir Robert Cecil"

"P.S. The bruits have passed here diversely of Arbell. Sir James Lensaye hath confidently told the king that she had written to the Pope and was a papist." Dated March 15, 1602-1603.¹⁰

Arbell's dislike of the torrents of abuse by her grandmother

⁹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 694-695.

¹⁰H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 669.

and the presence of her uncle William seem to have made her retreat to her chamber, there to stay until she was either released by the authorities or by some of her friends who were attempting her rescue, or by means of Chaworth's undertakings in the Court. To prevent her thoughts, between fear and hope, from overwhelming her she took to her pen, and must have spent almost the whole of Ash Wednesday at her task.

Having been taught to express her thoughts rapidly and with ease by the greatest writer of England, her use of the language, while probably tiresome to us to-day, gave her great mental relief. Her "statement," which is a very volume of a letter, is addressed to Sir Henry Brouncker, the only person she dared to address without reserve and fear of punishment. The next chapter will be devoted, without preamble, to Arbell's Statement.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Arbell's Statement

LADY Arbella to Sir Henry Brouncker: "Sir,—As when you were a private person I found all humanity and courtesy from you, and whilst I live will thankfully acknowledge it, and with all humility and duty yield her Majesty more due thanks for first choosing and after, upon my humble suit, re-employing you, than for any or all favours I have received from her Majesty since my birth to this day, and if they were all set together it far exceedeth them all.

"But your commission was, as it seemed, so strangely strait that it was not possible her Majesty's expectations should be better satisfied, which, as I know it proceeded not of her Majesty's gracious disposition, so was it not altogether 'long of me but others I dealt as I did, and you perceived some truths which I confessed not. When it shall please her Majesty to afford me the ordinary rights which other subjects cannot be debarred of justly, I shall endeavor to receive them as thankfully now as if they had been in due time offered; though the best part of my time be past, wherein (my heart being not so seasoned with sorrow as it is) comfort should have been welcome, and bestowed because my heart was not then overworn with just unkindness (resentment) and sorrow hath been capable of joy, and thankfully glad of every small kindness or favour. They are dead whom I loved; (Essex and possibly Mary Stuart) they have forsaken me in whom I trusted; I am dangerous to my guiltless friends; in all respects, if it were not because they are my friends, as worthy her Highness's favourable countenance, as their unjustly, to my disgrace and their hurt, favoured enemies. So that I must conclude, as a private person, I would trust you as soon as any gentleman I know upon so small acquaintance; but while her Majesty reposeth the managing of every matter to these two councillors, her Majesty shall be abused. For I am able to prove her Majesty is highly abused in this matter, and I dare say no more than I have, and will rather lose my life than utter one word more than I have done. Nay, I will rather dis-

honour myself so much as to deny what I have affirmed than commit my cause to their partial examination and relation.

"You delivered me at your first coming a most gracious message, wherein I apparently discerned the long diswonted beams of her Majesty's gracious inclination to me. I sincerely delivered the truth, and was rewarded with a most hard censure, and frustration of my most earnest and reasonable suits that I might attend on her Majesty, or be from my grandmother at least. But my wooden yoke was made of iron, and I can bear it as long as I think good to convince them that impose it of hardness of heart, and shake it off when I think good to take my Christian liberty, which either shall be apparently (openly) denied me and the whole world made judge upon what cause or colour or how justly given or taken, and by whom; or must be prevented by a reflux of her Majesty's favour to me in greater measure than I have hitherto found. Which (favour) I do not doubt of, if it would please her Majesty to take that course which her royal inclination would take to those of her own blood, if it were not, to my great astonishment diverted from them to these two councillor's kindred. They favour their kindred against her Majesty's; her Majesty defendeth not her innocent, unstained blood against their malice. Doth her Majesty favour the Lady Catherine's husband more than the Earl of Essex's friend? Are the Stanhopes and Cecils able to hinder or diminish the good reputation of a Stuart, her Majesty being judge? Have I stained her Majesty's blood with unworthy or doubtful marriage? Have I claimed my land these eleven years though I had her Majesty's promise I should have it? And hath my Lord of Hertford regarded her Majesty's express commandment and threatened and felt indignation so much? Have I forbore so long to send to the King of Scots to expostulate his unkindness and declare my mind to him in many matters and have no more thanks for my labour? Doth it please her Majesty to command me by her letter, in Mr. Secretary's hand to my grandmother, to be suddenly examined for avoiding excuses and will it not please her, by a letter of her own hand, to command that which her Majesty cannot command as my sovereign but as my most honoured, loved and trusted kinswoman? Shall I many weeks expect what I most earnestly begged and longed for; and must I reveal the secrets of my heart, importing my soul, my life—all I hold dear in this world—in a shorter time than at your now first coming I told you I

could, when it seems her Majesty careth not for knowing anything concerning me but to break my just desires? Shall Mr. Holford be sent for by commission—and I not have commission to send for whom I will and I not protest I have hard measure? Who can grant out the commission which can even in good nature, good manners or equity require such a confession? Have I concealed this matter thus long from friends, servants, kinsfolks—all the world—to reveal it now?

“John Good was so extremely, cunningly and partially handled and I so injuriously entreated that they, who have either occasioned, executed, furthered or suffered such rigor to light on me and so long to continue, may thank themselves if they have lost all the interest of voluntary obedience they had in me. Do you think, I say, that I will reveal that to my servants or friends now, which shall be prejudicial for them to be suspected to guess at, much more to know, much more to conceal? *I can assure you, all that are of my counsel are out of all possibility of danger, and out of your reach. Neither doth her Majesty’s commandment prevail so far, though her fame and entreaty be everywhere glorious and powerful. And for myself, I will rather spit my tongue in my examiner or torturer’s face than it shall be said, to the dishonour of her Majesty’s abused authority and blood—an extorted truth came out of my lips. It would have been an eternal honour to her Majesty that she whom neither the Privy Signet nor the Great Seal of England had availed in great matters and ordinary courses, durst trust the two first lines of her Sovereign’s hand (after such a retrograde course as hath been held against me these many years) with that infinitely dear adventure. If her Majesty hath regarded my contentment or most bitter tears of discontent heretofore, I may hope her Highness may do so hereafter. And so her Highness hath, when a noble and unentreated mediator, who now holdeth his peace, hath delivered his opinion of my treatment. But I am grown-a-woman—and therefore by her Majesty’s own saying, am not allowed the liberty of granting lawful favours to princely suitors! How then dare subjects justify their most justifiable affection? It is a sufficient reason for a counsellor or judge in excuse of staying and crossing the due course of law in suits of great importance—that the wronged gentleman is my dearest friend, and I take God to record I have deserved more friendship of him than I find. How dare others visit me in distress, when the Earl of*

Essex, then in highest favour, durst scarcely steal a salutation in the privy chamber, where howsoever it pleased her Majesty I should be disgraced in the presence at Greenwich, and discouraged in the lobby at Whitehall, it pleased her Majesty to give me leave to gaze on her, and by trial pronounce me an eaglet of her own kind as worthy even yet (but for my. . . "obliterated". . . to carry her thunderbolt and prostrate myself at her feet (the Earl of Essex's fatal, ill-sought, unobtained desire) as any Hebe, whose disgraces may be blushingly concealed but not unseen, or Ganymede, though he may minister nectar in more acceptable manner? But whither do my thoughts transport me now? Let me live like an owl in the wilderness, since my Pallas will not protect me with her shield.

"You saw what a despair the greatness of my enemies and the hard measure I have received (and my fortune is not yet betered) drove innocent, discreet, learned and godly Mr. Starkey into: will you be guilty of more blood? You saw what misconceites you bred in him after twelve years' experience of me in such sort that he did not believe my true grief, whereof he was an eye-witness, and suspected me of a monstrous fault, which by his own testimony he had no reason for, but that somebody told him some untruth of me. And I shall think the examined and incensed nobility (Earl of Hertford) will not impute their wrongs to me, who am so unjustly under two councillor's hands, by her Majesty's silent assent, intitled the author of this action? For the passion of God let me come to my trial in this my prison instantly, and I doubt not but my messenger pathetically declared my woeful plight, which others, without entreaty or commission, offered and will redress, and yet they know but a small part of what you know, and yet enough for me, I thank God, and no more than a hundred more do, who are like to corrupt (if that be corruption) some that yet were never corrupted to some of my idle conceits. Therefore lay the axe to the root of the tree in time, and let me lose my head, which for less cause and upon no ground but my friend's faults, her Majesty hath threatened to take, as I told you, whilst nobody will hinder it, and I shall joyfully and thankfully receive as God receive my soul.

"And long to hear you have made that most earnest and humble suit of mine, but it must be in your own name, for else it will not be granted; and if my Lord of Hertford will lend his helping hand, and the two councillors for his sake, or what other private or

public respect soever makes them deal thus sinisterly with me, who would presume to have and take the upper hand of the best of them, but for her Majesty's known pleasure of derogating from my due many ways, wish to write their bloody pleasure in her Majesty's name, my messenger shall diligently attend, or I doubt not but they may find enough ready to go of their errand, especially to such an end. Her Majesty I know would be highly offended to have such a matter effected without her Highness's liking; but what will not or cannot one of them do, and gild over with some colourable rule of policy or officious pretenses of superabundant love, to the best deserver of love and duty in far more respectful sort than it is performed by them, who cannot keep their own counsel, how would they mine if they knew it? I know her Majesty would be highly offended at them, and conceive a more gracious opinion of me, when I have declared and compared some of their dealing and some of mine, which I will prepare to send to you by Mr. Chaworth, when he is able to fetch them; and what dealing I am like to receive from you I shall judge by that he brings me from you, whatsoever it be. Let it not be ambiguous, and it shall be unfeignedly welcome coming from you, fully as much as it deserves. You will needs deceive yourself contrary to your own knowledge: why do you think I will not grant that in your absence which you could not obtain whilst you were here? *Admit I had been in love and would have declared his name, I assure you on my faith I would have delivered it you in writing, and by good will have seen you no more after till I had been out of fear of blushing, which, though I did not, as I think, while you were here, I should have done, or at least did, within few days after you were gone.*

"But here was some cause, though very little, but it was true, and no supposition or false accusation or authorized examination which wrought that, with me, very unusual effect; which I am lother to be accused by though it be a very fallible conjecture even with me, or I think anybody, than by the false tongues of as many as list to conspire with my enemies in uttering soothing and augmenting their authorized lies.

"And therefore, whatsoever another would do, I know and assure you I would rather write than speak my mind in a love-matter, especially of my own; but I say this to convince your obstinate and I think invincible incredulity, who judge of love,

charity, words, oaths, modesty, truth, vows, obedience, patience, silence, according to certain prodigious examples and erroneous rules which the prince of darkness sets more usually and authentically before your eyes, which I doubt not grieve your generous heart to see, and perchance your sin of silence is now and then punished with a blush, though you be guilty of the offense. *But do not deceive yourself so much to think I either have or will confess my pure, innocent self guilty of love till you deserve that extraordinary trust* (which they who for the saving of their souls submit themselves to auricular confession, have all the assurance one mortal man can give or another possibly require) many ways, whereby I may both try your love to me, and your credit with her Majesty, and my credit with you; for why should I speak, unless you will believe? How should I believe any good till I see it? Nay, you are beholden to me, if your credit and persuasions and reasons will in seven years make me forget these injuries, and believe any word, writing, or assurance Her Majesty can make, so confidently as you, who never saw them without effect, would have persuaded me to do, who could have showed you visible signs, and reasons of my just incredulity and hardness of heart; who might be condemned by all the world for a credulous fool, if I could believe anything but what I find which is unkindness, and rigour, or a faint-hearted fool, which were far worse if I should yield to power which hath already spent itself against my unyielding heart, which will rather burst than utter one thought by constraint of any, and the greater the threatenings and the more violently it is assaulted the greater will the victory be.

“I have conquered my affections; I have cast away my hopes; I have forsaken all comfort; I have submitted my body and fortune to more subjection than could be commanded. I have disposed of my liberty, I have cut off all means of your attaining what you seek, till you seek it of me by such means as I tell you. What harm can all the world do me now? Even as much as it would do me good to follow your counsel—that is, none. My servants shall be taken from me, then shall I be no more troubled with their troublesome importunity and inquisitiveness. I shall but hear of my friends’ trouble, as Mr. Holford’s, and by comparison of my own think it nothing. But you will say I occasion it; but my conscience will not accuse me, nor they in the end will not think so, but we shall agree that it is they who abuse her Majesty and wrong me, whose

malice extends so far every way as their base-bred suspicions can reach for patching every idle word to every foolish imagination, and gathering every unlikely possible conceit to a deal of trash of their own invention and lining it with secret whispering, and shaping it as best pleaseth their fancy, who have made you present her Majesty with a mishapen, discoloured piece of stuff, fitting none, nor fit for her Majesty to look upon, which, if either I might be suffered, or not hindered, I will not say helped—but why should I not be helped, I pray you, in such a piece of work?—should have been presented to her Majesty in a form well beseeming her Majesty; whereas now it is so tossed up and down that it hath almost lost the gloss, and even by the best slubbered (sic) up in such haste, that many wrong stiches of unkindness must be picked out, which need not have been so bestowed; and many wrong-placed conceits ripped out, whereof some may be cast away, but most being right placed will do very well. The more you think to make, the more you mar; when all is done I must take it (in) hand, and shape my own coat according to my cloth, but it shall not be after the fashion of this world, God willing, *but fit for me, and every way becoming of that virtue in me, whether it be a native property of that blood I come of, or an infective virtue of the Earl of Essex; who could go neither friend nor foe knew whither, till he arrived amongst his unwitting enemies, from whom he ever returned with honour, and was received home with joy—Till all ungrateful not to be bound more strictly by a letter of her Majesty's hand than all the bonds and commandments of any or all other mortal creatures, he stole from his charge as if he had longed for the most gracious welcome he received, and was punished for his unmannerly presumption of kissing that breast in his offensively wet riding-clothes, with making those mild kind words of reprehension that last that ever his ear received out of his dear mistress's mouth. Of whose favour (not in respect she was his sovereign, so I protest he ever said to me) how greedy he was even in the Earl of Leicester's time (before he so fully possessed it by many degrees, as after, to her Majesty's eternal honour, he did), I, and I doubt not many more better believed at Court, are good witnesses. And how over-violently hasty (after two years' silent meditation) to recover it he was this fatal day, Ash Wednesday—(the anniversary of Essex' execution) and the now dropping tears of some, might make you remember, if it were possible you could*

forget. Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis? My-rwiedominuon Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulissei? And were not I unthankfully forgetful, if I should not remember my noble friend, who graced me, by her Majesty's commandment disgraced orphan, unfound ward, unproved prisoner, undeserved exile, in his greatest and happy fortunes with the adventure of eclipsing part of her Majesty's favours from him, which were so dear, so welcome to him? Shall not I, I say, now I have lost all I can lose or almost care to lose, now I am constrained to renew these melancholy thoughts by the smarting feeling of my great loss; who may well say I never had nor never shall have the like friend, nor the like time to this to need a friend in Court, spend thus much or rather thus little time, ink and labour, without incurring the opinion of writing much to little purpose? I do it not to be requited with your applause, for then I might utter more welcome matter in two words, nor that my troubled wits cannot discern how unlooked for, how subject to interpretation, how offensive almost every word will be even to you. But for some reasons which I will tell you, lest you return to that opinion I took so very unkindly at your hands—that the more I writ to the less purpose it was.

“First, as I voluntarily confine myself to tears, silence and solitariness, and submit and desirously expect some yet more apparent token of her Majesty's causelessly conceived displeasure towards me, so I determined to spend this day in sending you the ill-favoured picture of my grief, who went away so desirous to see the picture of that most noble gentleman, the King of Scots. Who, because you know not the power of Divine and Christian love at Court so generally well—as for her Majesty's honour and of the place I would you did—cannot believe one can come so near God's precepts, who commandeth us to love our neighbor like ourselves, as to love an unkind but otherwise worthy kinsman so well as nobody else (it seems to our knowledge) doth any but their paramours which, if you can make him (Our Willy) believe, will be an excellent requital for his unprincely and unchristian giving ear to the slanderous and unlikely surmise of the Earl of Essex and me. But he hath studied too much divinity to think either the word misapplied, or the matter impossible to be most true and lawfully allowable of any married man, which made you so captious and inquisitive, because you are more conversant in Court and in the Arcadian phrase, which need no comment to

you, than in the Church, or our Church's translation of the Testament, which commandeth holy love and holy kisses. I am in good hope you will take exceptions to St. Paul's words, now you have them under my hand, and then I have made you partly amends for the labour you have bestowed in reading so long and peevishly tedious a letter.

"Secondly, being allowed no company to my liking, and finding this the best excuse to avoid the tedious conversation I am bound to, I think the time best spent in tiring you with the idle conceits of my travelling mind, till it makes you ashamed to see into what a scribbling melancholy (which is a kind of madness, and there are several kinds of it), you have brought me, and leave me, if you leave me, till I be my own woman, and then your trouble and mine too will cease. Or make you condemned of idleness and discourtesy, if you requite my long letters with such short and courtier-like peremptory letters, as all I have received from you have been. Whereby I perceive you content yourself with the high, and by your right well deserved, style of her Majesty's faithful servant, and forget you profess yourself, both by word and writing, to be my friend; and now I have it under your hand that your hand is the pawn of your credit, and you would have me trust you, before I be sure you will believe what I say, or have tried, or at least found your friendship in some points, before I may in discretion trust you any further. I pray you first let me know what you have delivered to me, to whom and how it is taken or mistaken, with the freedom of a friend's pen, who have no cause to trust you any more till I see you dare trust me and my messengers with all you know in this matter, which must needs be infinitely more than it hath pleased you yet to deliver. But hitherto you have dealt like a commissioner. Your words have been questions, and objections, and promises and threatenings—but none of your own, and consequently neither possible for you to keep nor me to trust how well soever (you wish me, or) I trust you. But now I thank God your commission it at an end, let me see what you will or can do—either to persuade me by good and solid reason to alter my mind and commit my counsel to some friend's ear or hand to deliver it to her Majesty; or what you can do for me by your credit with her Majesty, if I should follow your counsel and put my life, my soul and all that I hold dear into your hands or her Majesty's by your persuasion.

"If it would be, as I know it would be, so much for your satisfaction and credit to find and understand this *concealed truth*, which, seek and examine and torture whom you list, you shall never find but in my heart, and oh! that you would seek it there, where it is as deeply printed and in the same characters of undeserved, redressless unkindness, as Calais in Queen Mary's. Till your greater and more regarded employments give you as much time as I shall require, without limitation (for then I cannot), or wearisomeness to you (for when I am wearisome my counsel will be burdensome for you to keep) to convert my fear, despair, grief, mistrust, and other deep-rooted conceits, which long time and woeful experience have grafted in my heart, and I have watered in tears full oft, and now they bring forth the, to me bitter, to others misliked, leaves, which hide the desired fruit of your labour from your knowledge, till time have brought it to maturity, and then another is like to steal the thanks, but not of her Majesty, which I should have thought myself happy you might have received of her Highness by my means. But I perceive you think it not worth the labour, howsoever you pretend, for then your own discretion would have made you believe that which I think I, nor an angel from heaven I think, cannot make you believe that is the truth, when I speak it or write it, else you would have bestowed the labour to come back from Nottingham, upon the sudden, apparently true and grievous accident happened to me, before you were there. But you were in commission and had not the Christian liberty to visit one in sorrow, sickness, prison and many ways distressed, for which God will call all the world to account one day, and particularly you, to whom I (blot), and then misjudge me as you list, the pain is passed already. Will you not use me as well as traitors are used, who am not guilty of thought, word or deed, which rightly interpreted can be the least offensive to her Majesty, and can be racked to no greater than a sin of silence?

"Had the Earl of Essex the favour to die unbound because he was a prince? And shall my hands be bound from helping myself in this distress, before I confess some fault (like the innocent I told you of) which I never committed, and renew my suit to you to convert these unwelcome concillors' letters to a commission to take my head? But remember, if I endure these grievous wounds without striving or speaking, it is because I have recommended

myself to the Lord of hosts, whose angels have lifted my soul from my afflicted body, higher than they are able to reach that exceed her Majesty's commission, and torture the condemned to exile with expectations. If I have deserved, the land should spue me out, I will feed myself with the idle and windy conceits of an ostracism, and my unregarded poor self shall be all the riches and company I crave to transport. And if a prince's word (who, for aught I have heard), never brake promise, be so much to be relied upon for so small a matter as you would have persuaded me in a greater (would) be sufficient assurance, I assure you, if you come, and beg the licence of my transportation, it will requite your, as you count it, lost labour and great pains (which otherwise I think I must die indebted to you for, for gold and silver have I none, neither would you generous and rarely faithful courtiers take it), with profit which from her Majesty's hand must needs seem worthy the begging and taking and honour. It may be this hope may prove vain, so vain is the trust reposed in man: and I confess I have been deceived by them I have best trusted, and I would they had all been foreigners and strangers that have deceived and wronged me. Then had I not hoped for land, liberty and extraordinary favour from her Majesty, nor looked my parent, kin and pretended friends should amend or comfort my bad fortune, but (lived) as happy as any (by all likelihood) have lived like myself, with such honourable and princely treatment as absolute and great princes have thought her Majesty's kinswoman worthy of, and as desirously as princes desire anything (or seem to desire) what is in another's power to grant or deny, have sought at Her Majesty's hands, and perchance may receive, but not from her Majesty, more than you will believe possible, and yet no more than is in poor me to grant, in one word which will make you believe me ever after. And, if you will needs urge me to it, they will be glad of it, and yet not be a jot beholden to any that with hard measure plead for them, whom if they knew, they would hinder. I speak unbelieved truth, and ill understood, and worse-construed, riddles, but it is to you, whom I am bold to trouble, and as, if it please you to examine me as a friend, I am content as a friend to answer you upon such security as friends require and take one of another in matters of this nature.

"If, (so) as one whose commission is expired to do me good, it is less in your power to help me now than when you went, or I last writ to you, and I have daily (by Mr. Holford's speedily and

rough sending for) less and less cause to look either for favours or justice, and consequently to trust or look for any. But I take God to witness, for my servant Mr. George Chaworth's sake, I have done (but now it is dashed) (more) than ever I will do again, for all the commandments and threatenings and wrongs and torments, all (that) the council rackmasters—and all the ministers of her Majesty's indignation can pour upon me or at his entreaty, or all the world's, till I be used like myself, with as great honour and respect and kindness as is every way due to me, who am not ignorant either of my birth or desert, nor senseless wrong, nor hopeless of redress, which as it is my duty first to beg as I have done, and after a while to expect from her Majesty, so it is my duty to God to procure by all the lawful means with speed, because my weak body and my travelling mind must be disburdened soon or I shall offend my God, and I had better offend my prince, and I shall be guilty of my own misfortune. Whereas now others are altogether answerable to God and the world, and the world will give their verdict when and where they dare, and God His sentence on my side I doubt not, for such is His promise and written word, sealed with the blood of His only dear Son; confirmed by the manifold testimonies and comfortably concurring scriptures and the examples of His dear Saints; and yet He is content our wavering faith should receive the further assurance of His sacraments, and requireth our imperfect obedience with thanks and honour and an immortal crown of glory. To him be glory only and for ever, amen; and let the elders and princes say "amen," at least to the "Hosanna," which children and young men so cheerfully and successfully begin, lest the stones of the trampled streets condemn those that have tongues, and tread upon them, of ill employing or, which is worse, not employing them to his praise. How many vain words are spoken! and who dare speak for me? How many wanton favours are earnestly and importunately begged! and who dare humbly and even once and no more, remember her Majesty to cast her gracious eye upon me, at least with no less favour than I deserve? How many inquisitive questions are asked of me? and how little inquisitive are my friends and acquaintance what become of me! What fair words have I had of courtiers and councillors and so they are vanished into smoke! Who is he amongst you all dare be sworn in his conscience I have wrong? and dare tell the Earl of Hertford he hath done it?

“And the two councillors they wrong their estate to show such respect to kindred greatness and wisdom and riches to let innocence be thus oppressed, and truth suppressed. And yet there yet (still) are some amongst you have pawned their credit and their soul too to do more for me upon a less occasion unintreated (and) at their peril. I will pray Almighty God not to take the forfeit, but I will see them hanged as high as ever favorite was (and that was according to his, Haman’s, own ambitious direction, meaning to have bestowed that high and airy death of (on) an innocent that spent his time in giving attendance at the King’s gate, whose queen was his neice, but that was more than the King knew) before I will claim promise, though promise be debt of the proudest of them. I will rather break a penal law, and though her Highness’s countenance be withdrawn from me, so that like Hester (Esther) I cannot hope of pardon, for her Majesty’s golden sceptre is turned to a scourge upon me. Yet I shall be as well able to pay the uttermost farthing her Majesty shall impose upon me, as my Lord of Hertford. Neither will I first fly and then endure my punishment, but first endure my punishment, and then I trust her Majesty will give me leave to leave my troubles behind me, and go into a better place than her Majesty hath provided for me, these twenty-seven years wherein I have had experience what it would please her Majesty, all my friends, yea, all England, to do for me, that did nothing for myself, no, not so much as utter one word which had been better uttered for me many a year ago, and shall never be spoken to English men nor woman, whatsoever it is. For declaring my mind to her Majesty more than I have done I dare not; my words have been already too offensively taken, and too unjustly wrested by them that had least cause so to do. I am deaf to commandments, and dumb to authority. I know her Majesty excelleth her sex and all God’s creatures in many princely virtues, whereof secresy is one, and in her breast durst I repose my life and my honour, what not, if I had her favour and promise. And her Majesty shall see some resembling one of my sex, years and condition very well to all correspondencies, and without all incongruities, as plain without ambiguities, as I could, for her Majesty’s honour, wish their words and actions were; for these plaits and folds and slight devices do but glitter in the eye, and their small value is discerned whosoever make them worn for fashion’s sake. Whereas mine shall be strange and new, and richly

worth more than I am worth, or any lady of a subject in this land; but you shall not know the device at Court lest you prevent me or the foreknowledge take away the grace of the sudden and gorgeous change of my suit, which, how little soever my mourning-weed be respected will make me envied who am not? pitied, (now). But hard will it be for any of them all to follow me, it will be so costly, and yet to me so easy, that they will at least for civility confess themselves less worthy of that which their betters have had much ado to persuade me to take in free gift, acknowledging me (in their partial opinion) worthy of more than they can give, which is more than incredulous you can believe should be offered, much more so long unreceived by poor me. And in truth I thank God for your hardness of heart and wilful blindness, for else I might relent, if you could see to follow my directions, who fain would enjoy meaner fortunes at home; but God's will be done; only in His power is it to dispose of all His creatures, without respect to persons.

"Now I have spent the day in portraying my melancholy innocence in the undeceiving black and white you see, after my rude manner, I must tell you true I think it will not yet be your fortune to understand my meaning, for it is not my meaning you should; nor to pleasure you to confess all you guess, much less all you believe, though you believe not all you should, much less as you should of me, if the pomp of this world had not bewitched your court-dazzled eyes. But I have said enough to make you inexcusable every way, if you will not or cannot either go the way I tell you, or let me without your hard, hardly removed prejudicate (sic) misconceits take my good and godly course, which howsoever it be to her Majesty's if I be not made incapable of any comfort, will be highly to my honour and contentment, and happy shall I be. And I doubt not but they that now condole my misfortunes will fill your ears, when you think all my words but brags and idle conceits impossible to take effect, with congratulation and applause of my devoted and admirable silence. Almighty God be with you. I will not excuse my prolixity, neither is your wiser brevity so commended now you are yourself and are so many lines behind to me, who think I must outgo you all in kindness and desert, and you may do very well, and yet not come near me in that point. God forgive my excess and your defects in love and charity."

"From Hardwick, this Ash Wednesday (about 21 March, 1603-1604).

"Your poor friend

"ARBELLA STUART."¹

This letter of Arbell's shows us surprisingly some of the many facets of her character: her restraint under very harsh treatment, her inventiveness, her keen perception of the false, diplomatic and untrustworthy character (for the safety of her secret) of Brouncker, her insight into courtiers, etc. It gives clearly too, her friendship for Essex, of whom "Our Willy," so she infers, was so exceedingly jealous. In fact, as I understand this pieced-together romance, Arbell and "Our Willy" had been estranged from about 1594 to 1601, when after the death of Essex, which brought him back to sanity, he wrote his *Phoenix Nest*—seven long years.

While Arbell was staging her rebellion, 1602-1603, according to their plan, "Our Willy" was probably in Denmark, as Dowland, and as she says, "I can assure you, all that are of my counsel are out of all possibility of danger, and out of your reach. Neither doth her Majesty's commandment prevail so far, though her fame and entreaty be everywhere glorious and powerful."

Her simile comparing the messing up of their plot to a piece of beautiful embroidery, "slubbed up in such haste, that many wrong stitches of unkindness must be picked out," and which was not fit for the Queen's eyes, shows her great love of embroidery, in which she excelled. Many of the allusions to divinity and law must have been absorbed from her lover—who was both a preacher and a law student—from his letters and the books he probably sent her.

She had so much sure pride in him and his greatness, which the world then, as now, acknowledges to be supreme, that she would blush at the very thought of his having chosen her to love.

Her thoughts wavering between hope and despair, her keen intuition that the Queen was not dealing with her directly, as she most certainly was not, show her great sensitivity. What a queen she would have made!

¹H.M.C. Salisbury, v. XII.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Queen Died—Arbell Liberated

SIR Henry Brouncker was certainly on his way to Hardwick when Mr. George Chaworth overtook him. He had received old Bess of Hardwick's letter telling him about the new gathering of Arbells's friends, and probably Cecil had sent him to get Henry Cavendish, as they sent a warrant along.

When Arbells heard about his coming, which must have been on the 17th of April, she wrote a letter to him:

"Arbella Stuart to (Sir Henry Brouncker)"

"Sir,—I see both the cause and the end of your coming therefore I pray you spare your owne trouble and mine in seeking that which by these meanes will not be gott. If you come as a commissioner, consider what power one mortall creature how great soever hath over another how miserable soever. If as a frend, deserve that holy name before you take it upon you. I would neither deceive nor be deceived, grieve you with my untowardness nor be grieved wt yr cunning and important inquisitiveness. Therefore pardon me if wt out cerimony I shutt you out of dores if you will not at my most earnest entreaty forbear to comm to me, selfe-confined wtin this chamber till I be absolutely cleared and free every way and have my just desires granted and allowed. *Satis et sine nomina nota.*

"ARBELL STUART."¹

Sir Henry Brouncker must have arrived at Hardwick on Ash Wednesday night, because in his letter later he says that he wrote Henry Cavendish as soon as arriving, asking his presence there. Henry came the next day, being told that the Council wanted to see him in London speedily, and being given until Friday to make his arrangements to get proper clothes and money for the journey. Then Sir Henry went vigorously to work examining the actors in the attempt to carry off Arbells from the custody of her grand-

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 692.

mother. We give extracts of these examinations during March 18 and 19:

"Examination of Christopher Chapman, Vicar of Hucknall"

"Chapman confessed that Mr. Henry Cavendish and Mr. Stapleton came to his house on Thursday was se'nnight in the morning, about ten of the clock, and that they said they were desirous to speak with Lady Arbell for her good, and they desired to have the key of the steeple, to see if my Lady A. did come to them. His wife said to them, 'if you had been here on Saturday last you might have seen her, for she was at the (Church)'s. Whereupon Mr. Stapleton did rise out of his saddle and threw down his hat, and said, 'what is this. It was' long of my (wife), she sent me word to the contrary!' . . . He (Chapman) said he did hear that there were eight horsemen in Hucknall, but how many he knew not but by common report . . . He saith that he being at Mansfield, one John Chambers, an inn keeper in Mansfield where they (Cavendish and Stapleton) were lodged, meeting him, he (Chapman) drew him aside, and asked him what he did in Mansfield. He (Chambers) had 'guests at home.' Chapman asked who they were. 'Why,' said he, 'such as you litle hope for,' naming Mr. H. Cavendish and Mr. Stapleton. Chapman asked what they did there. 'Nay,' said Chambers, 'no matter what they do, but there they are.' When Cavendish and Stapleton left Chapman's house on the Thursday morning, they told him Lady Arbell would thank him for ther' good entertainment." "Friday the 18th of March, 1602-1603."²

Endorsed by (Brouncker)—"The examination of Christopher Chapman, vicar of Hucknall;" and (by Cecil's secretary,) "Examination of Christopher Chapman, vicar of Hucknall; and in a third hand "1602 Arbell."

The same day, Sir Henry Brouncker examined John and Matthew Slack, both marksmen, on Friday the 18th of March, 1602-1603, as follows:

"About ten of the clock there came to his mistress's house at Hucknall, Mr. Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Stapleton, Henry Dove (in margin, 'servant to my Lady Arbell') and two serving-men with them. They bade him walk their horses out of the sight of Hardwick House, which he did, afterwards putting them in his mis-

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 696.

tress's stable. The gentlemen, went and sat down in Mr. Chapman's the Rector of Hucknall's house. After Mr. Owen (Lady Arbell's page) and Freak (her imbrederer (embroiderer)) came thither with a letter to them. After they had read that letter, one of the serving-men went and took a horse out of the stable, and rode to call some more company that were in the bushes in Routhorn Carr and there came four more from thence. After they had talked awhile, Henry Dove said to Mrs. Ireton's daughter, 'She cannot come out this day.' One of the serving-men said to another, 'We cannot now come to our purpose, but a fortnight hence we must come again when these blunders are past, but we must not come so many so near the house.'"

"John Slack, servant to Mr. Ireton, dwelling at Hucknall, within half a mile of Hardwick, saith that on Thursday was se' night in the morning, he (Slack) said he saw, beside the aforesaid company, five more horsemen amongst the hollies in the Carr called Rawthorn Carr, and in another place near there by a hedgeside three horsemen more, and in the bushes near a lane, two horsemen in one company and three more in another company. He heard his mistress's daughter ask Henry Dove what these men were here for; he answered, 'They came to take my Lady Arbell away.' 'What!' said she, 'and bring no more company?' 'Yes,' said he, 'there are not far off thirty or forty more.' Slack further testified that all these companies were within half a mile of each other, and he saw them. One of them had 'a little pillon behind his saddle, which he hid with his cloak,' and another a case of pistols at his saddle-bow. Matthew testified that John had told him all the above the same day after the company had left."³

"Endorsed (by Brouncker,) "The examination of John Slackes and Matthew Slackes;" by Cecil's secretary, "Examination of John and Matthew Slackes," and by a third hand, "1602 Arbell."

On the next day, March 19, Brouncker examined Lady Arbell's servant Henry Dove.

"Examination of Henry Dove, th 19th of March, 1602-1603"

"Dove confessed that he had been sent to fetch Cavendish and Stapleton to come to Lady Arbell and accompanied them to Hucknall on the Thursday. They thought she would have come thither walking, and hoped to meet her there. Arbell had sent word to

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 696.

Mansfield by her page Owen, the day before, that she would meet them at Hucknall that day. (She was probably prevented by the arrival of Brouncker.) There came but four first to Hucknall that day, and four more hid in the hollins in Rowthorn Carr. They bade their horses to be walked out of sight of Hardwick, for fear of offending my lady. They asked for the key to the steeple, in order to see if Arbell were coming. When Mr. Stapleton heard that Arbell had been there the Saturday before, he threw down his hat and said, 'this is 'long of my wife.' When Mr. Stapleton went from Mansfield, he had meant to go but a little way with his wife, and return to Mansfield or some place near."⁴

Endorsed (by Brouncker) "The examination of Henry Dove, servant to the Lady Arbell," and by (Cecil's secretary,) 1602. Examination of Henry Dove, servant to Lady Arbell."

After all these examinations and Brouncker's instructions to Henry Cavendish to get to London forthwith, at least by Friday, the knight wrote to the Council and Sir Robert Cecil two letters. Probably the first was written in the morning and the other a bit later, dated 19 March, Friday.

"Sir Henry Brouncker to the Council"

"As soon as I came to Hardwick, I sent for Mr. Henry Cavendish, not by warrant, as I was directed, but by a friendly letter, requiring his speedy presence and advice in some things tending to the good of the lady Arbell whom I knew, he greatly honoured. At his coming the next day, I delivered unto him your Lordship's pleasure for his present repair to the Court, concealing the true cause and pretending that your Lordships desired to be thoroughly informed by him (who was best acquainted with her grief) of the ground and occasion of her passionate behavior. He desired respite for two or three days, being unfurnished both of money and garments for his journey, but on Friday, at the farthest, will not fail to attend your Lordships at London.

"In the meantime, I have a sure eye upon Mr. Cavendish that if his stay exceed his appointed time, he may know the force of your Lordship's commandment.

"Mr. Stapleton is at London already, as appeareth by his own letter intercepted, and the examination of others, though some think he is returned. The Lady Arbell hath neither altered her

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 692.

speech nor behavior. She is certain in nothing but in her uncertainty, she justifieth herself as desireth of liberty. I persuade her to patience and conformity but nothing will satisfy her but her remove from her grandmother, so settled is her mislike of the old lady, upon what grounds, I cannot conceive, unless it be upon the restraint of messengers and letters which minister occasion of much writing to the distempering of her brains, apparent enough by the multitude of her idle discourses, which you Lordships have lately seen.

"I am bold herewith to send unto your Lordships such examinations as I could take in this short time with least bruits. Now Mr. Cavendishe is going towards London and Mr. Stapleton already there, there is no fear of any new practice (though a second assembly was appointed) unless the opinion of her Majesty's sickness, which is here too common, draw on some sudden resolution, which I will endeavour to discover and prevent as occasion be offered. The old lady groweth exceedingly weary of her charge, beginneth to be weak and sickly by breaking of her sleep, and cannot long continue this vexation; whereof I thought good to advertise your Lordships, because I suppose Mr. William Cavendishe will be unable for such a burden if it light upon him—From Hardwick, this 19th of March, 1602-1603."⁵

"Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil"

"Because my direction was general from all the Lords, I thought it would be ill-taken if I addressed my letters to your Honour in particular. If I have done amiss, I beseech you to excuse my error. What course I have taken your Honour may see by my general letter, only I must remember your Honour that this Stapleton is a very wilful Papist, and had long since (sithens) practised to convey my La. Arbell into Norfolk, and there to keep her by a strong party if need requires, as Arbell herself told me, though after she would have denied it and entreated me to conceal his name. Every man's mouth is full of the Queen's danger, and Arbell receives daily advertisements to that purpose. One I intercepted by the way, which I send here enclosed. I suppose her wilfulness (which is much greater and more peremptory than before) ariseth out of a hope of the Queen's death. I find her so vain and idle as I seldom trouble her, neither doth she much desire my company, though

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 692-693.

I pretended that I came to see her wrongs righted and to compound all matters between her grandmother and her. She told me that she was charged with a late practice to steal away, but sware she was innocent and entreated me to bolt out the truth, which I seemed to do unwillingly (as a thing I lightly esteemed) till she earnestly pressed me; yet when I had undertaken the matter at her request, she would needs know whom I had examined, what was confessed and whether she might not be present at examinations, and by that your Honour may discern her judgment, and her spirit by the paper hereinclosed, sent me on Thursday, after supper, when I went to have seen her according to her own desire and appointment. I fed her with good words and so I do all that follow her, holding it the best course at this time. I dare not deliver my judgment of this late assembly, but do leave it to your deeper wisdom till I have searched further, but I am verily persuaded that her remove only will stay her practice, which I perceive is resolved by herself and others. If her Majesty should miscarry (and the Almighty bless with health), Mr. William Cavendish being indeed but a weak man for such a purpose and of little love and respect here. I do not see how she can be kept in this place two days, and therefore it were good that her remove were thought on in time, if her escape may breed danger. Sir John Byron ('Biren') is very old and his son at her devotion and not well reported of; all the gentlemen in these parts as unfit for one respect or other, if I be truly informed, whereof I thought good to advertise your Honour, leaving all to your direction. The nearest place for shipping is Hull, which is forty miles from this house, which maketh me think that her purpose, if there was any, was for Scotland; though now apprehending the danger of the Queen's sickness, I suppose she may alter her opinion; and yet all her words and actions are so contrary to reason, as no man can divine aright of her. I crave pardon for troubling your Honour. I desire to be advertised of her Majesty's recovery, but God's will must be done. I refuse no service it shall please you to command me, but my love to your person, and my desire to show my thankfulness enforceth a longing to be about you, which I humbly beseech you to think on. The Almighty bless her Majesty and give me means to do you service. This 19th of March, 1602-1603."⁶

Endorsed by Cecil's secretary, "1602-1603, March 19. Sir Henry

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XII, 693-694.

Brouncker to my Ms. with a letter from the Lady Arbell to Sir Henry Brouncker and some examinations and letters concerning her."

While Arbell, still confining herself to her chamber, was receiving through Dringe and George Chaworth, messages from London, where the Queen was slowly dying, and she and Brouncker were skirmishing at Hardwick, the Venetian Ambassador was writing the dramatic story of the tragic scenes to his chiefs.

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate", of Venice

"I was right when in my last despatch I said that her Majesty's mind was overwhelmed by a grief greater than she could bear. It reached such a pitch that she passed three days and three nights without sleep and with scarcely any food. Her attention was fixed not only on the affairs of Lady Arbell, who now is, or feigns herself to be, half mad, but also on the pardon which she has given at last to the Earl of Tyrone, leader of the Catholic rebels in Ireland. She fell to considering that the Earl of Essex, who used to be her dear intimate, might have been quite innocent after all; for when he was her general in Ireland he had a meeting with Tyrone, each on horseback on different sides of a river, and he concluded an agreement with Tyrone, that was more advantageous for the Kingdom and more honourable for the Queen than the present one. But the Council condemning the conduct of Essex in coming to England in person to explain his action without leave given, persuaded the Queen to put him in the Tower, whence followed all those events which led to his decapitation on the first day of Lent, 1601."

"Queen very ill."

"The agent of the King of Scotland here resident is living very quietly. His sole object is to conciliate the ministers and other personages towards his master by maintaining the balance between them so that the favours of the one should not rouse the suspicions of the other. He is now endeavouring to procure that the Council, after the announcement of Lady Arbell's betrothal and charges against her modesty and the Earl of Hertford's legitimacy, should give leave to carry out the marriage although contrary to the law of England, which forbids any one of the royal blood to contract a marriage without the royal consent, upon pain of death." (Mar. 17 os, Mar. 27 ns.)⁷

⁷C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603.

If Chaworth was able to gain the Queen's ear through his Aunt Carre, who was one of the Queen's nurses, with Arbella's message and perhaps her secret, then this would account for the Queen being overwhelmed in the way in which Scarmelli reports in the first paragraph of his letter. Her old sin against Catherine Grey and the Earl of Hertford with the knowledge of the Earl's successful concealing of his bastardized youngest son, who was now the great dramatist and actor, in whom she delighted, certainly would have caused the great rage and passion in her, when she could no longer use her power.

We have the following letter from the Ambassador, dated 24 March os, 3 April ns:

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate" in Venice

"Ports of England are closed."

"Her Majesty's life is absolutely despaired of, even if she be not already dead. For the last six days she has become quite silly, and indeed idiotic. The Council have issued orders for the quiet and safety of the kingdom, but it is doubtful if they will be obeyed. London is all in arms for fear of the Catholics."

"The Council desires the King of Scotland to succeed to the throne, and have placed Lady Arbell under close custody, as her conduct is thought to have killed the Queen (*riputata con le sue attioni homicida della Regina.*) London 3 Apr. ns, 1603."⁸

But Scarmelli is not the only reporter of the Queen's distress over the pardon of Tyrone and the marriage of Arbell, as we have the following letter from Hague on March 24:

"Sir Fras. Vere to Sec. Cecil"

"Prince Maurice received tidings first of Her Majesty's extreme illness, then of her death, which latter I take to be a false bruit. M. de Caron writes that she was ill at ease through trouble of the mind about the pardon of Tyrone, and the marriage of Lady Arbell, but her magnanimity made me think no accident could so distemper her mind; then reports came on all hands of her dangerous sickness, and now M. de Caron writes that being between the coffer chamber and her bed chamber, he saw great weeping and lamentation among the lords and ladies, as they passed to and fro, and perceived there was no hope that Her Majesty could

⁸C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603.

escape. I never thought to see so dismal a day.”⁹ (Extract Holland correspondence.)

The story of Elizabeth’s rising up in bed when she was dying and saying “I’ll have no rascal’s son on my throne,” or words to that effect, seems not to have any official record. The narrative of the Queen’s last sickness and death by Sir Robert Carey, her favorite nephew who was an eye witness of her death, has nothing like the story put out by one of her probably Catholic waiting women, Mrs. Southwell. (Not but that Elizabeth may have said such a thing at some time or other for she certainly was hateful to the Seymour family.) Neither does Beaumont the French Ambassador say such a thing about this story in his account of the Queen’s death. It is doubtless apocryphal, as Nichols in his *Progresses* (v.3, note on page 603) tells of these false stories.

On March 24 the Queen died and the Council issued the following Proclamation, at once:

“Proclamation declaring the undoubted right of our Sovereign Lord King James to the Crown of the Realms of England, France and Ireland.” This was “read and proclaimed in the Tower and in London, 24 Mar., 1603.”¹⁰

It seems that Scarmelli had gone to Paris, for his letter to the Doge and Senate is written from there and dated 4 Apr. ns., 24 Mar. os., 1602-1603.”

“Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate,” in Venice

“The uproar, which has happened in England recently about Arbelle fell out thus. She was under very strict custody of her grandmother, Lady Shrewsbury; and was never allowed to be alone or in any way mistress of her actions. At thirty years old, (really 27) which she now is, this irritated her; and she resolved to write to the Earl of Hertford, who was living on his estates, two hundred miles from London, complaining of her fate, asking him to free her, and promising to marry his son, Lord Beocen (Beauchamp) who, however, was married fifteen years ago, and has a wife still alive. When the Earl heard that the letter came from Arbelle he would not receive it, but summoning his family to him, he sent the letter straight to the Council; in suspicion that the Earl had on other occasions tampered with Arbelle. He was summoned

⁹C.S.P. Dom. Eliza., 1601-1603, p. 303.

¹⁰H.M.C. Cecil MSS., Hatfield, XV, 1.

to London, where on examination he denied all. The letter was shown to Arbell, who went down on her knees and implored pardon; declaring that she had taken this step in order to induce the Queen to change her prison, for she knew that any other must be much milder than the one she was in; that is the story as the Queen's principal ministers tell it. Paris, 4 April ns., 24 March os., 1602-1603."¹¹

Meantime Brouncker was still at Hardwick awaiting directions about Arbell from Cecil. He evidently received them, but the letter is missing naturally as it was not a state paper and Brouncker probably did not keep it; but we have his answer to Cecil's letter, dated the day after the Queen's death, which fact it is evident he did not yet know:

"Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil"

"25 March, 1603. Your advice is good and I thank you for it, but I can only be satisfied with the comfort of your presence and assurance of your safety. Howbeit if I must here attend the heavy event of future evils, God's will be done. I am resolved in life and death to love you, and will pray that God will reward your well deserving of your friends and country with unexpected happiness. I know not how to direct my course unless you advertise me whether anything be resolved concerning a successor, that so I may show my faithfulness to the State. I desire to be resolved whether (after her Majesty's decease) I may detain the Lady Arbell without a warrant under the Great Seal. I send this bearer of purpose without troubling your Honour with anything here. Hardwick, 25 March, 1602-1603.

P.S. I found neither shot, pikes nor anything else here and the country slow enough and unready. I have provided so much as I trust will serve my purpose."¹²

Scarmelli, returned to London has much to write to the Doge about Elizabeth:

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate"

"The Queen, towards the close of her illness and of her life, after some few hour's sleep, returned to the full possession of her senses. On April the first ns., 21 Mar. os., she recognized that she

¹¹C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603.

¹²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 4. Partly printed in Edward's *Life of Raleigh*, II, 435.

was dying, and caused the Lords of the Council, to be summoned to her presence. With tears and sighs she said that she was herself so weak and ill that her life could last little or rather longer. She exhorted and commanded them to have care for the peace of the realm, and to see that the crown came to the most deserving, whom she in her secret thought had always held to be the King of Scotland, both in right of birth and because he excelled her in merit, having been born a King, while she was but a private person. He ought to be all the more acceptable to them in that he brought with him a whole Kingdom, while she had brought nothing but herself—a woman. . .

“The same day she spoke of certain things which weighed upon her conscience, and recalled to mind the death of the Earl of Essex . . . religion . . .

“Be that as it may, she died a Queen who had lived for long, both gloriously and happily in this world. With her died the family of Tudor, originally of Welsh extraction. As to her personal appearance, she leaves the fame of past, though never quite lost beauty. As to her mental qualities, they quote ever so many instances of prudence, not emanating from the Council, but in many important cases the result of her sole deliberation. She possessed nine languages so thoroughly that each appeared to be her native tongue; five of these were the languages of peoples governed by her, English, Welsh, Cornish, Scottish, for that part of her possessions where they are still savage, and Irish. All of them are so different, that it is impossible for those who speak the one to understand any of the others. Beside this she spoke perfectly, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian extremely well.

“As the Queen’s illness came from nothing but rage, and as her habit was sober and clean, some forgetting her age, think that she may have been assisted to death.

“The adherents of Lady Arbell, the Earl of Hertford, and the Earl of Huntingdon, not knowing which thread to hold on by, are all keeping quiet, although no one of them has signed the proclamation. In fact the whole affair passed off in a hurly-burly it is true, but contrary to the general expectation, quite peaceably. The Lords of the Council, vaunted that the accession of the King would mean peace for the realm, seeing that he has sought it on all hands and would therefore preserve it, but it is soon seen not to be so, for yesterday and to-day comes news that the Earl of



The Queen is dead! Long live the King! A death mask of Queen Elizabeth.

Hertford, who was not to be found, is now in the west and raising foot and horse, with the intention of proclaiming himself King in his own right and more so in that of Arbell. London Apr. 7, ns., Mar. 27 os., 1602-1603.”¹³

The Earl of Hertford had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Somersetshire and Wiltshire Counties in April. He probably was attending to his duties, which may have included finding out the number of soldiers in those counties, and not at any of his houses, and this may have occasioned the rumour of his “raising foot and horse”, when the Proclamation was to be signed. Again we have recourse to Scarmelli’s letters to the Doge and Senate.

“Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate”

“The action of the Earl of Hertford is attributed by rumour to the French, (Hertford was a lifelong friend of the French King), and his most Christian Majesty is in most serious embarrassment.

“But the younger is beginning to yield to the elder and the rumour is dying away, for the elder Earl of Hertford, crippled as he is, swears that he will have himself carried to London and there sign the proclamation and pledge his son’s hand to the same.

“Arbell, too, no longer mad, writes in all humility from her prison, that she desires no other husband, no other state, no other life than that which King James, her cousin, in his goodness may assign her. And so the crown falls peacefully to his Majesty. Coronation to take place in May.” 12 Apr. ns., 2 Apr. os., 1603-1604.¹⁴

From the letter of Brouncker to Cecil, it would appear that Arbell was still at Hardwick. Cecil’s letter to Brouncker must have advised him to let Arbell go her own way, as the Queen was really dying and that James of Scotland, Arbell’s cousin, had been designated by the Queen as her successor, and that he would probably attend to the matter of her residence as soon as it could be arranged.

The Countess and Earl of Shrewsbury, being in London, must have sent word to Arbell of the plan of the King to visit their manor at Worksop on his downward trip, so Arbell was probably very busy getting her regiment and followers together to meet him at Worksop. We have no records of her at this time, but as the

¹³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1592-1603.

¹⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1603-1607.

Earl of Shrewsbury asked his friends to send foodstuffs to help out in the entertaining of the vast number of people he expected around 30 March, she must have been too busy to trouble Brouncker any more.

CHAPTER XXXIX

James to Be Crowned

JAMES received the news of his choice as sovereign of England and the proclamation of his kingship on 27 March, but it was ten days before he was ready to leave Edinburgh. Plans had to be made and probably clothing procured, also, as there were fears of uprisings of Catholics and others, it was decided to leave Anne of Denmark, his Queen, and their children in Edinburgh until James and the English envoys had settled the turbulent borders. After James had bade the Edinburghers goodbye he started on his trek southward on the "Great North Road" to the fulfillment of his long-dreamed-of fate the throne of rich England.

He stopped at Berwick, where he got his necessary travel funds, advanced by the Privy Council of England, and an escort of English gentlemen who were to be members of his chamber. Some of these hinted that it would be more tactful if he did not reach London before the Queen's funeral, which had been delayed unexpectedly.

King James visited Sir Robert and Lady Carey at Withrington, where he was prodigiously entertained and where he went hunting and slew two deer. At Newcastle he stayed over Sunday and until the following Wednesday and was thankfully entertained by the citizens, who bore all the charges of his visit. Then he proceeded to Durham where the Bishop, Toby Mathews, received him with a hundred gentlemen in tawny liveries. The astute Bishop made a demand for Durham House in London, long the home of Sir Walter Rawlegh, which James promised to give him for this night's lodging.

As James resumed his journey, he found that he was attended by great numbers of persons, both English and Scottish, and the whole countryside was becoming depleted of foodstuff; so he issued a proclamation commanding everyone not in his immediate party to return home instantly.

In spite of this there must have been an army of at least a

thousand persons raising great clouds of dust along the Great North Road.

James went on to York, where he was entertained from Saturday until Monday, and heard the great organ there. Monday night he spent at an inn, "The Sign of the Bear", at Doncaster, paying the host with the lease of a manor house in revision.

Arbell must have been released by 30 March, as word had been passed that the King would visit Worksop, the home of her uncle and aunt, the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, on his way to London. Worksop was not very far from Hardwick Hall. Arbell, being James's only relative in England, was of course expected to meet him with a large retinue of followers, as was the custom in those days. Most of the noblemen and gentlemen of those parts must have gotten their retainers together, and with Arbell at their head, with her regiment, the whole number of horses must have amounted to well over three hundred.

(Arbell had already sent her submission to her cousin James, as Scarmelli has related in his letter of 2 April, os. or 12 April, ns.)

When the Earl of Shrewsbury found that the King would visit his home at Worksop, around 30 March, he sent letters to his friends insinuating that he would not refuse such fat capons, hens, partridges and the like as they cared to lend him. As the Earl was related by family and marriage to the greater persons of the peerage in this part of England, the response must have been large, and as he was generous, as well as powerful, his entertainment of the King and his Court must have been to the liking of His Majesty.

Probably Arbell and her gallant horsemen met the King at Doncaster and escorted him to Worksop, near where the Earl of Shrewsbury met him with a company of huntsmen all in green and invited him to a hunt in the Park for a good space before escorting him to the fine old mansion of Worksop. Here was a most lavish display of hospitality. After the King's party had feasted to their hearts, and stomachs' content, there was enough left to let any man who cared to come have all he craved of fish, fowl, beer and wine. As was his nature Earl Gilbert had planned efficiently.

Probably Arbell and her few ladies joined the King's retinue upon his leaving Worksop. James had been on his way two weeks when he reached Newark, not far from Worksop. Here the news of

the plague in London reached the party, as it travelled slowly along, now at an even slower pace. They stopped at Burghley House (Sir Anthony Milmay's) and at Sir Oliver Cromwell's, going slower and slower toward Exon or Cambridge.

The Earl of Southampton had been realeased and bearing the sword before him, was joined by the Poets, who had a pamphlet full of praise entitled, *Sorrow's Joy, or a Lamentation for our late deceased Sovereign Elizabeth, with a Triumph for the Prosperous Succession of our Gracious King James*.

On went the triumphing King to Royston and an entertainment by Sir Edward Dennys, High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, where he was met by seven score of retainers in blue coats with slashed sleeves, white doublets, hats and feathers, and red saddles. James received as a gift from Sir Edward a magnificent horse, a rich saddle and furniture to go with the same, all of great value. Then on to Belvoir Castle.

During this time and before the King reached Theobalds' Elizabeth's body had been interred in Westminster Abbey—it having been borne through the streets embalmed in lead, topped with a "lively image" of herself, a wax figure, in her official robes with a crown upon her head and a scepter in her hand. The citizens wept honest tears as the chariot, muffled in black velvet and drawn by four black horses, rolled slowly by. They gazed after the great embroidered banner of England borne before the hearse by the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral. Naturally, as they were still on their road to London, neither King James nor Arbell attended the funeral, although Scarmelli says that "the King willed the Lady Arbell to appear as the sole Princess of the Blood at Elizabeth's funeral."

Just before the King's cavalcade arrived at Theobalds, Cecil's marvelous home, there came the canopied coach and three of the Countesses of the Earl of Cumberland's family: Lady Anne, her daughter, and her sister the Countess of Warwick, preceded by the Earl and ten retainers in green doublets.

At last King James reached Theobalds, where he had so longed to be, two days less than a month after he had left Scotland. On 3 May, the Privy Council visited him there for four days then went back to London. In the meantime the plague was getting more and more dangerous in London.

Sometime during the first part of April, the King, evidently

reminded of Arbell's unhappy position with her grandmother, wrote a letter to the Earl of Kent asking him to receive her into his house. Elizabeth, Arbell's cousin and daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, had married Henry Grey, nephew and heir of the Earl of Kent, whose residence was at Wrest, County Bedford, not very far from Clavering, County Essex, where "Our Willy" was, Vicar. Here is the letter:

"The King to the Earl of Kent"

"Forasmuch as we are desirous to free our cousin the Lady Arbell Stuart from the unpleasant life which she hath led in the house of her grandmother with whose severity and age she, being a young lady, could hardly agree, we have thought fit for the present to require you as a nobleman of whose wisdom and fidelity we have heard so good report to be contented for some short space to receive her into your house, and there to use her in that manner which is fit for her calling, having rather made choice of you than of any other because we are informed that your nephew is matched with her cousin germain in which respect she will like better of that place than of a stranger's until further order be taken."

"Draft (in the same hand as the letter of 11 May to the Earl of Kent.) Also endorsed 1603, " Mynute from his Maty to the old Countess of Shr. concerning the Lady Arbell."¹

We do not have a draft of this letter to the old Countess, but this notation proves that James did write such a letter, which released Arbell from the custody of her grandmother.

Nowhere can I find any record of the reaction of Bess of Hardwick to the release of Arbell to the Earl of Kent's custody. Probably her son William and her servants received the full force of her resentment, for she resented every independent action of anyone near her or under her far-flung control. Cecil wrote asking her to forgive the actions of her son Henry and here is her reply:

"Bess of Hardwick to Robert Cecil"

"This 12th of April I received your letter in behalf of my unnatural son Henry Cavendish. I wish he had lived so that he were clear of all faults imputed to him (as in this it seems you are informed, or at least some would make show he should be).

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 65.

Had it been so, I wish I had known it sooner, that then I might have taken less grief for his and others undutiful and unnatural dealings. I could sooner be persuaded he were innocent of those matters lately objected against him, had I not been certainly informed, as I know you and others of the Council were, of his former acting in the same matter. No friend should sooner persuade me to do for him than yourself, but I have been so hardly dealt with by him and others who specially sought my overthrow, and having no likelier means than to work some near me, little suspected by me, to join in their bad actions, that I must crave pardon if I refuse to do for those who, not only in this matter but in many others, have sought to hurt me. Hardwick, 13 April, 1603. (Signed) E. Shrousbury."²

This letter of Bess of Hardwick, the Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, perhaps shows the character of this woman as well as anyone could describe her. Cruel, self-centered, autocratic, unforgiving, vindictive, and unscrupulous this powerful woman was. How Arbell could have grown up under the care of such a person to be the great hearted, loveable and talented girl she was seems almost impossible. We do not wonder that "Our Willy" spent so much energy to obtain her release from such a harridan.

It was lucky for England, that Elizabeth Tudor and not Elizabeth Hardwick was Queen, for had Bess been Queen, she would have ordered "Off with their heads," instead of "Off to the Tower." Poor Arbell, under the command of both.

After his lavish entertainment at Theobalds, King James and Court proceeded to go nearer to London and rested at Sheen, formerly the home of Catherine Grey, now belonging to the crown. Here he created, on 7 May, 133 new knights. Poor Essex was a piker compared to James! On 11 May, he honored Cecil by creating him Baron of Essenden, and called him, "My little Beagle."

Scarmelli, still in London, wrote the Doge that Queen Elizabeth's portraits were being hidden and Mary Queen of Scot's shown instead.

No sooner had James been declared King than the malcontents' plots against him came to light. Even the Ambassadors of Venice and France could not definitely tell much about these discontents, before, because as Scarmelli writes earlier about the Succession, "This is a subject which is absolutely forbidden to be discussed

²H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 44-45.

under pain of *loesa Majestas*, it is very difficult to arrive at any conclusion." He was referring to Arbell and her claim to the throne—a claim, which, if she ever thought of it, was still as far as I can discover utterly unconsidered by her. Her revolt was entirely that of a girl wanting to marry her beloved whom she could not even see, *except by stealth*, as she says, and who was willing to go to great lengths to gain her freedom so that she might see him she so long and so devotedly had loved as our story relates.

It is evident from this letter which follows, that Arbell had gone to Wrest to be under the custody of the Earl of Kent, sometime in early May:

"(The King) to the Earl of Kent"

"We have been informed by our Cousin the Countess of Shrewsbury of the good desire which our cousin the (Lady) Arbell Stuart hath to (come) to our presence thereby to have better occasion to present her love and duty to us. We (do) very well approve those desires of hers, and for that purpose are well pleased that she do repair to our Court at Gr. (Greenwich) in the company of our Cousin the Countess (of) Shrwsbury, her aunt, where we shall be willing to confer (with) her and make her to know how well we wish her in regard of her nearness in blood and how much it doth content us to understand so much of her good carriage of herself as we do by report of her Aunt the bearer hereof."³ Draft. Endorsed, "1603, 11 May. Minute to the Earl of Kent."

On 12 May, Scarmelli wrote to the Doge and Senate of Venice:

"He (James) has deprived Secretary Cecil, head of a powerful party, of the Wards in Chancery."

James really abolished this smelly, outworn contrivance, which Essex had hesitated to accept.

Scarmelli, in London, was interested in reminiscences of Elizabeth and he wrote this extraordinary story to the Doge and Senate of Venice, and although I have mentioned it under the Armada I will again give it here:

"Scarmelli to the Doge and Senate of Venice"

"Elizabeth's remarkable statescraft commented upon—Alencon—then her second and not less remarkable action now comes to light, "for at the very height of the Spanish preparations against Eng-

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 82.

land in 1588, she, of her own initiative, despatched into Flanders Robert Cecil, a little hunchback, and then in private life, but very wise; and he in simple traveller's garb, but with credentials from her, whispered to the ear of Alexander Farnese (Duke of Palma) that the Queen would give Arbell as wife to his son Ranuccio, and with her the succession to the throne; the whole world has seen the result of that step."⁴

The Armada's destination was the coast of Flanders, where Alexander Farnese, Prince of Palma, was lying with about 35,000 men and a flotilla of boats. The force was to be landed on the Isle of Thanet at the mouth of the Thames under the protection of the Armada, which would be able to keep the Channel perfectly clear.

Leicester had about 16,000 men at Tilbury to oppose the landing, of Palma's fleet. However he never arrived. As to the reason for that I will now again quote from the person who calendared the Venetian State Papers relating to England, who probably got his information from the Spanish papers relating to the Armada:

"This last enigmatical phrase should presumably have reference to the failure of the Duke of Palma to join forces with the Duke of Medina Sidonia. It is well known that immediately after the Armada dropped anchor in Calais Roads in 6 Aug., 1588, Farnese sent a courier to the Duke, declaring that his army could not be collected for embarkation under a fortnight, that his barges were not mounded, (probably calked) ready for sea, and that the arms and stores were still lying on the quays of Dunkirk. Now the failure of the great enterprise was largely due to this miscarriage of the combined plan of invasion; and Scarmelli apparently accuses Palma of having had an understanding with Elizabeth." 'The matter is at least curious,' adds the calendarist of these foreign papers.

Evidently by 11 May, or shortly after, James had removed from Sheen to Greenwich, where Arbell was to visit his Court. He evidently invited her to join the Court for shortly after we find her writing letters to Cecil from the places where the King was visiting (Basing, Farnham & Oxford) awaiting the arrival of the Queen so that the Coronation ceremony could take place.

On 19 May, 1603, James gave a license to a company of actors to be known as the King's servants: "Royal license was granted to

⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, 1603.

Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillips and the rest of their associates, 'freely to use and exercise the art and faculty of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage plays and such like others as they have already studied or hereafter shall use or study, as well for the recreation of our living subjects, as well for our pleasure; and the said comedies, tragedies, histories, interludes, morals, pastorals, stage plays and such like to shew and exercise publicly to the best commodity when the infection of the Plague shall decrease, as well within their now usual place the Globe within our County of Surrey.'"

Perhaps it will be interesting to hear some of the descriptions of James as seen by some of the English at this time: "Big head, slobbering tongue, quilted clothes, rickety legs and the want of personal dignity;" "buffoon, coarseness of speech;" "his pedantry, his contemptible cowardice;" "shrewd mother wit and ready repartee made him the butt of many bold foreigners." Henry IV of France, who evidently did not believe that Mary Stuart was innocent or ignorant of Darnley's death had this to say of James: "He gave him his well-known soubriquet 'the wittiest fool in Christendom,' and allowed his claim to be called 'the modern Solomon,' on the ground that he was 'the Son of David, who played on the harp.' "

But James's record in Scotland in his earlier years disproved at least the stigma of cowardice, as he certainly was courageous in making his way to Denmark to wed Anne, and in the numerous times when his life had been in danger in Scotland, as these are well recorded facts. He did however believe in the Divine Right of Kings, which he often used to his own private use or pleasure.

"Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Cecil"

"I understand that my bad brother (Henry Cavendish), upon some message that he hath procured from the King to Sir John Fortescue, hath gotten out a particular of Pomfret Park and labour-eth to obtain some bill to be signed by the King for a new lease thereof . . . This day I will be in the Star Chamber and after dinner I will call at your house. My Lady Arbell protests that she made no means nor desired any creature living to move his Majesty that she might speak with him since she saw him last, although she means shortly to make that suit to him. I did tell my wife that

I heard she had made suit to speak with him, but none knoweth who told me thereof, I assure you. This Wednesday morning."⁵

If Arbell's maintenance had been given her by the Queen, I do not know, but evidently she was getting deeply into debt during this interim when she was following the Court, for she now begins to write Cecil about her maintenance. The first letter we found is dated 14 June, 1603, as follows:

"Lady Arbella to Lord Cecil"

"My good Lord—I presume to trouble your lordship in renewing that request which, when I last spake with you, it would not please your lordship to grant; or least to let me know you would make me bound to you in that kind; that is, that it will please your lordship to remind the King's Majesty of my maintenance, which, if it be not a matter fit for you (as one which your lordship hath already dealt in), my uncle of Shrewsbury is greatly deceived or hath deceived me; but I suppose neither, and therefore presume so much of your honourable disposition that you will endeavor to obtain me that which it will be for his Majesty's honour to grant. And therefore your lordship in that respect (if there were no other) I doubt not will perform more than it was your pleasure to promise me, I think because you would have the benefit greater coming unpromised. And so wishing your lordship increase of honour and happiness, I cease.

"From Sheen, the 14th of June. Your Lordship's poor friend
"ARBELL STUART."⁶

Same to Same

"My good Lord—It hath pleased his Majesty to alter his purpose concerning the pension whereof your lordship writt to me. It may please you to move his Majesty that my present want may be supplied by His Highness, with some sum which needeth not be annual if it so seem good to his Majesty. But I would rather make hard shift for the present than be too troublesome to his Highness, who I doubt not will allow me maintenance in such liberal sort as shall be for his Majesty's honour, and a testimony to the world no less of his Highness's princely bounty than natural affection to me. Which good intention of his Majesty I doubt not but your lordship will further, as you shall see occasion, whereof your

⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 103-104.

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 134.

lordship shall make me greatly bounden to you, as I acknowledge myself to be. And so with humble thanks for your honourable letter, I recommend your lordship to the protection of the Almighty who send you all honour and contentment. From Sheen, the 22th of June, 1603.

"Your lordship's poor friend

"ARBELL STUART."⁷

Same to Same

"My good Lord—I humbly thank your lordship that it may please you, amongst your great affairs, to remember my suits to his Majesty. For the alteration of my pension I hope I shall shortly have the means to acquaint your lordship with it myself. If I should name two thousand pounds for my present occasions, it would not exceed my necessity, but I dare not presume to crave any certain sum but refer myself wholly to his Majesty's consideration, and assure myself I shall find your lordship my honourable good friend, both in procuring it so soon, and making the sum as great as may be. So with humble thanks to your lordship, for your continual favours, I recommend your lordship to the protection of the Almighty.

"From Sheen the 23rd of June, 1603.

"Your lordship's poor friend,

"ARBELL STUART."⁸

Same to Same

"My good Lord—I humbly thank your lordship for procuring and hastening the King's liberality toward me. I acknowledge myself greatly bound to your lordship, and have sent this bearer to attend your pleasure, whose important affairs I am constrained to interrupt with this necessary importunity. From Sheen the 26th of June.

"ARBELL STUART."⁹

Same to Same

"I have received his Majesty's liberality by your lordship's means, for which I acknowledge myself greatly bounden to your

⁷Ashmolean MSS., 1729, f. 80: Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 177.

⁸Ashmolean MSS., 1729, f. 81: Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 178. "These two letters are elaborately written, with flourishes, and of great care taken in the formation of the letters, but apparently in Arbell's own hand."

⁹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 151: Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 179.

lordship of whose patience I presume in reading these needless lines, rather than I would by omitting your due thanks a short time, leave your lordship in the least suspence of my thankfulness to you whose good opinion and favour I highly esteem. From Sheen, the 30th of June, 1603."

"Your lordship's assured friend,

"ARBELL STUART." (Holo.)

Endorsed Arabella and below in a column these names:

Countess of Shrewsbury,
Countess Arundel,
Countess of Pembroke,
Lady Catherine Howard,
Lady Grace Cavendish,
Lady Paget.¹⁰

Cecil must have sent Arbelle the 666^{lb} allotted as a free gift to Scotchmen. It is recorded later. He must have also advanced 200^{lb} of the allowance that James had promised her: 880^{lb} per annum with certain provisions for her tables and food for her servants.

Because of the plague in London, it was thought best that the Coronation should not take place until later. Also Anne of Denmark, as the Queen was called, did not leave Edinburgh until the first week in June. She brought with her Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth, but because of baby Charles's delicate health he was left in Edinburgh for a time.

After Queen Anne had passed Leicester, a large number of coaches joined her train and "an infinite number of ladies" willing and eager to serve her bedchamber and to take care of her children surprised her. She selected the Countess of Bedford, who was sworn of the Privy Chamber, and the Countess of Kildare, with Lady Harington were made governesses to little Elizabeth—not quite seven years old.

At Althorpe, the seat of the Spencer's in Northamptonshire, well known to us as the last prison of Hertford (or Spenser), Anne was given one of her first entertainments. Samuel Daniel presented a masque. It was full of fairies, elfin music (probably partly composed by "Our Willy") and fantastic dances. It ended with the appearance of Sir Robert's eldest son dressed as a huntsman, and the unloosing of a brace of choice deer, which were killed in sight

¹⁰H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 157: Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 179.

of Her Majesty. The whole entertainment was heartily applauded.

The Queen met the King at Sir George Haddon's seat at Easton-Neston, and although she was noted for her temper, managed to behave in such a way that all the reports of her were favorable. The united family made a splendid impression, although James's rough Scottish speech astonished some of those who believed in the Queen's English spoken at that time in London and the Court.

The day set for the Coronation was 25 July, but before that the new King had knighted all such as had forty pounds a year in land, to come and be knighted or to compound with the King's Commissioners. He also knighted all the judges, sergeants at law, doctors of civil law and gentlemen ushers who had not before received that honour. Three hundred knights paid their knights fees and so James provided money for the Treasury which was depleted!

No wonder Arbell pled so long in vain for her maintenance with speed. One can hardly blame Arbell for her extravagant ideas, which had been formed by the examples of Mary Stuart, Bess of Hardwick, and now King James and Queen Anne.

CHAPTER XL

Plots Against King James

DURING the first three months after the proclamation of King James as the Sovereign of England, and before his Coronation, there was a very fierce struggle for power between the INS and the OUTS—or the men in and out of office:

The INS were: Robert Cecil, Secretary, newly created Lord, Baron of Essenden; Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Privy Seal; Charles Howard, Lord Admiral, Earl of Nottingham.

The OUTS were: Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, brother-in-law to Cecil and son-in-law to the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard; Sir Walter Raleigh; Sir Griffin Markham; Lord Grey de Wilton; George Brooke, younger brother of Cobham.

These OUTS were men entangled in plots devised by Spanish Jesuits and priests. The plots were two in number and were called the "Main" and the "Bye" plots. The plot called the "Main" was also called the "Arbell Plot," and was supposed to have been conceived by Lord Cobham. While both plots were directed against the King and his "cubs," the Arbell plot was to kidnap the King and place Arbell on the throne. Of course Arbell knew nothing of any of these people, as Sir Robert Cecil well knew, and her name was being used just as a peg to hang their plot on, as it was also well-known that the Seymours (that is, Beauchamp) was not running as a candidate for the throne.

Raleigh, the greatest foe that the Spanish had in England, was really the person that they were determined to destroy. Cecil was in the pay of Spain but whether he had his pension from them at this time or not until later, I cannot say. But Raleigh they were determined to ruin, as he was the greatest influence against Spain's infiltration into England that that country had. Cecil hated Raleigh and had for many years, as we have seen when he wrote that letter to Burghley, as he went down to Plymouth to see to the

disposition of spoils of the Spanish ship *Madre de Dios* which Raleigh's ships had captured in 1592.

Cecil had been really the head of Elizabeth's government for quite a time before her death. He had continued the espionage system instituted by Walsingham and later by Burghley, his father; and although the Packe had disconnected itself from it for some time, and "Our Willy" had been devoting himself to music and his great dramas, so he did not know intimately anything about the fact that James was now coming to the throne. Thus he did not seem to distrust James until much later.

Cecil had watched these plots gradually developing but waited until James was on the spot before he took action.

On July 6, Anthony Copley arrested and the next few days, George Brooke (the younger brother of Cobham), Sir Griffin Markham, Watson and Clerke. Two priests were arrested, then Lord Cobham, and they in turn entangled Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir Walter Raleigh. On 16 July, Cobham denied all knowledge of Copley and Markham's plot; 17 July, Cobham answered interrogations concerning Lady Arbell Stuart, Sir Walter Raleigh, etc., but refused to set his hand to anything. Raleigh was sent to the Tower on 19 July, after he had been restrained at his house a week or less before.

On came 19 July, George Brooke's confession of the private correspondence of Lord Cobham with Count Aremberg; his messages to the Lady Arbell Stuart, and dealings with La Fontaine, a French preacher.

During the night of 19-20 July, Raleigh tried to kill himself in the Tower.

The main part of the plot seems to have been "to surprise the King and take him into custody, elevate Arbell to the throne and then free the King after he had given promise for toleration, and a general pardon to those who put this violence upon him."

It was a complicated and silly plot, worked out by half-baked malcontents, but they managed to entangle Arbell, although everybody knew that she had been closely confined by her grandmother and had nothing at all to do with it.

Lord Cobham was again examined on 19 July, when he denied any political dealings with Count Aremberg or Sir Walter Raleigh, and insisted he was not privy to Lord Grey's plot. We have a letter from:

"Lord Cobham to Lord Cecil"

"Lord Cecil once or twice asked him his purpose for the Lady Arbell. 'It is a hard task for him to remember every conceit that passed in his humour of discontentment, and when all is known, it will be found no such ground of foundation as is conceived. God is his witness when he saw her he resolved never to hazard his estate for her. His Honour shall perceive this conceit died and never had revived since.' From the Tower of London, 23 July, 1603."¹

"Cecil sent word to Cobham that his only hope of life was to bring about Raleigh's ruin."

There is a notation in the C.S.P. Dom., James I, (21 July, 1603) along with other items regarding these plots, contained in the letter:

"Bishop Bancroft to Lord Cecil"

"Watson in London. (Inclosure), "Relation of R.G., a priest relative, to Watson's plot to cut off the King and place Lady Arbell Stuart on the throne, which was a counter-plot to that of the Jesuits."

On 30 July, 1603, "Sir John Peyton to Lord Cecil," "Sir Walter Raleigh's hurt nearly well. Lord Cobham in great despair."

There was also a note in the letter of :

"Anzolo Bador, Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge in Venice. "This tells of a plot against the King by Watson, Clerke, Sir Griffin Markham, Anthony Copley, etc. Raleigh and Arbell figure in it."²

Of course all England was concerned with these two absurd plots to establish Arbell on the throne. There is also:

"2 Aug., 1603 ns. Examination of Wm. Watson as to the Lady Arbell and the dealings of Lord Cobham, Lord Grey, G. Brooke and Sir G. Markham, the King not considered actually King by them till after his Coronation. Examination of Lord Cobham as to his advising Lord Grey to marry Lady Arbell. Dealings with Raleigh, Count Aremberg, La Fontaine, Watson, Markham."

The new Ambassador for Venice in France, Anzolo Badoer, writes to the Doge and Senate in Venice, 10 Aug. os: "Lady Arbell has been summoned to Court, and placed near the King and

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XV, 208. Edwards, *Life of Raleigh*, II, 449.

²C.S.P. Foreign, James I, Venetian.

Queen as a Princess of the Blood; in her appointments, table, and rank she takes precedence of all other ladies at Court. She has already begun to bear her Majesty's train, when she goes to chapel. *For the rest she is living very retired, nor is there wanting a certain mystery in the situation,* but Walter Raleigh, one of the conspirators convicted and condemned to death, has borne full testimony in her justification. They say there is some talk of marrying her to the Duke of Savoy. All this disturbs the King, who cannot make up his mind whether he should lean to the side of rigour or of clemency."³

On 23 August, we have, "examination of Wm. Watson, as to his expression of the 'Bye' and the 'Main.' The 'Bye' referred to his plot, the 'Main' to that of Lord Cobham and Raleigh which was to destroy the King and his cubs."⁴

"Arbell Stuart to her uncle Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury"

I humbly thank you for your letter to my Lord Chamberlain Robert Sidney in my behalf, which I have not yet delivered, and for letting me understand your course, which, though it bend directly northward, will not hinder you from thinking and looking to the south, where you leave me to take my fortune in an unknown climate; without either art or instruction, but what I have from you, whose skilful directions I will observe as far forth as they are Puritanlike. And though I be very frail, I must confess, yet I trust you shall see in me the good effects of your prayers, and your great glory for reforming my untowardly resolutions and mirth (for great shall the melancholy be that shall appear in my letters to you), which as the best preservative of health I recommend to you, to whom I wish long life, honour and all happiness. From Farnham, the 14th of August, 1603.

"Your disciple,

"ARBELL STUART"

"To my very good uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury."⁵

"Lady Arbell Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—I have written to my uncle how the world goes with me. I beseech you get him to write to my Lord Cecil on my behalf, *and to take notice of his and my Lord H. Howard's crossing*

³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I.

⁴C.S.P. Dom., James I, Aug. 23, 1603-1610.

⁵Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 177; Original at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 180.

of the King's intentions for my allowance of diet. I think that makes others deny that the King granted, and makes even himself think anything enough, when so wise Councillers think it too much. You know his inclination to be kind to all his kin, and liberal to all he loves, and you know his protestations of extraordinary affection to me. Therefore I am sure it is evil counsel that withholds him so long from doing for me in as liberal sort or more as he hath done for any.

"The Queen was very desirous to have accompanied the King. When she speaks of you, she speaks very kindly and honourably of you. But great and gracious ladies leave no gesture nor fault of the late queen unremembered, as they say who are partakers of their talk, as, I thank God, I am not. Mr. Elphinstone (the queen's secretary) is my very good friend, and your most devoted. I pray let me hear of my faults from you, when you will have me mend them; for I am sure you shall hear of them there, and I neither those faults which are thought so here, nor those qualities good that are most gracious here. Now you are a bystander you may judge and direct better than ever.

"I humbly take my leave, praying the Almighty to send you all happiness. From Basing, the 23 of August, (1603)

"Your ladyship's neice to command.

"ARBELL STUART"

"I beseech you commend me to my uncle Charles and my aunt, and all my cousins with you. Sir Wm. Stuart remembereth his service to you and my uncle."⁶

Evidently Lady Arbell's pension was reduced, as she says in above letter, by her uncle Earl of Shrewsbury and Henry Howard, Lord Privy Seal, from 880^{lb} to 800^{lb}; for we have the following item in the Cal. State Papers, James I, 1603: "Warrant to pay 800^{lb} per ann. to Lady Arbella Stuart. Dated Sept. 1603."

While Arbell was following the Court from place to place until it was safe to enter London, where the plague still raged, she probably was at Woodstock; for the following letter shows the esteem held for her by William Fowler, who was Secretary and Master of Requests to Queen Anne. It is contained in a letter to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury.

⁶Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 177; Original letters are at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 181.

"Mr. William Fowler to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury"

Dated Woodstock 11th Sept., 1603.

. . . "Bot I fear I am too sausye and overbold to trouble your Honoues: yet I can not forbear giving you advertisment of my great and good fortune in obteaining the acquentance off my Ladye Arbella, who may be, to the first seven, justly the eight wonder off the world. If I durst I would wryte more planelye my opinion of things that falls out here among us, bot I dar not without your L. warrant deale so. I send two sonetts unto my most vertuous and honorable Ladye, the expressers of my humeur, and the honour of her whose sufficientye and perfections mereits more regairde then this ingraitfull and depressing age well afford or suffer; the one is a conceite of myne drawen from ane Horologe: the other is of that worthye and most verteous Ladye your nece. I trust they sal find favour in your sight; and in this hope, humblye taking my live of bothe your Ho. I commit your L. to the protection of God.

From Woodstock, the 11th of Sept. 1603. Your Ho' most willing to do you service."

FOWLER.

We give only the sonnet: "To the most Verteous and treulye honourable Ladye, Lady Arbell Stewart."

*Whilest organs of vaine sence transportes the minde,
Embracing objects both of sight and eare,
Touch, smell, and tast to wch fraile flesh inclin'de,
Preferrs such trash to thinges which are more deare.
Thou, godlie nymph, possessest with heavenlie feare,
Divine in soule, devote in life and grave;
Rapt from thy sence and sex, thy spirites doth steire
Toies to avoyd wch reason doth bereave.
O graces rare! which tyme from shame shall save,
Wherein thou breath'st (as in the seas doth fish,
In salt not saltish) exempt from the grave
Of sad remorse, the lott of worldlinge's wish
O ornament both of thyselfe and sex!
And mirrour bright, wher vertues doth reflex.
In salo sine sale.⁷*

What Arbell thought of this sonnet, she to whom many of the

⁷Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, I, 260-261.

finest sonnets had been written, we do not know. However it is in the record so we give it.

"Lady Arbell to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—If you receive the letters I write, I am sure you will see I fail not to write often how the world goeth here, both in particular with me and otherwise as far as my intelligence stretcheth, wherefore I rather interpret your postscript to be a caveat to me to write no more than I do, and my desire to understand of your health, that is not more than is necessary; than a new commandment to do that which I already do. But lest in pleasing you I offend my uncle, I have adventured to write to him one superfluous letter more, and that I may include no serious matter in his, I send you all I have of that kind, which is that the King hath under his hand granted me the aforesaid mess of meat, and 800^{lb} per annum and my Lord Cecil will despatch it, I trust, with all speed, for so his lordship promiseth.

"Your long-expected messenger, by whom I should have understood your mind, is not yet come, and the Queen is going hence to-morrow; but the change of place will not cease my expectation, till I understand from you you have changed your mind in that matter; which, if you do, I shall hope it is with a mind to come up shortly and let me know it yourself, according to a bruit we have here which I would fain believe.

"You shall not fail to receive weekly letters, God willing, unless lack of health, or means, or some very great occasion hinder me.

"Mr. Elphinstone, who, you may see, is with me late as well as early, remembers his service to you. And so I humbly take my leave, praying the Almighty to send you all honour, happiness, contentment, etc.

Your ladyship's neice to command.

"Oxford, 16 Sept. 1603.

"ARBELL STUART."⁸

"Lady Arbella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

"At my return from Oxford, wheare I spent this day, whilst my L. Cecil amongst more weighty affaires was dispatching som of mine, I found my cousin Lacy had disburdened himselfe at my chamber of the charge he had from you, and streight fell to pre-

⁸Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 178: Original letters at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 182-183.

pare his fraught back, for hindering his back returne to-morrow morning, as he intendeth.

"I writt to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' audience (Taxis was the Spanish Ambassador); it remaineth to tell how jovially he behaveth himselfe in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hauke's hoods, leather for jerkins, and, moreover, a perfumer; these delicacies he bestoweth amongst our Ladies and Lordes, I will not say wt a hope to effiminate the one sex, but certainly wt a hope to grow gracious wt the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many La. and Gentlemen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford, his abiding place; which he desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish that vice), made his coche stay, and tooke occasion wt petty griftes and courtesies to winne soone-wonne affections; who comparing his manner wt Monsieur de Ronnees, hold him theyr farre wellcomer guest. At Oxford he tooke some distaste about his lodging, and would needes lodge at an inne, because he had not all Christ's College to himselfe, and was not received into the town by the Vice-Chancellour in pontificalibus, which they never use to do but to the King and Queen, or Chancellour of the University, as they say; but those scruples were soon digested, and he voutsafeth to lodge in a peece of the Colledge till his repaire to the King at Winchester.

"Count Arimberg was heere wthin these few dayes, and presented to the Queene, the Archduke and the Infants's pictures, most excellently drawne. Yesterday the Kinge and Queene dined at a lodge of Sr Henry Lea's. 3 miles hence, and weare accompanied by the French Imbassadour and a Dutch Duke. I will not say we weare merry at the Dutchkin, least you complain of me for telling tales out of the Queene's coche; but I could finde in my heart to write unto you some of our yesterdaye's adventures, but that it groweth late, and by the shortness of your letter I conjecture you would not have the honest gentleman overladen wt such superfluous relations.

"My Lo. Admiral is returned from the Prince and Princesse, and either is or wilbe my cousin before incredulous you will believe such incongruities in a Councillour, as love maketh no miracles in his subjects of what degree of age whatsoever. His daughter of Kildare is discharged of her office, and as neere a free

woman as may be and have a bad husband. (She was Lady Cobham.)

"The Dutch Lady my Lord Wotton spoke of at Basing proved a Lady sent by the Dutchess of Holstein to learn the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and hath binne heere twice, and thinketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth hir owne country; in truth she is civil and therefore cannot but look for the like which she brings out of ruder country. But if ever thear weare such a vertu as courtesy at the Court, I marvell what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queene, who ever since her coming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and recieveth theyr prayers wt thanckes and thankfull contenance, barefaced, to the great contentment of natife and forrein people; for I would not have you thunk that the French Imbassador would leave that attractive vertu of our late Queene El. unremembered or uncomended, when he saw it imitated by our most gracious Queene, least you should thinke we infect even our neighbours wt incivility. But what a theme have rude I gotten unawares—It is your owne vertu I comend by the foile of the contrary vice; and so, thinking on you, my penne accused my selfe before I was aware; therefore I will put it to silence for this time, onely adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all kindes, and so humbly take my leave. From Woodstocke, the 16th of September. Your Lo. Neece.

ARBELL STUART."⁹

This letter seems to have been copied directly from the original which is probably at Longleat, as the spelling has not been corrected nor the contractions altered.

As this letter was to have been sent by hand Arbell has recounted things about the doings of the Court, which she would not have done had it been sent by the post. It gives the feeling that she is critical of the etiquette of the place and not too proud of it.

At last Arbell's maintenance was settled, which was made official by the following letter:

"Lord Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

17 Sept. 1603 "How my Lady Arbell is now satisfied I know

⁹Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, I, 263.

not, but the King hath granted 800^{lb} yearly for her maintenance, and of it 200^{lb} before hand; she shall also have dishes of meate for her people, more tables will not be allowed, and yt you will think, when you shall heare yt, Our Sovererain spends 100,000^{lb} yearly in his howse, wch was wont to be but "Your Top's at com" 50,000^{lb}.

"Your Lop's at com.

RO. CECYLL.¹⁰

"On 21 Sept. 1603, Raleigh was indited at Straines for conspiring to deprive the King of his sovereignty, to alter the true religion, and to levy war. This blossomed into definite charges that he and others were plotting to make Arbell Stuart Queen; that Cobham had been offered 600,000 crowns by Count d'Aremberg, and had planned a journey to Spain to get help for Arbell's cause; that Raleigh and Cobham had promised that Arbell should be persuaded to make peace with Spain, tolerate Catholicism, and be guided in marrying by the King of Spain and his two dependents the Archdukes of Austria and the Duke of Savoy. . . ."¹¹

It is exceedingly difficult to get from the official records the true chronology of these trials.

Evidently Arbell had moved with the Court to Winchester, where the trials of the conspirators were going on, as her next letter is dated from there, and she in a guarded way seems to tell her Aunt that she is going there to testify:

"Lady Arbella to the Countess of Shrewsbury."

"Madame—According to your commandment, I send your Ladyship a few scribbled lines, though I be now going in great haste to give my attendance with some company that is come to fetch me. I am as diligently expected and as soon missed as they that perform the most acceptable service. And because I must return at an appointed time to go to my book I must make the more haste thither. So praying for your happiness, I humbly take my leave. From Winchester the 6th of October, 1603.

"Your ladyship's neice to command.

"ARBELL STUART."¹²

The only occasion that I can find when Arbell went to the trial of Raleigh and Cobham is a notation in the State Trials—Raleigh,

¹⁰Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, I, 272.

¹¹Edward Thompson, *Sir Walter Raleigh, Last of the Elizabethans*, (1926).

¹²Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 179: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 183.

as follows: "The Lord Admiral being in a standing with the Lady Arbell, spake to the Court: 'The Lady doth here protest upon her salvation that she never dealt in any of these things; and so she willed me to tell the Court.'"¹³

We now quote this episode from a modern source:

"Cecil and Lord Nottingham had prepared a dramatic scene. Lady Arbell Stuart 'being in a standing with' the latter, through him protested 'upon her salvation, that she had never dealt in any of these things'. Cobham she said had written to her, asking for an interview, 'and gave her to understand that there were some about the King who laboured to disgrace her.' Mistrusting that 'it was but a trick,' she had not answered."

"As to the charge of plotting to elevate (Arbell) to the throne, no evidence was even pretended except her story that Cobham had written to her. Raleigh himself says, 'I never liked her.' Cobham perhaps, played for a time with the idea of her as Queen. He says she 'sought my friendship'; (Arbell was a close friend of Lady Cobham, the Admiral's daughter) and she may have been willing to know a man who was in high favour, and moreover represented himself as with fingers in all sorts of pies and as generally important and influential. Even so, all this was while Elizabeth was alive, so could not be held treason to James. Raleigh, who may have done Arbelle some injustice as a woman, did her none as a possible ruler and certainly never encouraged Cobham in this particular silliness."¹⁴

The next letter we have of Arbelle's has no date or place; however as she begins to complain of what sounds like the beginning of a cold, which she had in Oct. and Nov. of this year it would seem to indicate that it belongs here in October, 1603.

"Lady Arbelle to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—This everlasting hunting, the tooth-ache and the continual means by my Lord Cecil to send to you, make me only write, both to you and my uncle, some few hours longer, till my pain assuage, and I have given my never-intermitted attendance on the Queen, who daily extendeth her favours more and more towards me: The Almighty send you and my uncle all prosperity,

¹³State Trials—Raleigh, 1603, p. 186.

¹⁴Thompson, Sir Walter Raleigh, Last of the Elizabethans.

and keep me still, I beseech you, in your good opinion, who will ever remain,

“ARBELL STUART.”¹⁵

“Your ladyship’s neice to command.

The real Thomas Morley, whose name “Our Willy” had adopted as an alias, “died in 1603,” or thereabouts, as that is the date “when the commission to administer the goods of Thomas Morley late parishioner of St. Boloph’s, near Billingsgate” was granted to his widow, “Margaret Morley”, on 25 October, 1603. There is quite an obscurity regarding these records as one names Susanna as Thomas’s wife and the Commission was granted to Margaret. (This is a minor question that must be taken up later.)

“Arbella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury”

“I humbly thank your lordship for the (as to me it seemed, I assure you) short letter of two sheets of paper, which I received from you by this bearer, Mrs. Nelson. The letters to my Lord Cecil and Sir Thomas Edmonds were delivered, though not so soon as I wished, they both being absent from hence, so that Sir Thomas’s was delivered to the doorkeeper of the Council Chamber, and Sir Thomas not coming hither so soon as was expected, Mr. Hercy thought good to fetch it from him (the doorkeeper); and how he hath since disposed of it I know not, nor doubt not but he hath done with it as you would have him, for he seems to me very well instructed in your mind. My Lord Cecil had his as soon as he came.

“My bad eyes crave truce till they may without their manifest danger write a letter of a larger volumne. And so praying for your lordship’s honour and happiness in the highest degree that ever subject possessed, I humbly take my leave. From Fulston, the 27th of October, 1603.

“Your lordship’s neice,

“ARBELL STUART.”¹⁶

There seems to have been an attempt by the conspiracy investigators, to link Arbelle’s rebellion against her grandmother’s custody of her, with the attempts of Cobham and co-conspirators against King James, as we find this letter of Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury dated 27 October, 1603.

¹⁵Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 195: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 197.

¹⁶Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 179: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 184.

"Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

"At this instant some cawse is offred, by ye confessions of some of the conspiratorers, to speake wth Mr. Henry Cavendish. I pray yor Lp. therefore, let him, be privately warned, without any other notice (to his disgrace) to come up, to be here as soon as ma be. For ye matter, dowbt not yt it can hurt any you respect; yet he must be spoken wth and I dare warrant he shall have no harme, for any waight the matter is of ."¹⁷

"Arbell Stuart to the Countess Shrewsbury"

"Madame—I humbly thank you for your good advice gainst New Year's-tide. I think there will be no remedy but I must provide myself from London, though I be very loth to do so. I understand by Sir Wm. Stuart how much I am bound to you and my uncle.

"I will bethink myself against your long-expected trusty messenger come, whatsoever he be; and that expectation shall keep me from troubling you with so full and tedious a discourse as I could find in my heart to disburden my mind withal to you.

"I humbly thank you for my servant G. Chaworth, And so praying for your happiness I humbly cease.

"From Fulston the 4th of November, 1603.

"Your ladyship's neice to command.

"ARBELL STUART."¹⁸

Same to Same

"Madame—Because I received a letter from you by this gentlewoman, I dare not, for incurring her opinion of my relapse into some unkindness toward you, but send you a few lines. I will keep a note of the dates of my letters.

"That letter of yours which I received since from Mr. Hercy I answered by him.

"My eyes are extremely swollen, and yet I have not spared them when I have had occasion to employ them for your sake. Therefore now they may boldly crave a cessation for this time only

¹⁷Nichols, *Progresses*, James I & VI, p. 292.

¹⁸Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 180: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 185-6.

performing their office whilst I subscribe myself such as I am and ever will continue, that is,

"Your ladyship's niece to command.

"ARBELL STUART."¹⁹

"Lady Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

"I must only return your lordship humble thanks for the letter I have received from you, and reserve the answer till I trust a few days will make me able to write without extreme pain in my head. Mr. Cooke can tell your lordship all the news that is here. And so praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly take my leave, (Fulston, Nov. 28, 1603)

"Your lordship's niece.

"ARBELL STUART."²⁰

"Lady Arbell to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—I humbly thank you for your letters, pill and hartshorn. I have taken, continued, and increased an extreme cold. I mean to sweat to-day for it. Mr. Cooke can tell you how the world goes here. And so, praying for your happiness, I humbly take my leave. (From Fulston 28th November, 1603)

"Your ladyship's niece to command.

"ARBELL STUART."²¹

"Lady Arbell to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

"It may please your lordship to pardon me, if writing now in haste, with a mind distracted with the several cares of a householder, and those that this remove (to Hampton Court) and New-Year's tide add thereto, I omit sometimes that which were perchance more material to write than that I write, and forget many things which, according to the manner of us that have only after wits, come not to mind till your letters be gone, and then are too ancient news to be sent by the next. I received your lordship's letter safe by Mrs. Nelson, and that *your* in my aunt's letter was plural, so that I meant I had received your lordship's and hers, how ill soever I expressed it; I will amend my obscurity, God willing. Your lordship taxeth my obscurity in the comment upon a part

¹⁹Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 180: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 185.

²⁰Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 181: Originals at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 186-7.

²¹*Ibid.*

of some letter of mine you desired to have explained. But, what soever you took for the explanation of it, I am sure I sent you none, for I knew not what you desired to have expounded.

"I pray you take not that *pro concesso* in general which is only proper to some Monsters of our sex. I cannot deny so apparent a truth as that wickedness prevaieth with some of our sex, because I daily see some, even of the fairest amongst us, misled, and willingly and wittingly ensnared by the Prince of darkness. But yet ours (our sex) shall still be the purer and more innocent kind. There went ten thousand Virgins to heaven in one day. Look but in the almanac, and you will find that glorious day. And if you think there are some, but not many, of us that may prove saints, I hope you are deceived. But *not many rich, not many noble, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven*. So that riches and nobility are hindrances from heaven, as well as our nature's infirmity.

"You would think me very full of divinity, or desirous to show that little I have, in both which you should do me wrong, if you knew what business I have at Court, and yet preach to you. Pardon me, it is not my function. Now a little more to the purpose.

"I have delivered your two patents, signed and sealed, to Mr. Hercy. If it be not an inexcusable presumption in me to tell you my mind unasked, as if I would advise you what to do, pardon me if I tell you I think your thanks will come very unseasonably so near New-Year's-tide, especially those with which you send any gratuity. Therefore consider if it were not better to give your New Year's gift first to the Queen, and your *thanks* after, and keep Mr. Fowler's till after that good time. New-Year's-tide will come every year, and be a yearly tribute to them you begin with. You may impute the slowness of your thankfulness to Mr. Hercy or me that acquainted you no sooner with your own matter.

"The Spanish Ambassador invited M^dme. de Beaumont (the French Ambassador's lady) to dinner requesting her to bring some English ladies with her. She brought my Lady Bedford (Lucy, Countess of Bedford, d. of John Lord Harington) Lady Rich (afterward wife of Lord Henry Howard) Lady Susan (Vere, who married Sir Philip Herbert, afterward Earl of Pembroke) and Lady Dorothy with her, and great cheer they had. A fortnight after he invited the Duke (of Lenox), the Earl of Mar, and divers of that nation, requesting them to bring the Scottish ladies, for he was desirous to see some natural beauties. My Lady Anne Hay, and my cousin

Drummond (Lady Jane) went, and after the sumptuous dinner, were presented with a pair of Spanish gloves apiece, and after my cousin Drummond had a diamond ring of the value of two hundred crowns given her, and my Lady Anne a gold chain of Spanish work near that value. My Lady Carey went with them and had gloves there, and after a gold chain of little links twice about her neck sent her.

"Yesterday the Spanish Ambassador, the Florentine and Mdme. de Beaumont took their leave of the Queen till she come to Hampton Court. There is an Ambassador come from Polonia, and fain would he be gone again, because of the freezing of their seas, but he hath not yet had audience. The Venetians lately sent two Ambassadors with letters both to the King and Queen. One of them is returned with a very honourable despatch; but he staying but a few days, and the Queen not being well, he saw her not. The other stays here still.

"It is said the Turk hath sent a chahu to the King. It is said the Pope will send a Knight to the King on embassy (she spells it imbassage and imbassadour). The Duke of Savoy's embassy is daily expected.

"But out of this confusion of embassages will you know how we spend our time on the Queen's side?

"Whilst I was at Winchester, there were certain child-plays remembered by the fair ladies, viz. 'I pray, my lord, give me a course in your park;' 'Rise, pig, and go;' 'One penny, follow me,' etc. And when I came to court, they were as highly in request as ever cracking of nuts was. So I was by the mistress of the revels, not only compelled to play at I knew not what (for till that day I never heard of a play called 'Fier.') but even persuaded by the princely example I saw to play the child again. This exercise is most used from ten of the clock at night till two or three in the morning, but that day I made one, it began at twilight and ended at supper-time. There was an interlude, but not so ridiculous (as ridiculous as it was) as my letter, which here I conclude, with many prayers to the Almighty for your happiness, and so I humbly take my leave, from Fulston on the 8th of December, 1603.

"Your lordship's niece

"ARBELL STUART."²²

²²This seems to have been a popular letter of Arbell's as copies of it are to be found in Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 181-182, Add. MSS., XXII, 563, f. 43: Original at Longleat. Also in Bardley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 187-188.

In this letter Arbell mentions the two Venetian Ambassadors, having visited the Court and we find that they reported the following in their joint letter to the Doge and Senate at Venice, (dated 1 December ns. or 20 November os.) from Salisbury.

*"Piero Duodo and Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassadors
to England"*

"Of the eleven conspirators six have been condemned to death.

"The course of the trial has shown that their object was to kill the King and to make Arbell Queen." "Cobham had written Arbell a letter urging her to write the King of Spain, etc. Arbell handed it to the King without having broken the seal."²³

This next letter that Arbella wrote to her Aunt the same day that she wrote to her uncle shows the nature of the two; as the one to her Uncle is filled with the gossip and doings at Court while the following one to her Aunt Mary is more personal and although she speaks of her lover as 'that great party,' *she keeps her secret well*. Here is the letter:

"Arbell Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—I humbly thank you for your kindness expressed many ways and lately in the letter received from you by my cousin Lucy's man.

"How defective soever my memory be in other ways, assure yourself I cannot forget even small matters concerning *that great party*, ("Our Willy") much less such great ones as, I thank God, I was (not) acquainted withal. Therefore, when any great matter comes in question, rest secure, I beseech you, that I am not interested in it as an actor, howsoever the vanity of wicked men's vain designs have made my name pass through a gross, and a subtle lawyer's (Sir Edward Coke, Crown Lawyer) lips of late, to the exercise and increase of my patience, and not their credit. I trust I have not lost so much of your good opinion as your pleasant postscript would make one that were suspicious of their assured friends, (as I never was) believe. For if I should not prefer the reading of your kind and most welcome letters before all Court delights (admit I delighted as much in them as others do), it were a sign of extreme folly; and liking Court sports no better than I do, and than I think you think I do. I know you cannot think me

²³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, p. 164.

so transformed as to esteem anything less than them. As your love and judgment together makes me hope you know I can like nor love nothing better than the love and kindness of so honourable friends as you and my uncle. Wherefore I beseech you let me hear often (that I may be sure of) your love by the length and number of your letters.

"My own follies (and) ignorance will minister you sufficient matter for as many and as long letters as you please, which, I beseech you, may be as many and as copious as may be without your trouble.

"I have satisfied the honourable gentlewoman without raising any expectation in her to receive letters from you, which is a favour I desire only may be reserved still (always) for myself, my good Lord Cecil, and your esteemed friends. I asked her advice for a New Year's gift for the Queen, both for myself, who am altogether unprovided, and a great lady, a friend of mine, that was in my case for that matter; and her answer was, the queen regarded not the value, but the device. The gentlewoman neither liked gown nor petticoat so well as some little bunch of rubies to hang in her ear, or some such daft toy. I mean to give her Majesty, two pair of silk stockings, lined with plush, and two pair of gloves lined, if London afford me not some daft toy I like better, whereof I cannot bethink me. If I knew the value you would bestow, I think it were no hard matter to get her or Mrs. Hartshide (to) understand the Queen's mind without knowing who asked it. The time is short, and therefore you had need lose none of it. I am making the King a purse, and for all the world else I am unprovided. This time will manifest my poverty more than all the rest of the year. But why should I be ashamed of it when it is other's faults, and not mine? My quarter's allowance will not defray this one charge I believe.

"Sir William Stuart continueth his charitable desire, but he cannot persuade me to lose my labour, how little soever he esteem his own to so good an end which I wish but think not feasible, at least by me.

"Thus praying for the increase of your happiness every way, I humbly take my leave. From Fulston, the 8th of December, 1603.

"Your ladyship's most affectionate niece to command.

"ARBELL STUART."²⁴

²⁴Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 183. Add. MSS., 563, f. 45. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 191.

Sometime between 8 December and 18 December Arbell evidently removed to quarters in Hampton Court, for her next letter which follows is dated from there, 18 December, 1603, and is full of her doings in expectations of the revels, plays etc. that were to be held there at the holiday season, and also news of the King's intentions regarding the conspirators.

"Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury"

". . . That night the Queen came hither, which was on Friday, the 16th of December, I received your lordship's packet to me by one of Lord Cecil's men. Mr. Hercy's letter I keep till I see him, which will be very shortly, as he lately told me. I humbly thank you for your thanks to my Lord Cecil for me. I am a witness, not only of the rare gift of speech which God hath given him, but of his excellent judgment in choosing most plausible and honourable themes as the defending a wronged lady (probably herself) the clearing of an innocent knight, etc. I humbly thank you for your letter to my Lord Bishop of Winchester, which, if it be written (as I doubt not it is) in that sort as may avail the recommended, is worth ten favours of greater value that you had been willing to grant; but if, as being written *invita Minerva*, they be unto him like Uriah's sealed letter. Alas! what have I done?

"Well, I suspect you not, therefore now you may deceive me; and you deceive me (who am better persuaded of your judgment) if you do not perceive I cast that doubt only to make you merry with looking into the infiniteness of suspicion, if one will nourish it; not that I have the least doubt of your honourable dealing with any, and especially myself.

"The invitation is very cold if the Christmas guests you write of accept it not, for they knew their welcome and entertainment in a worse place, and yet were so bold to invite themselves thither. I humbly thank you that for my sake they shall be welcomer to you, who, in regard to their nearness of blood to yourself and my aunt must needs be so very welcome that (if you had not written it) I should not have thought they could have been more welcome to you in any respect than that.

"Your venison shall be right welcome to Hampton Court, and merrily eaten.

"I dare not write unto you how I do, for if I should say well, I were greatly to blame; if ill, I trust you would not believe me,

I am so merry. It is enough to change Heraclitus into Democritus to live in this most ridiculous world, and enough to change Democritus into Heraclitus to live in this most wicked world. If you will not allow reading of riddles for a Christmas sport, I know not whether you will take this philosophical folly of mine in good part this good time.

(Heracleitus, (Sic) the weeping philosopher; Democritus, the laughing philosopher, in *Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus* by J. Norton, 1598.)

"I write to your lordship by a messenger of Mr. Hercy's, an answer of yours I received by my cousin Lucy's man, of such news as then were news, as I think in the North, and now I have none to send but that the King will be here to-morrow. The Polonian Ambassador shall have audience on Thursday next. The Queen intendeth to make a mask this Christmas, to which end my Lady of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham have warrants to take of the late queen's best apparel out of the Tower at their discretion.

"Certain noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you, because some of them hath made me of their council) intend another; certain gentlemen of good sort another. It is said there shall be thirty plays.

"The King will feast all the Ambassadors this Christmas. Sir John Hollis yesterday convoyed some new come Ambassador to Richmond, and it was said (but not certainly) to be a Muscovian.

"I have reserved the best news for the last, *and that is King's pardon of life to the not executed traitors. I dare not begin to tell of the royal and wise manner of the King's proceedings therein, lest I should find no end of extolling him for it*, till I had written out a pair of bad eyes; and therefore praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly and abruptly take my leave. From Hampton Court, the 18th of December, 1603.

"Your Lordship's niece,

ARBELL STUART."²⁵

"Lady Arbell Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury"

"Madame—I received your ladyship's letter by your old servant David three days ago, and his desire being I should speak to some of the Council in his behalf, and he, knowing he had brought a letter of recommendation to me, lest he should think me disobedi-

²⁵Add. MSS., XXII, 563, f. 47. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, p. 193.

ent to you, who willed me to do what I could for him, I offered to speak to the Duke of Lenox in his behalf, who is the only Councillor, now my uncle is away, that I will move in any such suit. But I told him it would be to so little purpose, that, though at that present he seemed to desire his furtherance, I have not seen him since, and so, upon better consideration, I think he takes the right way, and will spare that needless labour of mine, to speak to one for him that can do him little good. But whether I shall see David any more before his return to you or not; and therefore, Mr. Hercy having left this packet of his with me to be sent by the first messenger I could hear of, I have rather made bold with this bearer, as he can tell you, than either stay it (for Mr. Hercy saith it requireth haste) or rely on the uncertainty of your servant.

"The Polonian Ambassador had audience to-day. Other news there is none, that I know, and therefore I beseech you make my excuse to my uncle that I write not to him in this busy time and scarcity of occurrence. And so praying the Almighty to send you both all happiness, I humbly take my leave. From Hampton Court, the 22nd of December (1603)

"Your ladyship's most affectionate neice to command.

"ARBELL STUART."

P. S. Mr. Hercy sent a packet by post wherein I writ to my uncle and you, in answer of those I received from you by my cousin Lucy's man. I beseech you let me know if you received them safe. If I had thought they should have been sent by post. I should have written more reservedly.²⁶

²⁶Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 185: Original at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 196.

CHAPTER XLI

Christmas at Hampton Court, 1603-1604

WE have seen from the letters of Arbell to her uncle the Earl of Shrewsbury that she was in a very exalted condition and that something was thrilling her this first Christmas of her freedom at Hampton Court. We notice this, although she was very guarded in her expression of it, and in her letter to her aunt on December 22 she is a bit worried about their having arrived safely. She says she is merry,—but this was not only because she was in her rightful place, but because “Our Willy” was also there at Hampton Court!

King James had designated those fellows, the newly licensed company of actors, the King’s Servants, as “Grooms of his Bed-chamber.” The license reads “to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillips and the rest of their associates.” When one realizes that the actors are there in the palace of Hampton Court, many things are clarified. Among them not only Arbell’s happiness but the extraordinary clemency that James extended to the conspirators in the so-called Arbell Plot. I have found the story of this dramatic proceeding, which he describes at length, in the *Annals of Nottinghamshire* by Thomas Bailey II, 551 et passim. Of course Markham was of Nottinghamshire and so Arbell’s plot became a part of that county’s history. His real description of the events was written by one Carlton, evidently at the time, and is reproduced here.

This extraordinary stage play was probably not only the result of James’s own penchant, but also of the presence and atmosphere of drama surrounding the players; and had perhaps even a suggestion of its likely subject for a drama in real life, a suggestion that would have appealed to James. Arbell is very enthusiastic about it in her letter, as we have read. Probably “Our Willy” had something to do with it.

Here is the account of it in as full a record as I could find:

“Sir Griffin Markham, son of Thomas Markham, of Ollerton, by Mary, daughter and heiress of Rice Griffin, of Dingley, and who,

for his gallantry, was knighted at Rouen, was this attain, along with Sir Walter Raleigh, Lords Grey and Cobham, Mr. Broke (brother to Lord Cobham), Mr. Copeley, Sir Edward Parham, and two Catholic priests—Watson and Clarke,—to overthrow the government of James, secure his person, and raise Arbell Stuart, a near relation of the King by the family of Lenox, to the throne. The transactions were soon discovered by the Secretary Cecil, whose system of espionage appears to have been as perfect as could be desired by the most jealous despot who rules the destinies of any of the States of Europe, even at this time. Grey and Cobham were immediately seized and arraigned before their peers: Cobham made a full confession of his guilt, coupled with the most abject solicitations for mercy. Grey disdained such meanness, and by his noble bearing, as well as the candour of his statements, won the esteem of the very judges by whom he was condemned. The other conspirators were likewise all apprehended and brought to trial. Though they were all condemned to death, three only were executed. James, as it would seem, from the hour of their conviction had resolved to spare their lives, but entirely on a plan of his own, and with such a studied, or rather stage effect, as should exhibit his clemency under what he imagined to be extraordinary impressive circumstances. The following is Carleton's relation of this singular affair:

“Warrants were signed and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, the Sheriff of London, on Wednesday last at night, to make preparation for the execution of Markham, Grey and Cobham, who, in this order, were to take their turns at the block, as yesterday being Friday at about ten o'clock, Markham, on being brought to the scaffold, appeared a good deal dismayed, and complained much of his hardship, to be deluded with hopes, and then brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but, after all, he was not found to be deficient in resolution, for a napkin being offered by a friend, who stood by, to cover his face, he thrust it away, saying he could look upon death without fear. He then betook himself, after this manner, to his devotions, and those ended, prepared himself to the block. The Sheriff, in the meanwhile, was secretly drawn aside by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber, a stranger to all present, with a message from the King; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left with his head resting on the block, to entertain his

melancholy thoughts, which were no doubt heavy enough, as best he could. The Sheriff at his return, told him that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respite; and so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him in the great hall. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of young courtiers and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed but as a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit.

“ ‘Being now come to the point of preparing himself for the execution, the Sheriff stayed him, and said he had received orders from the King to change the order of the execution, and that Lord Cobham was to go before him, and so led him away. The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions, promised nothing but matter for ridicule, did much cozen the world, for he came to the scaffold with much assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayer with his minister, and this done, would have taken a short leave of the world, when he was stayed by the Sheriff and told there resteth something to be done, for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham, being brought back to the scaffold as they then were, looked strange the one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now, all the actors being together on the stage, (as it used at the end of a play) the Sheriff made a short speech to them, by way of the interrogatory of their offences, the fairness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution, there to be performed, to all which they assented. ‘Then’, said the Sheriff, ‘see the mercy of your prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives.’ There was no need to beg a plaudit of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that the very air was rent with them.’ ”

“The result of this extraordinary proceeding was, that Raleigh who was to have suffered on the Monday following, was reprieved, but not pardoned, and finally executed, after many year’s confine-

ment. Markham, Brookesby and Copeley were banished the realm, and mostly passed the remainder of their lives in great obscurity and penury abroad. Lord Grey expired in the Tower, after a captivity of eleven years; Cobham ultimately was liberated from imprisonment but his large estates were all confiscated to the crown, and he was forsaken not only by all the nobility but by Cecil, who had married his sister, and even his wife (the Lord Admiral's daughter) who enjoyed in her own right a large independent income; he at length died amidst privations of the most severe kind, in a miserable garret in London in 1619.

"Such was the end of the conspirators in the 'Markham Plot,' one of the most foolish, rash and ill-concocted enterprizes of which even that extraordinary age could boast, prolific as it was in crime and follies."

Before we go on to describe some of the activities of this Christmas celebration at Hampton Court, we must revert to the letter Arbell wrote to her uncle on December 18, where she speaks of a letter she had requested him to write recommending some person: "I humbly thank you for your letter to my Lord Bishop of Winchester, (Dr. Bilson) which, if it be written (as I doubt not it is) in that sort as may avail the recommended, is worth ten favours of greater value that you had been willing to grant; but if, as being written *invita Minerva*, that be unto him like Uriah's sealed letter. Alas! What have I done? (See Samuel 2, 11, *Bible*, O. T.) Well, I suspect you not, therefore now you may deceive me; and you deceive me (who am better persuaded of your judgment) if you do not perceive I cast that doubt only to make you merry with looking into the infiniteness of suspicion, if one will nourish it; not that I have the least doubt of your honourable dealing with any, especially myself."

This letter of recommendation Arbell wanted was for "Our Willy" now at Hampton Court, who under his alias John Smith was vicar of Clavering. He had formerly been lecturer at St. Paul's, London, where he had taken the place of Lancelot Andrewes, now Dean of Westminster and first on the list of Divines who were appointed to make the *Authorized Version* of the *Bible* by King James. These Divines were to meet at Hampton Court early in 1604 to begin proceedings.

In those days people in authority had to be approached through channels, and "Our Willy", although he had known Dr. Andrewes

fifteen years or so before, had to do likewise. Arbell's uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was of the Privy Council, and therefore she was obtaining a letter of recommendation from him. This great meeting was held at Hampton Court, and I have no doubt that "John Smith" contributed his great scholarship to it. I also believe that his father the Earl of Hertford (as Spenser) had a hand in it, but I do not have any data for that, only the wording of some of the rules, and the style of the language suggest that he might have had a hand—the posthumous one of Spenser.

That Arbell's quarters must have been in one of the quadrangles of Hampton Court goes without saying. Probably in one of the others those "Grooms of the Bed-chamber" must have been quartered. And as all of them, as well as Arbell, were to take part in the festivities of the Christmas-tide, they must have seen each other often. What disguise or lack of disguise William Shakespeare adopted must be left to the imagination. But that here "Our Willy" was, acting under his own name or the only legal one he had, is sure.

At last! After nearly ten years of seeing and hearing from each other only by means of poems, songs, sonnets and plays on his part, and the stealthy notes on hers, they were together under the same roof!

With the hustle and bustle of getting the plays ready and the many consultations as to parts, the rehearsing etc., the place was so confused that probably no one would have noticed their looks, conversation and actions. And they on their part being both consummate actors (he so easily and she by the year's practice of concealing her thoughts and actions) never, so far as we can discover, was their love disclosed to anyone.

I feel sure that Arbell had confessed her love of "Our Willy" or Morley to her Aunt Mary, but she in turn was like the sphinx.

The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, by Samuel Daniels was the masque presented this Christmas. Samuel Daniels was not only a close friend of "Our Willy" but was one of Hertford's men, to whom he gave employment, and whose brothers were also in Hertford's employ as has been shown.

Arbell was one of the Goddesses, but which one I do not know. That her costume was made from one of Elizabeth's great old robes is certain, for they were the great storehouse for these costumes.

Anne of Denmark with her regal power had decided that no

longer should pale-faced boys represent female figures on the stage, but that her ladies should show their skill as actresses by representing these classical goddesses themselves. A great innovation!

The Masque began with the appearance of *Night*, dressed in a black raiment covered with stars, awakening her son *Sleep*, seen lying in the foreground. He on awakening waved a wand, thereby causing a curtain to part behind a small mountain. *Iris*, in a rainbow-coloured gown with face masked, identified herself as *The Daughter of Wonder* now made the *Messenger of Power*, when she descended to signify the coming of the Goddesses. She warned *Sibylla*, the *Prophetess*, dressed in black and white, to prepare for the rites fitting to entertain such deities, handed her a perspective glass and invited her to identify the Twelve Olympian ladies.

"O admirable Powers," exclaimed *Sibylla*, as the Divinities entered from the top of the mountain, "what sights are these?" *Juno*, *Pallas*, *Venus*, *Diana*, *Vesta*, *Proserpine*, and the rest of the heavenly coterie, were indeed a spectacular sight for eyes unaccustomed to seeing women act upon the stage, either in costume or out of it. *Pallas*, in particular, drew everyone's eyes as she came down the mountain and announced herself to be:

*'Warlike Pallas, in her helmet drest,
With lance of winning, target of defence,
In whom both wit and courage are exprest,
To get with glory, hold with providence.'*

Of course *Pallas* was the Queen herself, instantly recognized, with a blue mantle draped about her, embroidered in silver, and with all the weapons of war. She wore a helmet and carried a lance and shield.

The music for this masque was evidently performed by the King's Company of Actors and their associates, who were nearly all musicians of one sort or another. Of course "Our Willy" as Shakespeare was the greatest of them and he probably was their leader. At any rate the music of the viols, lutes, flutes and lyres sounded sweetly in the Great Hall, which blazed with candles.

After the presentation of the Goddesses, the musicians, attired as Satyrs and sitting in the concaves of the mountains, sounded a stately march to which the Goddesses proceeded to the end of the Great Hall, delivering presents to *Sibylla* and then dancing with "great majesty and art." They then were applauded, as these divine

creatures each drew out a Lord to join the dance. James evidently did not join in the dance. He probably felt that his unsteady legs could not match those of the gay Lord Admiral, whose marriage at seventy years Arbell had been privy to, and who was led out by his new bride, the pretty Lady Margaret Stuart, Arbell's cousin.

The collation which followed proved extremely popular. The Spanish Ambassador, Don Juan de Tassis, and King James indulged mightily in the flowing wine and, as both were anxious for peace, they conversed of such things as they delighted in. They were together most of this happy evening.

I do not know whether "Our Willy" used a disguise of any sort for his own name, William Shakespeare. Probably not, as he could not have used Marlowe or Thomas Morley, since he had killed off Marlowe long ago and Morley just the year before, and he could not assume the alias of Dowland, as Queen Anne or some of her people might have known him when he served in her father's band of musicians in Denmark. He probably did not use any disguise at all, as this is the only recorded time we can find him using his legal name in a company. Perhaps it was at this time that he wrote that MSS note in the Duke of Devonshire's copy of *George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*. Here is the title page and note:

"A pleasant conceyted Comedie of *George-a-Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield*. As it was sundry times acted by the Seruants of the right honourable the Earle of Sussex, 1599." A MSS note on the title page of a copy belonging to the Duke of Devonshire reads: "*Writ by . . . a minister who ac(ted) the pinner pt in it himself. Teste W. Shakespeare.*" He is now speaking of himself as *John Smith*, preacher.

Whether the Earl of Devonshire (Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy) was at this entertainment or not we do not know but we do know that he had just been created Earl of Devonshire in this year, for his services in Ireland. We also know that Charles Blount and others of his family were friends of Shakespeare and his "Packer" for several years.

This play, *The Pinner of Wakefield*, might have been revived by the King's Company of Actors for this festival, as Arbell had said that it was expected that thirty plays were to be given at this time; or possibly this was included in Prince Henry's entertainment later.

That "Our Willy" as Dowland was using a house in Fetter's Lane seems to be certain as he registered *Lachrymae, or Seven Teares* and dedicated it to Queen Anne. It was entered at Stationer's Hall, April 2, 1605. Fetter's Lane had many houses of refuge for recusants, and as Dowland was supposed to be a Catholic he was there in 1603 and 1606. Dowland had earlier in 1603 published his *Third and Last Book of Songs or Aires*.

Lady Arbell to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"This bearer coming to me in such haste, as he can tell your lordship, I only observe your commandment in scribbling never so little, never so ill, and reserve all I have to write of to your lordship that is some Hardwick news, and such vanities as this place and holy time afford me, till Emery's return, by whom I have received a large essay of your lordship's good cheer at Sheffield. I humbly thank you and my aunt for it. One Mr. Tunstead expecteth letters from your lordship, and came once himself, and said he would send to my chambers often, in adventure you should send them to me. And thus praying to the Almighty to send your lordship as much increase of honour and happiness that you may confess yourself to be the King's happiest subject, I humbly take my leave. From Hampton Court, the 2nd of January 1604.

"Your lordship's niece,

"ARBELL STUART."

I beseech you obtain my pardon of my aunt for not writing to her at this time.¹

On the fourth day of January, 1604, a play was given at the Court by William Shakespeare entitled *A Playe of Robin Goodfellow*. We know little about it, other than the fact that the same mountain and caves that served for the play by Samuel Daniels, was part of its background. It was wholly performed by the King's Company of Actors.

Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"This bearer having leave for a short time to visit the north, and not giving me time sufficient to write the description of the *three masques, besides two plays*, played before the Prince, since my last advertisement of these serious affairs, I must beseech your

¹Sloane MSS., 4164 f, 186, original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 198.

lordship to pardon the shortness of my letter, proceeding—partly of the short warning I had of his going down, partly the shortness of my wit, who at this instant remembers no news but is either too great to be contained in my weak paper, or vulgar, or such as without detriment but of your lordship's expectations may tarry the next messenger. *I have here enclosed sent your lordship the Bishop of Winchester's letter in answer of yours. I beseech you let me know what you writ, and what answers concerning the party in whose favour I craved your letter, that I may let the good Warden know as soon as may be.* My Lady of Worcester commendeth her as kindly to your lordship, and not to my aunt, as you did yourself to her in her ladyship's letter, and is as desirous to raise jealousy betwixt you two as you are like to do betwixt them. Thus praying to the Almighty, etc.

"From Hampton Court, the 10th of January, 1604.

"Your lordship's niece.

"ARBELL STUART"

"I had almost tried whether your lordship would have performed a good office betwixt two friends undesired; for I had forgotten to beseech you to excuse me to my aunt for not writing at this time.

"I think I am asked every day of this New Year, seven times a day at least, when you come up, and I have nothing to say, but *I cannot tell*, which is not their pleasure to believe, and therefore, if you will not resolve them nor me of the truth, yet teach me what to answer them."²

"Lady Arbell to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"My Lord Cecil sent me a fair pair of bracelets this morning, in requital of a trifle I presented him at New Year's-tide, which it pleased him to take as I meant it. I find him my very honourable friend both in word and in deed. I pray you give him such thanks for me as he many ways deserves, and especially for this extraordinary and unexpected favour, where by I perceive his lordship reckoneth me in the number of his friends, for whom only such great persons as he reserve such favours.

²Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 186; Add. MSS., v. 25, 563, p. 50. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 199.

"Thus praying for your lordship's happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court the 11th of January, 1604.

"Your lordship's neice,

"ARBELL STUART."³

On Jan. 21 st. Arbell wrote a short note to her aunt Mary on this date also from Hampton Court.

"Lady Arbell Stuart to her uncle the Earl of Shrewsbury"

"Having sent away this bearer with a letter to my aunt, and not to your lordship, with an intention to write to you at length by Mr. Cooke, I found so good hope of my grandmother's good inclination to a good and reasonable reconciliation betwixt herself and her divided family, that I could not forbear to impart to your lordship with all speed. Therefore I beseech you put on such a Christian and honourable mind as best becometh you to bear to a lady so near to you and yours as my grandmother is. And think you cannot devise to do me a greater honour and contentment than to let me be the only mediator, and peace maker betwixt you and her.

"You know I have cause only to be partial on your side, so many kindnesses and favours have I received from you, and so many unkindnesses and disgraces have I received from the other party. Yet will I not be restrained from chiding you (as great a lord as you are) if I find you either not willing to harken to this good motion, or to proceed in it as I shall think reasonable. Consider what power you will give me over you in this, and take as great over me as you give me over you in this in all matters but one (her marriage) and in that your authority and persuasion shall as far exceed theirs as your kindness to me did in my trouble. If you think I have either discretion or good nature, you may be sure you may refer much to me. If I be not sufficient for this treaty never think me such as can add strength or honour to your family. But Mr. Cooke persuades me you think otherwise than so abjectly of me. And so praying the Almighty you may (take) such a course both in this and all your other honourable designs as may, with your most honourable contentment, bring you to

³Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 187, original at Longleat. Printed copy in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 200.

those good ends you wish, whatsoever they be, I humbly take my leave. From Hampton Court, the 3rd of February, 1604.

(unsigned)

"P.S. I beseech you bring my uncle Henry (Henry Cavendish) and my aunt Grace (Talbot, sister of the Earl of Shrewsbury) up with you to London. They shall not long be troublesome to you, God willing; but because I know my uncle hath some very great occasion to (be) about London for a little while, and is not well able to bear his own charges, nor I for him, as I would very willingly if I were able, to so good an end as I know he comes to now. And therefore I beseech you take that pains and trouble of bringing them up, and keeping them awhile with you for my sake and our families' good. I have here enclosed sent you a letter to him, which, if you grant him this favour I require of you, I beseech you send him; if you will not, return it to me, and let him not be so much discomforted to see I am not able to obtain so much of you for him. In truth, I am ashamed to trouble you with so many rude and (but for my sake as you say) unwelcome requests; but if you be weary of me, you may soon be despatched of me for ever (as I am told) in more honourable sort than you may deny this my very earnest request."⁴

Arbell appears here to refer to one of her numerous marriage projects, by "Our Willy", or Shakespeare.

⁴Sloase MSS., 4164, f. 188, 189. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 201.

CHAPTER XLII

Authorized Version of the Bible

SOON after the effects of the extraordinary masques and Christmas and New Year's-tide festivities had subsided a proclamation was made to summon Parliament, as the plague was abating in London and it was safe to bring the peers to the Court.

In the meantime, there was a conference held which had been arranged some time before between the Low Church and the High Church to discuss toleration in religion. This was in response to a petition asking for religious reform, signed by several hundred ministers. On the fourteenth of January the delegates came flocking in to attend. Evidently Arbell's favour of a recommendation for "Our Willy," Vicar of Clavering, to become a member was favourably acted upon; for we can be sure he was there, at the conference, as he was already in Hampton Court. There were fifty-four delegates in all.

James elected himself as Moderator of the Conference, as Head of the Church, and declared it open. Elizabeth had never declared herself openly as Head of the Church, but James boldly assumed absolute authority over it.

Out of the Conference, which lasted three days, and was composed of various exponents of the different shades of religious thought, came the great *Authorized Version* of the *Bible*.

The delegates heatedly discussed the symbols used in baptism, marriage, etc. Finally the question of the unsatisfactory translations of the *Bible* was taken up and it was decided to have forty-seven of the most learned men in the kingdom to make a new translation. This the King approved.

Their work was definitely parcelled out: ten from the diocese of Westminster were to translate the Pentateuch from Joshua to the first book of the Chronicles exclusively; eight from Cambridge were assigned Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, the Canticles, and Ecclesiastes; seven from Oxford were allotted the greater Prophets, with the Lamentations, and the twelve lesser Prophets. Another

seven from Cambridge were to translate the Prayer of Manasseh and the rest of the Apocrypha; another eight from Oxford the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse; and another seven from Westminster the Epistles of St. Paul and the Canonical Epistles.

The revisers were then chosen with extreme care and apparently without regard to party, but only scholarship. The Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, of whom we have spoken before, was now Dean of Westminster, and was the first chosen in the list of scholars for heading the work of revision. He is usually spoken of as the Bishop of Winchester, but at the time of the Conference he was Dean of Westminster.

We have a few of the rules laid down for the guidance of the workers:

“(1) The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops’ Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

(2) The names of the prophets and holy writers, with the other names of the text to be retained as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

(3) The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation*, etc. . . . (14)

(4) These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops’ Bible; viz. Tyndale’s, Matthew’s, Coverdale’s, Whitchurch’s, Geneva . . .’

“It is not possible to determine in how far all these rules were followed. All we know of the way this noble work was carried out is contained in the Preface, where Dr. Miles Smith, in 1612 bishop of Gloucester, in the name of his fellow-workers, gives an account of the manner and spirit in which it was done. . . . ‘The worke hath . . . cost the workemen, as light as it seemeth, the paines of twise seuen times seuentie two days and more . . . truly (good Christian Reader), we never thought from the beginning, that we shoulde neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better . . . to that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other men’s eyes than in their owne, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise. . . .’”¹

¹“Bible, English,” *Enc. Brit.*

We do not know who the author of this Preface really was. His name was given as Miles Smith, but this man was relatively unknown as an author, and he did not become Bishop of Gloucester till 1612—much later.

When the Bible was finished

As there was an obscure writer in the first Oxford seven, this same Miles Smith who wrote in rich swinging prose the "learned and religious" Preface, could it have been the work of the pseudo-posthumous Spenser? He as the Earl of Hertford was the Lieutenant of Somerset County and probably knew every churchman near or around Gloucester, although Miles Smith well might have come from Wiltshire or even from Salisbury where Hertford had relatives by the name of Smith. We do not know, but I feel that he must have had a hand in this great endeavor, and as we have quoted from the Preface, Miles Smith had a helper or co-worker in his endeavor. This is only deduction and has no foundation in recorded fact. Again I quote from the Encyclopedia:

"Also it hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, twice and consequences are to be speeded with maturity: for in a business of moment a man feareth not the blame of convenient slackness, neither did we think much to consult the translators or commentators, Chaldes, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek, or Latin, no more the Spanish, French, Italian or Dutch. Neither did we disdain to revise that which we had done, and to bring it back to the anvil that which had hammered; but having and using such great helps as were needful, and fearing no reproach for slowness, nor coveting praise for expedition, we have at length brought the work to that pass you see.

"That work occupied the six committees, for four or five years, and some parts being brought back to the anvil to be hammered as much as fourteen and some as much as seventeen times. But at length it passed into the hands of Robert Barker, the King's patentee, in two contemporary volumes, separately composed and printed for the sake of speedy production in the year 1611.

"One of these was called the HE Bible and the other the SHE Bible because of an error in printing. So closely did the people read its every word."²

²"Bible," *Enc. Brit.*, (9th ed.).

*Triumphal Passage through the City of London
and entertainment at the Tower*

By the beginning of February it became evident that the opening of Parliament could take place on the nineteenth of March and that the long postponed triumphal passage of the King and his family through the city of London could safely take place on the fifteenth of March.

Although the city had suffered frightfully from the ravages of the plague, still they could muster enough people to erect triumphal arches along the route.

James the King made a brave show, mounted on a white jennet under a rich canopy borne by eight gentlemen of the Privy Council (probably the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke were of them) and escorted by the King's Company of Actors, all decked out in their doublets and hose of red cloth with the initials "I. R." worked upon their cloaks in silver gilt thread, as Grooms of the Chamber.

Worcester, the Earl Marshall, bearing the sword of the State went ahead of the King; then came the Queen and Prince Henry, who were in richly decorated chariots, graciously nodding and waving at the multitude; then came Lady Arbell, in her gaily decorated carriage, behind Queen Anne, as Princess of the Blood.

The Lords on horseback, every one resplendent in gorgeous apparel, and the animals caparisoned in purple velvet; their ladies in chariots, and the baronesses (to the great satisfaction of the multitude) also on horseback, with saddles of crimson velvet all added to the gaiety and satisfaction of the onlookers.

Our poets and writers, not to be outdone by the actors, hied themselves to their pens; and many were the Paeans Triumphal, congratulating His Highness, by Dekker, Drayton, Ben Jonson and other panegyrists of like kind.

The procession passed under seven triumphal arches, listening to an oration at each. The children of Christ's Church Hospital greeted the King in a song. The Liveries of the Companies of the City of London (important people at that time) saluted him. Claret was running along the conduits in Cheapside and the Italians of the City tendered him a Pageant. The Lord Mayor, the Aldermen and the Commons of the City of London presented James with a rich gold cup; an anthem was sung by the choristers

of St. Paul's to the music of loud instruments, and a Latin oration was delivered by one of the scholars of the Free School of the Mercers. At the Strand there was an artificial rainbow, a moon, a sun, and seven stars moving between two pyramids, with Ben Jonson's words:

*Time, Fate and Fortune have at length conspir'd
To give our age the day so much desir'd,
What all the minutes, hours, weeks, months and years
That hang in file upon these silver hairs
Could not produce beneath the Britain stroke,
The Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman yoke,
This point of Time hath done .*

What must have been the thoughts of our lovers, William and Arbell! Here they were together in the places rightfully belonging to them, in spite of "Our Willy" being a bastard, and Arbell's long-delayed right to her property. Both were probably hoping that in time, under a new king, "Our Willy's" long-abused right to his name and birth might be righted, and Arbell's wealth given her. Probably Arbell remembered her letter to Elizabeth proudly telling her of how she had not defiled the royal blood by loving unworthily, and seeing her dearly beloved riding so near the king filled her heart with glowing hopes for the future. Yes, this was a great day in the lives of both these ill-fated lovers, a day filled with hope for the future and better hap for their marriage.

Probably the Earl of Hertford, Beauchamp and his two young sons, Edward and William Seymour, were somewhere in the procession. Young William was just fifteen years old, he having been named by Beauchamp after his uncle William Seymour (William Shakespeare).

I think that it was about this time that Shakespeare began his sonnets to a young man to persuade him to marry. He must have begun one of his plots to really marry Arbell, through the sameness of name of his nephew. This is the only explanation I can find for these sonnets that makes sense.

After the Triumphal Passage, the Court was seated at Whitehall and Arbell writes her uncle, the Earl of Shrewsbury from there, as he evidently is ill and away from her.

"I humbly thank your lordship for sparing me never so few words in this time of your taking physic, which I would not should have been more for doing you harm in holding down your head at such a time; but when you are well I hope to receive more Hardwick news, which, unless your lordship be a great deal briefer than that plentiful argument requireth, will cost you a long letter. My aunt findeth fault with my brevity, as I think by your lordship's commandment; for I know that she in her wisdom respecteth ceremony so little that she would not care in time of health for hearing from me every week that I were well and nothing else. And I know her likewise too wise to make that the cause of her offence, suppose in policy she should think good to seem to be offended with me, whom perchance you now think good to shake off as weary of the alliance. But I conclude your lordship hath a quarrel to me, and maketh my aunt take it upon her, and that is (for other can you justly have none) that you have never a letter of mine since your going down, to make you merry at your few spare hours, which, if it be so your lordship may command me in plain terms and deserve it by doing the like, and I shall as willingly play the fool for your recreation as ever. I assure myself, my Lord Cecil, my Lord Pembroke, your honourable new ally, and divers of your old acquaintance, write your lordship all the news of (Court) that is stirring, so that I will only impart (some) trifles to your lordship at this time as concern myself.

"After I had once carved, the queen never dined out of her bed-chamber, nor was attended by any but her chamberers till my Lady of Bedford's return. I doubted my unhandsome carving had been the cause thereof, but her Majesty took my endeavor in good part, and with better words than that beginning deserved put me out of that error. At length (for now I am called to the sermon I must hasten to an end) it fell out that the importunity of certain great ladies in that or some other suit of the like kind had done me this disgrace; and whom should I hear named for one but my aunt of Shrewsbury, who, they say, at the same time stood to be the queen's cup bearer. If I could have been persuaded to believe, or seem to believe that whereof I knew the contrary, I might have been threatened down to my face that I was her counsel therein, that I deeply dissembled with my friends when I pro-

tested the contrary; for I was heard to confer with her, they say, to that purpose. But these people do little know how circumspect my aunt and your lordship are with me. I humbly thank you for the example.

"I hear the marriage betwixt my Lord of Pembroke and my cousin (Mary Talbot, the daughter of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury) is broken, whereat some time I laugh, other whiles am angry; sometimes answer soberly as though I thought it possible, according as it is spoken in simple earnest, scorn, policy, or how-sover, at the least as I conceive it spoken. And your lordship's secrecy is the cause of this variety (whereby some conjecture I know something), because I have no certain direction what to say in that case. I was asked within these three days whether your lordship would be here within ten days; unto which (to me) strange question I made so strange an answer as I am sure either your lordship or I are counted great dissemblers. I am none; quit yourself as you may. But I would be very glad you were here, that I need not chide you by letter, as I must needs do if I be chidden either for the shortness, rareness or preciseness of my letters, which by your former rules I might think a fault, by your late example a wisdom. I pray reconcile your deeds and words together, and I shall follow that course herein which your lordship best allows of. In the mean time, I have applied myself to your lordship's former liking and the plainness of my own disposition. And so, praying for your lordship's health, honour and happiness, I humbly take my leave."³ (From Whitehall. — No date, but probably in March, 1604).

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, did marry the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughter Mary, although I have not found an account of the wedding. It must have take place soon after Arbell's letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury along in March, 1604.

As William Herbert figures through the latter part of our story we will give something about him here.

He was the son of the Earl of Pembroke, Henry Herbert, and Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney, and they lived for part of the year at Wilton, Wiltshire, quite near the residence of the Earl of Hertford and the two families were very intimate. One remembers Spenser's many tributes to Sir Philip Sidney, and Ben Jonson's

³Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 188, 189, 190, 191. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 203.

tribute to the Countess Pembroke: "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother." He seems to have been worthy of such heritage.

"He was of a noble nature, magnificent in his tastes, generous in his disposition, remarkable for his high breeding, was much beloved by all those who had intercourse with him," (as did the Seymour boys) "and though a courtier, was beyond suspicion of corruptibility. Like most such men, he was not only very fond of the society of women, but was much addicted to all the pleasures of which their most intimate companionship affords. (His mistress was the famous Mary Fitton.) He was at once a munificent and a discriminating patron of letters, and himself attained some distinction both as an orator and a poet." The dark lady of Shakespeare's sonnets has been thought by some to have been this same Mary Fitton, but I am not of this opinion.

Pembroke was, along with his brother Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery, a patron of the company that played at the Globe theatre. They both regarded Shakespeare with favor, and his plays with special admiration.

It now comes out why the old Countess of Shrewsbury was making overtures to Arbell and the Earl of Shrewsbury, for we have a letter written by William Knyveton, Arbell's former, or child guardian, to his mother at Hardwick.

William Knyveton to Mrs. Knyveton, his Mother at Hardwick

(This letter was evidently written from London) . . . "It is thought ye King of Denmark's brother will be here shortly, but to what end I hear not. The La. Arbell & my Cosen Wm Cavendishe are well thanks be to God. . . May 27, 1604.

P.S. The Lady Arbell willed me to comend hir verie kindly unto you.

She telles me she hath written to my Ho. good ladye (Bess of Hardwick) by this bearer."⁴

This letter was evidently written from London and it seems that the old Lady, has gone to London to get Arbell's help for some favour for Arbell's unpleasant uncle, from the favorite son of the King. So the old Lady had to cozen her again for the sake of this lout; which she did with some success as we will see later.

We now give an excerpt from a letter of the period which concerns our story. It is from a letter of the Earl of Worcester, Sir Thomas Edmondes.

⁴Hunter, *Hallamshire*, p. 121.

“ ‘Now,’ says a courtly correspondent, ‘I must give you a little touch of the feminine commonwealth, called the household of our Queen. You must know, we have ladies of divers degrees of favour, some for the private Chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for the bed-chamber, and some whose appointments have no certain station, and of these only are Lady Arbell and my wife (Lady Worcester). My Lady Bedford holdeth fast to the bed-chamber: Lady Hertford fain would, but her husband hath called her home. Lady Darby (the younger), Lady Suffolk, Lady Rich, Lady Nottingham, Margaret Stuart, Lady Susan de Vere, Lady Walsingham, and of late Lady Southwell, for the drawing chamber; all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shut out, for many times the King and Queen lock their doors. But the plotting and malice among these ladies is so great, that I think envy hath tied an invisible snake about their necks, to sting each other to death. For the present there are now five maids: Carey, Middlemore, Woodhouse, Gargrave and Roper; the sixth is determined, but not come. God send them good fortunes, for as yet they have no mother. . . . ’ ”⁵

Sometime during the year 1603 and 1604 “Our Willy” as Shakespeare wrote his comedy *Measure for Measure*, which is concerned with a plot for substituting one person for another in marriage, and which also contains one of his most beautiful songs “Take, O take those lips away.” It was performed at one of the entertainments before the court this year, as it appears in the *Account of the Revels at Court for Dec. 26, 1604*.

“Also on April 27, 1604, *John Smith* was admitted to the fellowship of All Soul’s College, Oxford—a fellowship recently left vacant by Henry Bowcher, now void.” As the Bouchier family was connected with “Our Willy’s” grandmother, Countess of Somerset, it seems probable that this was one of the reasons for his selection: another was his great scholarship which Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Andrewes of Oxford both recognized when he was at St. Paul’s Church and also when he was appointed to Clavering as vicar.

We now come to a letter written to Lord Cecil by Justice Townsend, the representative of Leycester who, along with “old man Walker” of Burghley’s choice, was concerned with the Concealed Ward’s affair when “Our Willy’s” case was in question in May, 1575.

⁵Strickland, *Anne of Denmark*, p. 316.

"Understand by common fame in the country that Lord Darby intends speedily to place a new deputy in his stead to serve in his office in Chester. Understanding that he was at the first chosen by Lord Darby on Cecil's advice prays him to prevent his incurring such an undeserved disgrace. If his lordship should displace him in so short space without cause given, he cannot but be sensible of some wrong and discredit done him. Writes not to complain of the Earl being persuaded that if he has any such intention it proceeds from some ill disposed about him. Has served in that county in judicial place for thirty years and for the most part in Lord Leycester's time associated to Mr. Glasier who died in that court. His patent from the Earl is during pleasure, which in such cases relates to some special cause. Prays therefore that he may not be removed before he can come to make answer. Saloppe, 2 June, 1604.

"H. TOUNSCHEND."⁶

All the Shakespeare biographies speak of the friendship of the other man, "old man Walker," with Shakespeare and the members of the group which I call the Packe. He was evidently one of "Our Willy's" best friends, as he leaves remembrance to his grandson and godson in his will. But so far I have not found that Townschend was intimate with him. Of course Walker lived near by and Townschend lived in Chester. Townschend was the father of Hayward Townschend, author of the *Historical Collection*, of whom we will hear later on in our story.

William Cavendish has evidently induced Arbell to approach the King for some favour he wishes, as we have the following letter from him, dated July 4, 1604 from London:⁷

William Cavendyshe to Countess Dowager of Shrewsbury

". . . His Matie 1111 days since hath bene moved by La. Arbell for me. . ."

There is a letter from Sir G. Hervey, Lieut. of the Tower, to Lord Cecil which gives "the names of those who had access to Lord Cobham, Lord Grey and Sir Walter Raleigh. The name of Widow Morley is struck out by Cecil as not to be permitted to see Raleigh."⁸ This is dated July 30, 1604.

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVI, 121.

⁷Hunter, J., Hallamshire.

⁸H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVI, 192-193.

Whether Raleigh had requested this or not it is not revealed, but probably he had, as he knew the secret of "Our Willy's" alias of Thomas Morley and though supposed dead, Raleigh may have decided it would be too risky for him to see her, for he knew that Morley was still alive under another alias. This item is of interest, but time has not been sufficient to follow this lead further.

That the King's Company of Actors entertained their Majesties and the Court many times during 1604-1605 is well known, as they were placed as Grooms of the Bed-Chamber for that purpose.

There is one mention by John Davies in *Humours Heau'n on Earth*, 1604-5, about William Shakespeare, which seems pertinent at this time:

*Some followed her (Fortune) by acting all men's parts.
These on a stage she rais'd, in scorn to fall,
And made them mirrors by their acting arts,
Wherein men saw their faults, though ne'er so small:
Yet some she guerdon'd not to their deserts;
But othersome were but ill-action all,
Who, while they acted ill, ill stay'd behind,
By custom of their manners, in their mind.*

*Some say, good Will, which I in sport do sing,
Had'st thou not play'd some kingly parts in sport,
Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
And been a king among the meaner sort.⁹*

These notations on the manuscript, W.S. and R. B., seem to refer to William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage and their character and acting.

We know that Shakespeare had a streak of the prankish in his nature and it might well have been that being intimate with the King, and seeing him so unkingly as he was, he might have acted a kingly part in a play in such a way as to have offended King James. This seems to be the only explanation possible. Later we will tell of King James's unkingly behavior at a wedding given at Court at this time.

Lord Grey (in the Tower) to Lord Cecil

"My afflictions are great, yet far above all the King's displeas-

⁹Shakespeare Soc. Pub., v. 4, Sup. 4. Dodsley's *Old Plays*, p. 28.

ure. If you ever loved me, or if I shall ever hope of your favour, study my recovery. I ask not stay of arraignment or death, but mercy, return of that favour wherein I live and only joy; which if impossible, haste I beseech you the other, as my best end of misery. I hope this touch about my *Lady Arbell will not wrong me* (probably one of the prisoners suggesting that he marry her) for I vow before God, I then answered it with a smile and held it so vain as I never since remembered it. So soon as my aching head shall give leave I will send a short brief of this whole business, which use as you please. (Undated, unsigned.)

P. S. I beseech you fail me not for Mr. Hughes."¹⁰

The H.M.C. dates this letter 1604 before Aug. 20. Seal broken.

The Grooms of the Bed-Chamber or the King's Company of Actors must have departed from the Court. Probably "Our Willy" had gone to Oxford to study and work, as his fellowship required. He also might have been at Clavering at work on his part of the revision of the *Bible*. Where Arbell was I have not been able to find out—visiting, probably.

There is a note in the records to the effect than on August 18 there was a "Presentation of Dr. Blague to the rectory of Braxsted, Magna, Co. Essex, and revocation of a former grant of same to Wm. Bourne (Douquet)." ¹¹

Although no date is given in the following letter, it was probably written at about this time:

The Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Henry Pierrepont, Justice of the Peace in Nottinghamshire

"After my hearty commendations, etc. Whereas the right honourable the Lady Arbell did long since acquaint some of my lords of his Majesty's Privy Council with a letter from the Hon. Sir John Byron, together with the examination and confession of Thomas Barton and Elizabeth his wife, and John Bagge and Edward Hall, the which here inclosed I send, whereby it appeareth that true speeches were uttered by Christopher Sherston of Mansfield concerning the Lady. Their Lordships were then very forward to have written to you to have committed the said Sherston to the jail, there to have remained until the assises, to the end that there

¹⁰H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XIV, 248, 249.

¹¹C.S.P. Dom. James, 1604, p. 143.

he might have been severely punished by the Judge, but her Ladyship, out of her honourable compassion, moved their Lordships so strict a course should not be held against him, whereupon it hath rested ever since until now, when bruits and rumours of that sort amongst the common people are not fit to escape unpunished, proceeding from the vain humour and indiscretion of some base and ill-disposed persons, the same tending to the slander and scandal of a Lady of so great honour and quality, I am willed by some of their Lordships to will you to call before you the said Sherston, and those before whom he uttered those words and slanderous speeches, and upon proof thereof to cause him to be stocked and whipped in the town of Mansfield according to your good discretions; which you may do by your own authorities as Justice of the Peace, wishing you as much as you can to suppress the rumour, giving him good lessons to be wary never to commit the like again; and though it may perhaps prove that he heard such lewd speeches of some others, yet in uttering the same again openly in the ale-house (as it seems he did) he can no way be excusable. And so I will take my leave and commit you to the protection of the Almighty."¹²

Could it have been that Arbell and "Our Willy" in a secret meeting in the Forest of Sherwood, near Mansfield, had indulged in some kind of lovemaking, and have been spied upon by some forester or hunter? It could have been, although Arbell was very discreet. Her not wishing the gossiping culprit to be punished so severely is characteristic of her nature, but now that she was in Court and the gossip repeated, as her uncle pointed out they should be punished. Both the Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir Henry Pierrepont were her uncles.

On August 18 or thereabout, James I and Philip III of Spain concluded a peace. The war against Spain which had for so long been of such interest to Raleigh (who was now in the Tower) and English seamen was over. Spain was anxious to use this opportunity of the accession of James I to end this long conflict. James loved peace, but not Catholics. This peace was largely brought about by Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who was now Lord Privy Seal and a concealed Catholic; and probably also by the Spanish Ambassador to England Tassis (or Taxis). James and Tassis had

¹²Unpublished Talbot Papers. Printed in Cooper, *Life and Letters of Arbella Stuart*, II, 14-15.

had long conversations, as we have related, during the festivities of the Christmas season. Robert Cecil, although not a Catholic, was also anxious for this peace and undoubtedly aided the negotiations greatly, as well as did some of the Ladies of the Queen's household.

The consequence of this Spanish alliance or peace was that the next Spanish Ambassador secretly allotted Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, a pension of 1000^{lb} a year. Similar pensions were given to Lady Suffolk, wife of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, and Lords Dorset and Devonshire. 350^{lb} was allotted Sir William Monson, the Admiral commanding the channel or the "narrow seas" as it was sometimes called, and to Lady Drummond, the first Lady of the Queen's bedchamber.

Three of these beneficiaries had sat as Raleigh's judges. A fourth judge, Robert Cecil, now Viscount Cranborne, received 1000^{lb} which the next year he raised to 1500^{lb}. Of course with Cecil deep in the Spanish pay, Spain had a strangle grip on James, who seemed to love the Spanish well. The facts of the pensions did not come out until 1613.

The Earl of Hertford to the Viscount Cranborne

"I was sorry when I understood you passed by my house in your intended journey to Bath, and was much grieved when I heard of your sudden return, because I hoped to persuade you to take some recreation with me in killing of a stag reserved for that purpose. But I hope some better occasion will one day draw you into these Western parts, when your friends may more freely enjoy your company, and better health. I have sent my servant Kyrton to attend you and the rest of my Lords, and to put you in mind of the day you have appointed for hearing my cause, which I hope will after so long time receive end. I shall not need express how earnestly I desire the same, because all men that tender posterity cannot be without sensible feeling of my cross, which God hath given me patience to bear, and will put into the King's heart, and into yours, readiness to do me right in so just a cause. Easton, Monday, 17 Sept. 1604."¹³ (Holo.)

William Shakespeare probably rewrote an earlier attempt at his play of *All's Well that Ends Well* for the Court this year of 1604. Another work by Shakespeare is supposed to have been writ-

¹³H.M.C. Salisbury, v. 16.

ten in this year or the coming one, *A Lover's Complaint*. Nothing is certain as to when Shakespeare wrote any of his plays and poetry; and certainly the music of Morley and Dowland is as uncertain as to the time of its composition. It is only conjecture and none can definitely say when he wrote either songs, poems, or plays.

"Our Willy," while he was in Denmark as John Dowland, had probably written *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, and it was published first in 1603 and 1604. *Othello, the Moor of Venice* was played for the Court during 1604.

Lady Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"I humbly thank your lordship and my aunt for the six very good red deer pies I have received by Mr. Hercy. My aunt's thanks, which I received for my plain dealing with Mr. Booth, and the few lines I received last from you and my aunt by Mr. Hercy, have relation to certain conditions and promises as well on your lordship's part as mine, and therefore your lordship's confidence of my conditional promise resteth not in me only. I assure myself you are so honourable, and I so dear unto you, that you will respect as well what is convenient for me as what you earnestly desire, especially my estate being so uncertain and subject to injury as it is. Your lordship shall find me constantly persevere in a desire to do that which may be acceptable to you and my aunt, *not altogether neglecting myself*. And so I humbly take my leave, praying for your happiness.

"From Whitehall the 18th of October, 1604.

"Your lordship's niece,

"ARBELL STUART."¹⁴

Arbell, seemingly from this letter, is not going to give up her dear one ("whoever he may be"), nor her marriage or dream of marriage with "Our Willy."

Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"From Whitehall Dec. 5 . . . It is not as yet resolved who shalbe employed to the Archduke, for that the Earl of Hertford doth directlie refuse to goe, and there is found great difficulty where

¹⁴Sloane MSS., v. 4164, f. 191, 192. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 206.

to make another fit choice of one able to undertake the charge."¹⁵

There is another item in this letter of interest: "Eleven Ladies have been chosen for the Queen's Masque—but the Lady Hartford is excused by the measles."

Arbell's allowance or pension has been increased as there is an item dated Dec. 8, 1604, "Grant to Lady Arbella for pension, inalienable of 1,000^{lb} per ann. for life."¹⁶ (Douquet.) (423).

Lady Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"I have sent sooner than I had time to write to your lordship of anything here, and yet not so soon but I am sure I am already condemned by your lordship and my aunt, either for slothful, or proud, or both, because I writ not by the very first (who) went down after I received your letters. So I have fully satisfied neither your lordship nor myself, *and yet performed a due respect to a very honourable friend, whose honour and happiness I shall ever rejoice at*, and think my own misfortunes the less if I may see my wishes for your lordship's and Aunt's permanent, happy and great fortune take effect. And so I humbly take my leave.

"From Whitehall, the 24th of December, 1604.

"Your lordship's neice,

"ARBELL STUART.

"P.S. Though I have written your lordship no news, I have sent you here inclosed very good store from Mr. Secretary Fowler. My old good spy, Mr. James Mourray, desireth his service may be remembered to your lordship and my Aunt; but if I should write every tenth word of his, wherein he wisheth you more good than is to be expressed at Court on a Christmas Eve, you would rather think this scribbled paper a short text with a long comment underwritten than a letter with a postscript."¹⁷

Earl of Hertford to Viscount Cranborne

"I have thought good to acquaint your lordship with my humble desire and letter to his Majesty, upon receipt of his letter about my employment to the Archduke. My insufficiency for that

¹⁵Nichols, *Progresses, James 1st*, 1603-1610, I, 468.

¹⁶C.S.P. James I, 1603-1610, p. 173.

¹⁷Sloane MSS., v. 4164. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 207.

service through age, want of experience and ability with many other impediments are not meet to be impleaded upon so express pleasure signified, but with humility to be to his princely consideration. I pray you as occasion presents itself to lend your furtherance to my reasonable and just desire. (That the legitimacy of his children be established.) From my house at Elvetham, this third of January, 1605."

Sir Walter Cope to Viscount Cranborne

"I have sent and been all this morning hunting for players, jugglers, and such kind of creatures, but find them hard to find. Wherefore leaving them notes for them to seek me, Burbage is come, and says there is no new play that the Queen has not seen; but they have revived an old one called *Love's Labour Lost*, which for wit and mirth he says will please her exceedingly. And this is appointed to be played to-morrow night at my Lord of Southampton's unless you send me a writ to remove the *corpus cum cause* to your house in the Strand. Burbage is my messenger ready attending your pleasure. From your Library." (Undated, but from Revel records Jan. 5.)

Dudley Carleton to Winwood (Excerpt)

(St. John's Day.) "Wedding of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan de Vere. . . They were lodged in the Council-chamber where the King in his shirt and night-gown gave them a *reveille matin* before they were up, and spent a good time in or upon the bed; chusse which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of brides-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the Court; and at night there was sewing into the sheet, casting off the bride's left hose, with many other petty soceries."¹⁸

As we have given a description of William Herbert, we will now give a description of Philip. He was very different in habit and taste to his older brother. According to Woods, "he was little more than a low-bred, coarse mannered country squire, who put no restraint upon a violent and hasty temper, whose only knowledge was in dogs and horses, and whose language was not much better than that of the horse boys and kennel keepers, who were

¹⁸Nichols, *Progresses, James I*, I, 470-1.

his fittest companions . . . He was, however, a patron of the Globe theatre and an admirer of Shakespeare."

Queen Anne was expecting her brother, the Duke of Holstein, whom "Our Willy," as John Dowland, must have known well, and Ben Jonson had induced him to write the music for his great *Masque of Blackness* for Twelfth Night, which necessitated his personal appearance at the Court. Having killed off Morley in 1603 and not being able to use his alias of Dowland, he now assumed the role of Alphonso Ferrabosco. This alias he had established long before as the *son* of old Ferrabosco the Italian composer who lived in England and whom he had known well. Ferrabosco had died in 1588, while "Our Willy" was using his alias of Thomas Morley.

"Peacham tells of him, (young) Ferrabosco: 'For judgment and depth of skill he was inferior to none: what he did was most elaborate and profound, and pleasing enough in Aire, though Master Thomas Morley answereth him otherwise. That of his I saw "My Ladie Weeping" and the "Nightengale" (upon which Dittie Master Bird and he in friendly emulation exercised their invention) cannot be bettered for sweetness of aire and depth of judgment.'

"Morley tells us of another vertuous contention between him and Byrd, made upon the plaine song of 'Misrere,' which contention of theirs (specially without envie) caused them both to become excellent in that kind, and winne such a name and gaine such credit, as will never perish as long as Musick endureth." The result of this contention, in which each composer set the plain song in forty different ways, was printed under the title of *Medulla Musicke*: no copy of it, however, is now known to exist. Little of him is known, evidently, until, as Anthony Wood says, "At man's estate he became an excellent composer for instrumental music, he was most excellent at the Lyra Viol, and was one of the first to set Lyraway to the Viol, in imitation of the old English Lute and Bandora. The most famous man in the world for Fantazias of 5 or 6 parts. But it is chiefly as composer of the music to some of Ben Jonson's Masques that he is remembered now."¹⁹

On Twelfth Night, January 12, 1605, the Queen's *Masque of Blackness* was performed at Whitehall and caused a sensation.

¹⁹Grove, *Dict. of Musicians*, "Ferrabosco."

Arbell's uncle and aunt were probably there, and there are no letters of hers to describe the event.

Not only was Ferrabosco composing the music but was performing as a musician in it as well. Also Inigo Jones's genius came into its flowering. His stage craft and arrangement of colours and costumes were breath taking, while Jonson's lines flowed ripplingly from the lips of the Court ladies, who were dressed as Nigerians with black arms and faces. They were borne in on a great pearly concave shell, which moved on the waters of an artificial sea which rose and fell. Queen Anne loved acting and was determined to portray characters, even blackamoors.

It turns out that a certain lady by the name of Mrs. Turner, of whom we will hear later, was helping make the costumes and draperies.

"On January 22, 1605, The Case between the Earl of Hertford and (William Parker) Lord Monteagle to be settled by some form of commission."²⁰ This case related to some of Catherine Grey's lands and this Lord Monteagle was later to come into prominence in connection with the Gunpowder Plot and he became one of the Charter members of the North Colony of Virginia in 1606.

Ferrabosco

Probably at the festivities of the Court this year *Macbeth* by William Shakespeare was performed in a tribute to King James, according to Sidney Lee's estimation as to the date of the play.

Also out of these performances Alphonso Ferrabosco received the appointment of extraordinary Groom of the Privy Chamber and musical instructor of Prince Henry. So "Our Willy" was now in Prince Henry's household at Oatlands and as the plague had abated, he was living now near the Globe Theatre or Shoreditch. At least he is not so near the flame as if he were in the King's household at Whitehall!

There is another letter from Lord Monteagle, probably written in April. This letter is a holograph, undated, and endorsed April, 1605.

Lord Monteagle to Viscount Cranborne

"Am advised that there are letters directed from some of the Council to the tenants, who are farmers of those lands which are

²⁰H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 32.

now in controversy betwixt my Lord of Hertford and myself, that they should repair to London to compound with his Majesty either for the inheritance of those lands or to renew their leases because their estates are defective as it is suggested, there being a flaw in the letters patent granted by Henry VIII to the Duke of Suffolk; and that there is a commission granted to some of the Lords to make sale thereof. I am persuaded that this proceeds from a mistaking, and that it more properly concerns your lordship than any other, as Master of Wards, so I make bold to acquaint you with this information, leaving the consideration thereof to your grave wisdom."²¹

Probably Cecil did not act on Lord Monteagle's suggestion as King James had deprived Cecil of his office of Master of Wards.

As Arbell certainly attended all of the performances of "Our Willy's" plays at Court, we are going to give a list of them as have been found in the Revel's Book. How keen she must have been to see them acted as they were given before the whole Court. No wonder she would stand by such a genius, no matter how much her uncle and aunt objected! They doubtless would have liked to see her married to some of the foreign princes and courtiers of Europe.

An account of the Revels at Court during this period contains the following plays (and the dates of their performances), written by "Our Willy" under his legal name of William Shakespeare and presented by the King's Players:

November	1, 1604	<i>Othello, Moor of Venice</i>
November	4, 1604	<i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
December	26, 1604	<i>Measure for Measure</i>
December	28, 1604	<i>Comedy of Errors</i>
January	1-12 (?) 1605	<i>Love's Labour Lost</i>
January	7, 1605	<i>Henry the Fifth</i>
March	24, 1605	<i>Merchant of Venice</i>
March	26, 1605	<i>Merchant of Venice</i> —A repeat, command performance

This is taken from an Extract of the Revels at Court of Shakespeare's Plays, 1604 and 1605, by Mr. Peter Cunningham. It is found in Richard Grant White's memoirs of Shakespeare in *Shakespeare's Works*, I, 84. The orthography has been revised by me.

²¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 166.

CHAPTER XLIII

Hertford Sent to Ratify the Peace in Flanders

AFTER the Peace agreement by King James and Ambassador Tassis, August 18, 1604, it became necessary for King James to send someone to ratify this Peace between Spain and England in Flanders with the Archdukes there. As has been said before they wanted the Earl of Hertford to undertake this mission and he refused, but finally engaged to undertake it, although the expense was enormous: "it was thought generally that he (Hertford) was master of more ready money than any nobleman in England."

Hertford "was resolved to make a pompous figure in his embassy, and to spend on it 10,000^{lb} besides his allowance." There are many letters concerning this journey, but we will give only a few:

Earl of Hertford to the King

"Your most excellent Majesty has signified your pleasure by your letters under your privy signet, for employing me unto the Archduke, though I know my inability for a business of such importance, and that now my age might seem to challenge my *quietus est*, and that in all my time I never had the experience of such employment, besides the shortness of the time limited. Yet if such be your pleasure notwithstanding all these difficulties with other of my private estate, yea, though I knew I went to my grave, I would undertake it with cheerfulness, and would rather fail in my ability than in my duty.

"Only this afflicts me, and I beseech your Majesty to ease my heart of such a grievous burthen, that before I go (lest I live not to return) I may have that gracious trial of justice, whereunto I was by you allowed, to have recourse for the legitimization of my issue.

"It is all and the only suit whereunto I have importuned your Majesty ever since your most joyful coming to the crown, and it is that which both nature and the conscience of a clear heart urge me to solicit, and will while I have a breathing upon earth.

"It is the usual custom of many who are honestly mindful of the frailness of our mortality and respective of their posterity to dispose of their estates and make their will, if from any remote place they travelled but to the term, though within the land, and the best of their years. Therefore I beseech you pardon me, if I desire to see my house settled before my going, seeing how near I tread to my grave, and how far I am to go beyond the journey of a term, over the seas into a strange air which I know not how it may agree with my aged body. If your Majesty out of consideration of a cause that so nearly concerns me in nature and blood, will harken to this desire, I shall with joy and comfort undergo this employment, and my posterity shall ever hold themselves the children of your justice."¹

This desire of the Earl was not granted by King James. The letter was probably written in February or March, 1605, and is a holograph with seal, undated and unsigned.

Before Hertford left England he wrote three letters to Cranborne:

Earl of Hertford to Viscount Cranborne

"I received yesterday your letter with the oath, for which I thank you, as also for your kind wishing me all happiness in this my service. At Rochester, Tuesday 16, April, 1605."²

Same to same:

"Having heard of the birth of the King of Spain's son, he desires, considering the peace to which his employment tends, to know if any instructions from the King concerning that point will be necessary for him to receive before his going. He will use his best endeavours to embark to-morrow. Prays that he may receive a few lines from Cranborne hereof, and especially of the health of the King, Queen, and Prince, with the rest of the royal issue. Desires to know how far forth it may be needful for him to give notice of the late birth of his Majesty's daughter. Canterbury, 17 April, 1605."³ Evidently this letter was dictated.

Same to same:

"He embarked at Dover on Friday the 19th, and by reason of a calm lay aboard the *Vanguard* that night. On Saturday morning

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 118.

²*Ibid.*, p. 141.

³H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 143.

they landed at Dunkirk, where he was received by Mr. Barbanson, brother to the Count of Eremberg, and Mr. Ortis, Governor of Dunkirk. This day Sunday, he is determined to rest, and on Monday to Newport and so forward. The town yielded them good lodging, but scant of other provisions, whereby he was constrained to send into the country near about. He desired hourly to hear of the health of the King, Queen and royal family. Dunkirk, 20th of April, 1605.”⁴ Signed.

Queene Anne gave birth to a daughter on April 8. Later, May 5, 1605, “Lady Arbell and the Countess of Northampton, wife of Henry Howard, stood as god mothers to the Lady Mary this day.”

We now come to a full report of this voyage by Hertford and his company:

“On the 9th of this month (April), my Lord of Hertford takes his leave of the King for his Low Country journey, and goeth away on the Fryday Following.

“The 19th of April, the right honourable Edward, Earle of Hertford, Baron Beauchamp, and Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Somerset and Wilts, took shipping at Dover in the *Vanguard*, and was sent Lord Ambassador by his Majesty unto Albertus and Isabella Archdukes of Austria to take their oaths for confirmation of articles of peace, concluded, ratified and sworne the 18 August last past, the which said Earle was accompanied and attended as followeth:

He was accompanied by two Barons (Lord Say and Sele and Lord Cromwell) 16 knights (among whom were Sir Edward Hoby, Sir Richard Giffard, Sir Thomas Seymour) and many gentlemen of note and qualitie, Two Chaplaines (probably “Our Willy” as John Smith and his co-worker Anthony Palmer of Clavering), with other gentlemen and Yeomen to the number of three hundred persons, the most of them being his owne servants in very rich liveries. The same time Sir Thomas Edmondes went Ambassador Leiger. On the 20th, his Lordship arryved at Dunkerke, and was received in great state and kindnesse by Don Diego de Ortes, Governor thereof, and stayed there two days. From there to Newport, then to Bridges, from Bridges to Gaunt, from Gaunt to Alst, and from Alst to Bruxells the 27th of April. At all sayde places, at his proper cost, hee bountifully feasted the Chief Commanders of the armies and the head Burghers and Officers of every towne.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 150.

During his 12 dayes abode at Bruxells, his Lordship was entertained with all state, love and kindness, with sundry shewes and pastimes, with two severall great triumphs in the market place, and stately Maskes and Revels at night. The first of May the Archdukes very solemnly tooke their oaths, but first the Ambassador's Commission was read, and then the oaths. During the reading of the oaths, the Archduke and Dutches held hand in hand, as at marryage and the Ambassador held both their hands within his hands; the oath ended, then they layed their hands upon the Gospel, which was held by the Archbishoppe of Mecheleyne, which with great reverence they both kissed. The Ambassador signified that the King's new stile was King of Great Britaine neyther was nor should be any impeach or doubt of performance of the articles formerly agreed and sworne.

"His Lordshippe, at his departure thence, in honour of his King and Country gave unto the Duke's servants, and others that did attend him, the fulsome of three thousand pounds. The night before his departure the Archduke presented him with a jewel worth nine hundred poundes. And whilst his Lordship abode in Bruxelles the Archduke defrayed all charges of the Ambassador and all his train, being all of them excellent well used. The 9th of May, his Lordshippe went from Bruxelles to Antwerp, being conducted thither with a stronge garde of the Archdukes souldiers and carriages in the same manner as his Lordshippe was first received and brought to Bruxells: from Antwerpe his Lordship went by water to Flushing, where he stayed for a winde four dayes, being very honourably entertained and feasted. The Lord Ambassador still continued his former bounty unto the persons in all places wheresoever he came. Hee imbarked himselfe at Flushing, and arrived at London the twentieth day of May: in all which his journey amongst other things of note and England's honour, it was so well and carefully ordered by his Lordship as there was no offence given or taken, either with the strangers or themselves."⁵

There is another letter about this journey of Hertford's which is interesting as showing some of the difficulties of a sea voyage at this time:

Lord Say and Sele (Richard Fienes) to Viscount Cranborne

"My Lord Ambassador hoisting sail upon the 19th being

⁵Probably taken from Howes, *Chronicle*, printed in Nichols, *Progresses*, James I, I, 505.

Friday about 9 o'clock in the forenoon, arrived safely at Dunkirk upon Saturday the 20th of April by 9 o'clock the next morning, and not before by these accident's happening.

"My Lord Ambassador embarking himself and the lords, knights and gentlemen of the greatest quality with him in the *Avantguard*, out of his noble disposition left the *Lion's Whelp* to the disposing of my Lord Ambassador Leger, Sir Thomas Edmondes, for the better transporting of him, his lady and others whom he liked to attend him. It fell out before the *Vantguard* came over against Calais 2 Men of War of the Hollanders overtook the *Lion's Whelp* (which was now past some league behind us) and suddenly we might hear a piece shoot off out of her and withal discover her boat coming towards us. Whereupon our Admiral albeit before that time being about 5 of the clock upon the Friday afternoon (he) was almost becalmed before, yet made slower speed than before, and could not conjecture what the cause might be until their ship's boat wherein (was) the captain himself of the *Lion Whelp* (called as I remember Captain Salkel) came aboard us. Then I, walking with Sir William Monson at that instant heard him tell Sir William that the 2 Men of War of Holland as they passed by them called to them and seemed scornfully to ask them who they were, and after the trumpet of the *Lion's Whelp* had sounded they would not answer but offered the King's spinisshe (pinnace) to hale them toward them: which indignity the Captain perceiving, as also their contempt using no acknowledgment or respect to the *Lion's Whelp*, our Captain of her "gave the Hollander's the blurr" as the seamen term it, the which the Hollanders returned again to the *Lion's Whelp*; which I think had not Sir Thomas Edmondes and his lady been there especially, the Captain would as he had reason have showed them his broadside. But Sir Tho, Edmondes first advised him, the Admiral being so near, to give him knowledge thereof, which made the Captain of the *Lion's Whelp* to shoot off a piece and take his boat and come aboard us. But no sooner had he made relation to *Sir William Monson* but he sent him the Captain to both the Flemings, requiring them to come aboard him and render him an account of their doings or he would sink them. They returned answer that they would come aboard him as soon as they were ready; whereupon our Admiral sent the Master of our ship *The Vantguard*, who presently returned and brought word they would presently come. But before upon

the answer first brought by the Captain of the *Lion's Whelp* (which seemed discontenting) they sounded a trumpet and *Sir William* stayed to requite them with the like until he might be satisfied better. But our Master being with them and they seeing we began to make ready our lower tier, they sent word namely by one Captain Lambert a Fleming that they loved *Sir W. Monson* so well as that he would come to him, but he must in kindness first bestow 2 or 3 pieces of ordnance in joy of meeting him; which the said Lambert having a good Man of War of 300 (tons) or better did shoot off, and his fellow of 160 or 200 burden shot off one or two pieces and in firing off the third the piece brake and they feared their ship had been afire, calling to us for boats, which with all speed we sent to them. But no great hurt being done, only a man of theirs or two having some little hurt, they came aboard us, both the Captains (after they had "stroken" their topsails) excusing themselves and promising to punish their trumpeteer and such as gave the offence, saying only they came to the Admiral himself, he being so near them, they protested that they owed much duty to the King as they had done to the Queen deceased and so would do still. And then the Captain Lambert offering all respect to my Lord Ambassador and *Sir William Monson* his very familiar acquaintance, he and his fellow captains went down into the place where my Lord dined, and calling for English beer parted with all kindness, and anchored by us all night. The next morning My Lord going aboard a pinis (pinnacle) about 5 of the clock about 9 or before landed into the very town of Dunkirk this Saturday; where the Lord Barbarson with one Jago Diego de Ortise, a Spaniard, and many other captains of command were at the bank side ready to attend my Lord, leaving no respect unperformed to any of his followers for accommodating his lordship and us: giving at his entrance such a "tire" or ordnance as I have seldom heard the like; and at the coming in of the *Lion's Whelp* some Men of War of Hollanders lying in Dunkirk Road did also shoot off 3 or 4 pieces. And after my Lord was at his lodging the Mayor or Chief Magistrate made an ovation in French congratulating greatly the peace and offering his lordship all service. Dunkirk, 20th April, 11 o'clock, 1605."⁶

This Richard Fienes, Lord Say and Sele, was of the family to which later the Earl of Lincoln belonged.

⁶H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 146.

Another account of the list of Hertford's company gives the additional names of St. John of Blatso, Sir John Hollis, Sir John Seymour, Sir Henry Goodyear, Sir John Hungerford, Sir John Brooks, Sir Giles Woughton, Sir Edward Gorge, Sir Hugh Smith, Sir John Rodney, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Jasper More, Sir John Earnley, Sir Thomas Thynne, Mr. Portman and Sir John Stanhope's son of Nottinghamshire. Most of these men were associated with the North Colony of Virginia. (This is found in the H.M.C. Appendix to Fifth Report. No. 701, p. 407.)

The Earl of Hertford writes to Cecil about his stay in Belgium or Flanders which gives some more information in regard to the entertainment he received there:

Earl of Hertford to Viscount Cranborne

"You have been advertised by the late letters written by me, with how great honour I have been entertained by the Prince in the whole course of my journey and at my arrival here, the whole Court of the nobility of all nations being sent out to meet me, as I entreated *Sir William Monson* to relate your lordship: and the usage of the Archdukes themselves ever since towards me has expressed as much respect and honour to his Majesty as could by any means proceed from them.

"The next day after my first audience I presented Sir Thomas Edmunds, his Majesty's Ambassador leiger, who was received by both the Princes with very gracious and favourable allowance. And the day following I received the oath of the Archdukes in the Chapel, which was there performed with all due solemnity, and from thence we both were carried to dine with the Archdukes in his great hall, which was richly furnished for that purpose and all the nobility and ladies attending the whole time of dinner. His Majesty's health and the Queen's and the Prince's were severally remembered by them, which imposed a burden on me to make requital to the same. After dinner, in the meantime, till the Archdukes had reposed themselves, we were carried to see the Park and the pleasures in the same, and in the evening we were brought to see the dancing in the hall which the Archdukes themselves during that time twice assisted to the end (as they said) the more to honour my legation.

"Yesterday we were entertained with very delightful and costly

shows, at the running of the ring and the quintain, wherein were principal actors the Duke of Aumale, Don Louis de Velasco, the general of the horse called the Prince of Palestrina of the house of the Collonnas in Rome, and the other called the Prince of Casserte of the house of Aquiviva of the Kingdom of Naples, with other of the nobility. At night, without further intermission, we were again carried to the Court to see the ceremony of the bestowing of the prizes and afterwards of dancing.

"We are to be feasted tomorrow both at dinner and supper by the Duke of Ascott, and in the afternoon are to be entertained with other sports.

"On Sunday it is appointed that there shall be a combat at the barriers whereof the Archduke himself maintains the challenge. And these ceremonies being ended, I hope speedily after to obtain my leave to depart from hence. At Bruxelles, 3 May, 1605."⁷

A letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes to Cecil has another detail of this entertainment:

Sir Thomas Edmondes to (Viscount Cranborne) Salisbury

"... Lord Hertford and Edmondes were jealous of a purpose in the Spaniards to have yesterday put a trick upon them by placing the Spanish Ambassador among the judges who are always placed next to the Archdukes and sent from their seat to the Archdukes with declaration that if he were placed there as Ambassador of Spain they must entreat to withdraw themselves. The Archduke earnestly protested that the Ambassador sat there as a judge expressly chosen among others for that ceremony and not in the quality of an Ambassador. He lives here as much a domestical as a public minister, being lodged in the Court, and he employs himself in the matter of the judgement at the ceremony more than any other of the company. From Bruxelles 3 May, 1605."⁸

The original of this letter is in the P.R.O. S.P. Foreign, Flanders, 7.

We have still another letter which gives some items about the ratifying of this peace in Flanders as follows:

Sir Thomas Edmondes to Earl of Salisbury

"Lord Hertford has now accomplished all ceremonies with these Princes. The last triumphs of the barriers wherein the Arch-

⁷H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 172.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 173-174.

duke himself was chief challenger was used for a double end, congratulations for the birth of the Prince of Spain and the entertainment of his lordship. The Archduke acquitted himself by much the best of any of the company and the first prize he won he sent by the Spanish Ambassador to the Infanta and the second to my Lord of Hertford. At night his lordship was again brought to the Court to see dancing and a masque made by the Archduke himself. (This Masque must have interested "Our Willy" who was in that business himself at home.)

"After the solemnities of the Archduke's oath were passed the Audiencier and Edmondes were appointed to examine the ratification of the Treaty and found his Majesty's part so full of errors in the writing that as they desired the ratification might be new written for the supplying of the omissions, which are collected into a note enclosed. Hopes Hertford will bring full satisfaction in all things concerning his charge. In all other circumstances he has performed his legation to his Majesty's great honor . . . Dated 14 May, 1605."⁹

Same to same:

"Edmondes writes about some horses sent by Salisbury for the Archduke and the Count of Aremberg. Dated May 16."¹⁰

Sometime during this sending of Hertford to ratify the Peace, and their banqueting in Flanders, James became angry at the increasing impudence of the Cardinals and about the great influx of priests into the country, that he addressed the Privy Council to the effect that they put strictly into effect the penal laws against the Catholics—those rigorous statutes passed by Elizabeth which made the exercise of the Roman religion high treason. He instructed his ministers to begin collecting fines from all individuals who refused to attend their parish churches. This caused some drastic actions by the Bishops and an alerting of the civil authorities. It also was to bring money to the treasury, a thought not to be neglected by James.

That "Our Willy" had kept his eyes as well as his ears open while he was on this journey abroad was sure. For immediately on his return, taking up his Catholic priest alias of John Smith, his familiar alias, he wrote Cecil now promoted to the title of the Earl of Salisbury, as follows:

⁹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 204, 205. Original in P. R. O. Foreign, Flanders 7.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

John Smythe to the Earl of Salisbury

"The just opinion of his lordship's great wisdom and justice moves him to crave for private admittance to his presence. Doubts not but his coming will give his Honour some contentment answerable to this favour. 14 June, 1605. The poor close kept prisoner in the Gatehouse that prayeth for your Honour."¹¹

Same to same:

"Being neglected of all his friends, his only hope of enlargement depends upon the comfort which he received of his lordship. His petition remains with one of his lordship's secretaries. His own necessity and the misery of his wife and children enforce this presumption. His bail shall be found sufficient of his countrymen who now stay in London at his request and charge for that purpose. Matter has so happened to his intelligence within these two days, which after some liberty of coming abroad, he will attend to signify to his lordship. From the Gatehouse, 23 June, 1605."¹² (Holo.)

"Our Willy," in his role of spy, pretended to be a recusant and worked among the Catholic priests and as such probably was, in this last letter to Salisbury, referring to the following:

"Examination of Wm. Morgan respecting a letter in Roger Cadwalladers' hand, and his knowledge of *John Smith*, John Mynours, Jas. Jones and other recusants, who were combining to solicit against the persecutions of Catholics. Dated June 18, 1605."¹³

Bishop of Hereford to Earl of Salisbury

". . . Archbishop of Canterbury recommended unto me Rice Griffiths, whose name is George Williams as a priest, who had submitted, taken the oath, abjured his priesthood and promised special service, to give him access to my ear and his liberty. You also wrote me letters to the same effect 2 years since. He has made some semblance of service, but of late I have found him a perfidious man, a sycophant to me, and a mere agent and spy for the Papists; for these matters I apprehended him . . . He has neither wit nor will for worthy employment; besides *Smith* accuses him of great lewdness of life. I may be maligned for committing him, but I have done a necessary service, and I beseech you to let the

¹¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 259.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³C.S.P. James I, Dom., 1603-1610.

truth be known where it may concern me most, and take care that so dangerous a miscreant and instrument for Rome be not admitted to his Majesty's presence, as of late he did, exhibiting a petition. He walkes abroad triumphantly, and I and others mourn to see so good beginnings have so evil conclusion. *John Smith* has done his best for Griffiths, and promised to do for others what he may, but they are jealous of him, as he is perplexed, but hopes to recover his credit with them."¹⁴ (Dated Aug. 9, 1605.)

Lord Chief Justice Popham to the Earl of Salisbury

"I enclose a letter sent by James Morrys the priest . . . to Father Cresswell the Jesuit at Madrid . . . This Morrys is the priest that was one of the chieftest occasions of the late stir in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, and is the man who wrote the letters which I delivered to you to some dependant at Court. By the letter you may see what affection they bear both to his Majesty and his most renouned offspring. If he be not taken already I doubt not but you will have care to lay for him. *Smyth* that was in custody, may get him if he will . . ." ¹⁵ (Dated Aug. 26, 1605.)

About July 24, while "Our Willy", alias John Smith, was working with the authorities to capture the dangerous Papist Jesuit priests who were conspiring in England, he, probably having been given some of the money that his father was dispensing to his followers in the Flanders trip, decided that he would buy a piece of property that he had long desired. He bought, under his legal name of William Shakespeare, "the moiety of a lease, granted in 1544, of all the tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcome; for which he paid down in cash 440^{lb}. This is the most important purchase he is known to have made."¹⁶

¹⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 361.

¹⁵H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 396.

¹⁶White, *Life of William Shakespeare*, I, 85.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER XLIV

Gun Powder Plot

AFTER these Peace ratifications the Catholic priests became more open and contemptuous of James's authority and began boldly to range the land, advocating moderation toward the Catholics. Among other things it was decided to inspect all prisons, etc. We have a letter from the Lieutenant of the Tower to the Earl of Salisbury; and as it gives Waad's attitude toward Sir Walter Raleigh it is interesting as a bit of his existence in that place:

Sir Wm Woad to Earl of Salisbury

"... It is not the least of your many favours, the leave I take hold of to erect a brick wall on that side of the garden where Sir Walter Rawly is toward my lodgings, which shall presently go in hand. For as I would be loth to remove Sir Walter, where he has accommodated himself for his exercise, so it would be very inconvenient he should be an overseer to the Lieutenant. This morning being the first time I was able to go abroad since the ague took me, I viewed the walls and places about the lodging of Ruthen, of whom though he be younger I take more especial care, because with very little liberty any prisoner might over easily escape there. From the Tower of London. 24 Aug. 1605."¹

King James and Prince Henry visit Oxford

"The King having resolved to honour the University of Oxford with a visit, and to enter the Prince a member of it, went thither with the Queen and His Highness on the 27th of August, 1605, from Woodstock, where he had reposed himself for some days, after a Progress through the counties of Essex, Huntington, Bedford and Northampton. Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer, was then the Chancellor of Oxford; and the Vice-Chancellor was Dr. George Abbot, Dean of Winchester, and Master of University College, and a few years after advanced, first to the

¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 388.

See of London, and then to that of Canterbury . . . Attended by a son of Salisbury and other young noblemen. John Wilkinson, B. D., then Fellow, afterwards President, of the College, being appointed his tutor. The Prince being conducted to his lodgings in the President's apartments was entertained there with disputations, in which Mr. William Seymour, (then 17 years of age) second son of Edward Lord Beauchamp, and grandson of Edward, Earl of Hertford, performed the part of respondent, and was opposed by Charles Somerset, 6th son of the Earl of Worcester, Edward Seymour, eldest son of the Lord Beauchamp, Mr. Robert Gorge, son of Thomas Gorge by the Marchioness of Northampton, son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who had himself been educated in this College, and Mr. William Burlacy, son of a knight."²

These young scholars put forth prodigious efforts to entertain the King and Queen, but their dissertations were so long and their plays so tedious that King James fell asleep and at one time was heard to say, "Tush, tush and away!" Queen Anne was more gracious and listened to an inordinate amount of Latin and Greek. I presume if Arbell was there she enjoyed it immensely as she was a splendid student of the languages, both classic and modern.

If "Our Willy" as Ferrabosco, was with the Prince as his instructor of music, then he and Arbell must have enjoyed sly glances with each other. Also it may have been Arbell's first sight of the young gentleman with whom she was destined to have so much to do only a few years later.

Sometime before 14 September, 1605, George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston wrote a comedy called *Eastward Hoe*, which was entered for publication at Stationers Hall by William Aspley on the above date.

It had been played by the Children of the Revels previously, at the Blackfriars, and had been very popular, for at least four editions of it had been issued in 1605. For its publication, its authors had gotten into serious difficulty. In the first impression is this passage, spoken by *Seagull* respecting the Scots: "*only a few industrious Scots perhaps, who are indeed dispersed over the face of the whole earth. But as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out on't in the world, than they are: and for my part, I would a hundred thousand of*

²Birch, *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 48.

them were there, for we are all countrymen now, ye know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than here."

In the later editions these words were taken out of the play. Jonson had a conversation with Drummond, who says: "He was dilated by Sir James Murray to the King, for writing something about the Scots in a play *Eastward Hoe* and voluntarily imprisoned himself with Chapman and Marston who had written it amongst them. The report was, that they should then have had their ears cut and noses. After their delivery, he banqueted all his friends; there was Camden, Selden and others; at the midst of the feast his old mother dranke to him, and shew him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution) to have mixed in the poison among his drink, which was full of lustie strong poison, and that she was no churle, she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself."

Brown speaks of Sir Petronel Flash, one of the characters in the play, perhaps some time impersonated by the immortal Shakespeare, who was one of the first of a long and illustrious line of "Virginia Colonels."³

We now come to a letter and an enclosure relating to John Smith and his spy activities:

Paul de la Hay to the Earl of Salisbury

"I received letters from Sir William Wade, touching the apprehending of Cadwalladar and Edwards, two seminary priests, by means of the recusant *John Smith*. *Smith upon his coming home*, (from trip to Flanders with the Earl of Hertford) procured a letter from Edwards, which he delivered to me, by which I understand Edwards was lodged in the house of one Staney in Monmouthshire where with the privity of the Bishop of Hereford I caused search to be made. Though he was then in the house, yet by reason of certain secret vaults our direction took not our desired effect. Since then we can gain no understanding of either Edward's or Caldwelladar's residence, but think this country for a while is quite purged of their society. The Bishop asked my assistance in examining witnesses against Rice Griffs (Griffiths) a seminary priest; I enclose the breviat of our proceedings. The Bishop's service in Griffiths' apprehension, and his forwardness against recusants, has been the occasion of the reformation of many

³A. Brown, *Genesis of America*, I, 30-31.

in these parts, who before relied on Griffiths' false alarms of toleration in their Popish error; so that since his apprehension, of above 1,000 recusants in this county, the tenth part of them are now scarce left for the Pope, and most part of them are women. *Smith for his pains is so well beloved amongst them, that he is like to remain awhile unabsolved of any his ghostly fathers.* This is the second time he has been unkind to his brothers, for in 1588 he apprehended one of their chief apostles, one Silvester, that was executed as a traitor. Alterenes, 16th oct. 1605."

"Enclosure.

"Brief examination taken against Rice Griffiths alias Williams, a seminary priest. 'Evidence is given by numerous witnesses named that Griffiths said mass, administered sacraments, heard confessions, and gave absolution and solemnized marriages. He used slanderous words against the King, and published false rumours of toleration for liberty of conscience, by Thomas Price his massing clerk. He seduced the King's subjects from the religion established. He carried Watson the traitor about the country to recusants' houses, immediately before his apprehension. He was greatly familiar with Roger Cadwalladar, the priest. He practised to bring into Herefordshire more seminary priests, as John Scudamor. Having access to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Richard Bancroft) and the Bishop of Hereford, what he heard from them he disclosed to priests and recusants, enabling them to escape arrest, as in the cases of Cadwalladar, Elizabeth Bromwich, North, a priest, and Rice ap Rice. He assured seditious recusants who had made riots about Hereford, that the Archbishop had persuaded the King the riots were but a matter of a broken head or two. He acquainted John Smith with the contents of all letters passing between the Bishop of Hereford and Sir Charles Morgan for the apprehension of priests. Smith sent word ten months past to the Bishop of Griffiths' doubleness. He told Smith that he would be revenged on Sir Charles Ashfielde for calling him a lewd priest, and said he would reserve it for a trick to stop the Archbishop's mouth, if ever he came in any question. He harboured a sorcerer in secret, and practised enchantments upon some of good sort." (Signed, Paul-de-la-Hay; Endorsed "Breviat of examination taken by the Bishop of Hereford and Paul-de-la-Hay.")⁴

We now come back to a letter of Arbell:

⁴H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 455 et passim.

Arbell Stuart to Prince Henry

"Sir.—My intention to attend your Highness to-morrow, God willing, cannot stay me from acknowledging, by these few lines, how infinitely I am bound to your Highness for that your gracious disposition towards me, which faileth not to shew itself upon every occasion, whether accidental or begged by me, as this late high favour and grace it hath pleased Your Highness to do my kinsman at my humble suit. I trust to-morrow to let your Highness understand such motives of that my presumption, as shall make it excusable. If your Highness shall perceive, I both understand with what extraordinary respects suits are to be presented to your Highness, and withal that your goodness doth so temper your greatness, as it encourageth both me and many others to hope, that we may taste the fruits of the one by means of the other. The Almighty make your Highness every way such as I, Mr. Newton and Sir David Murray the only intercessors I have used in my suit, or will in any I shall present to your Highness), wish you; and then shall you be ever such as you are; and your growth in Virtue and Grace with God and men shall be the only alteration we will pray for. And so in all humility I cease. Your Highness's most humble and dutiful,

"ARBELL STEWERT"⁵

The Gunpowder Plot

As far back as April 29, 1604, Robert Cecil had received information of the movements of Fathers Owen and Baldwin or Bailie, and of Colonel Jaques who ruled the Archduke, of Father Parsons and others, regarding some great cause (probably the Gunpowder Plot) which was to be kept secret.

This was evidently why "Our Willy" as recusant John Smith was so active after his return to England the first part of 1605.

The Catholics were getting more and more desperate during the summer of 1605 and were working out the details of their desperate plot to blow up Parliament and all the principal men of England at one time.

The first warning of this attempt came in a letter to Lord Monteagle not to attend Parliament:

⁵Harl. MSS., 6986, f. 71. Nichols, *Progresses, James I*, I, 563. Mr. Newton was the Prince's tutor. Sir David Murray was fifth son of Sir Charles Murray of Cockpool.

To the right Honourable the Lord Monteagle

"Out of the love I bear to some of your friends I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift of your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety, for though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm for the danger is passed so soon as you burn this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you."⁶

This note was delivered by hand ten days before the meeting of Parliament, November 5, and was not signed. Lord Monteagle immediately took this letter to Robert Cecil who took it to the King, and at once search was made under the House of Lords where eventually was found on November 4, 1605, thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault, and Guy Fawkes with tinder and matchwood. The chief actors in the plot besides Guy Fawkes were Robert Catesby, who is supposed to have conceived the plot, Robert Winter, John Wright, Thomas Winter, Thomas Percy, John Grant, Ambroise Rokewood, Robert Keyes, Sir Everard Digby, Francis Tresham, a relative by marriage to Monteagle, and Thomas Bates. Henry Garnet, the Superior of the Jesuits in England, was also supposed to have been involved. These men all traveled under aliases so that some time was consumed in getting them. We have a letter which seems to show that the members of our *Packe* had terminated their spy activities after Queen Elizabeth's death, as that absolved them from their Oath, except "Our Willy" alias John Smith.

Ben Jonson to Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, of 7 Nov., 1605

"Has done his best to procure a fitting person to perform a certain business (to betray the actors in the Plot?) but many are removed and concealed; some say they must consult the Archpriest; thinks they are all so enweaved in it as it will make 500 gent lesse of the religion, within this week. Offers his own services, if a

⁶Carte, III, p. 757.

fitter person cannot be found.”⁷ This probably refers to the young actors who were Catholic.

“Nov. 22, 1605. Examination of Mech Rapier, servant to Sir Everard Digby. Is a recusant; has served Sir Oliver Manners, Lady Catherine Grey, and Sir Hen Bellases; Private masses said by Duckett, Fairfax or Fisher, Brown and Darcy, priests. All the conspirators received sacrament at Rob. Winter’s house, 7 Nov.; Their proceedings; general hope of Catholics that times would mend (Great Plot Book.)”⁸

These conspirators were finally found and tried during the following months and duly executed. Father Garnet’s trial was attended by many of the Court including Arbell Stuart.

That no Englishman should ever forget this plot, King James decreed that 5 Nov. should be a legal holiday forever in England—and so it has been celebrated as Guy Fawkes day ever since. Formerly it was merry-making time, when people dressed themselves in costumes and desported themselves on the streets of every town in the Kingdom.

We have a letter which concerns some of our characters. Salisbury, when he discovered the connection of Flanders with the conspirators, alerted the new Ambassador Sir Thomas Edmonds about these traitors in the Gunpowder Plot. Sir Thomas replied, 25 Nov., 1605:

Sir Thomas Edmonds to the Earl of Salisbury

“Hopes his lordship has long before received his last letters of the 19th instant advertising the order procured for the imprisoning of Owens & Bailie. . The disguised name of Johnson, which Faux gave himself, has hitherto prevented Edmonds from learning anything of him in these parts, but now upon discovery of his true name he is generally deciphered for such as he has declared himself. . . . Faux went to Spain. . . . and shortly after his return hither he went into England, and as it is judged was absent there some six months and returned back about the time that the Earl of Hertford came into these countries and in August following went secretly back into England pretending to go into camp to obtain a company (Faux was a soldier). During his journey while in these countries, he conversed with no other than Sir William Stanley, Owen, Baily and Balwyn the Jesuit. He is justified by all

⁷C.S.P. Dom., James I, 1603-1610, p. 245.

⁸C.S.P. Dom., James I, 1603-1610, p. 261.

men's reports to be as resolute an instrument for the doing of mischief as could have been chosen. He was for a long time accompanied with a kinsman of his called Harington that was born in the North, served here as a soldier, afterwards turned priest and went into England more than a year since and is said still to remain there. Harington's elder brother serves the old lady of Southampton." ⁹

That many of the Lords were worried about the Plot and possible uprisings of the Catholics is shown in this extract of a letter by Lord Clinton, later the Earl of Lincoln, to Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, commenting upon the fact that there are a great many recusants in his part of the country and very few men of quality at home; also "how weak our poor justice of peace, unarmed, is upon such an occasion, without more ample authority; besides it is suspected that some of the traitors are as likely to be harboured in this country as in any parts of the kingdom, and I assure you some of our Papists are strong in faction, wit and power, and of inward familiarity with some of the fugitives. Sturton, 18 Nov. 1605." ¹⁰

Lord Clinton's sister Elizabeth married, probably as his second wife, Sir Arthur Gorges, Spenser's friend.

Evidently Arbell was becoming increasingly disturbed about money for her household and her financial situation generally, although she had been allowed some income from the estate of Sir Percival Willeby, probably a Catholic who had fled from England, for we have the following letter from Sir Henry Townshend of Chester:

*Sir Henry Townshend Leycester's old friend to
The Earl of Salisbury*

"5 Dec., 1605. I have been and kept the assize at Chester, and after, in the term in the Exchequer, where I ordered and heard 40 causes. Among the rest, the Lady Arbell plt. and Sir John Egerton dept.

"Mr. Justice and myself heard it by commandment by a special letter from the King to my Lord of Derby, but my Lord desired us to proceed in his absence. But it seemed, after long hearing, my Lady complained afore her time of complaint. For the present she

⁹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 508.

¹⁰C.S.P. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 496.

had but 300th yearly of rent charge out of the lands of Sir Percival Willeby till 3000th were paid or not, which hither unto her has been paid, and the condition not broken, and so no cause to complain as yet. But for the manor Sir John Egerton has received, he must enjoy it till his recovery be reversed by error, which is now depending on the King's Bench at the suit of Sir Percyval Willeby. But that recovery doth not bind my lady. . . ."¹¹

Arbell seems to have always had an orchestra of some kind or another and to have had musicians and singers, perhaps some as scholars. She speaks of having them all her young life in one of her *Declarations*, as she was a great lover of music.

She also had in her little coterie a young girl, Margaret Byron, whose family was friendly to her, and for this young girl Arbell had taken a great liking when the child was only nine years old. She took her to Court with her as her Maid of Honor and her fondness for the girl (who was a poet, musician and singer of no mean order) awakened in the girl a passionate attachment. She minded nothing but her lady grew so intimate in all her councils that the Princess was more delighted in her than in any other of the women about her.

Charles Blount, the Earl of Devonshire, married Penolope, Lady Rich, (the Earl of Essex's sister) at Wormstead 26 December, 1605. She was banished the Court thereafter.

The Masque of Hymenaei

On 6 January, 1605, Ben Jonson wrote a masque, *Hymenaei*, for the wedding celebration of Robert, Earl of Essex, and Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk. The music for the masque was composed by Alphonso Ferrabosco. "Jonson," says Mr. Gifford, "appears to have had an extraordinary regard and affection for this eminent composer. He delighted to mention him on all occasions; and in the *Masque of Hymenaei*, hurried away by his feelings, he interrupts the strain of applause in which he was describing Alphonso's exertions, with a genuine burst of tenderness," 'And here, that no man's deservings complain of injustice (though I should have done it timelier I acknowledge) I do for honour's sake, and the pledge of our friendship, name Master Alphonso Ferrabosco, a man planted by himselfe in that divine

¹¹H.M.C. Salisbury MSS., XVII, 594.

sphere, and mastering all the spirits of music. To which judicial care, and an absolute performance, were committed all those difficulties both of song and otherwise. Wherein, what his merit made to the soul of our invention would ask to be exprest in tunes no less ravishing than his.—Virtuous friend, take well this abrupt testimony and think whose it is. It cannot be flattery in me, who never did it to great ones, and less love and truth it is not, where it is done out of knowledge.’ ”¹²

There was a printed description of this masque, evidently written by Alphonso Ferrabosco, in which Ferrabosco is described as a singer as well as a composer and musician. It contains the testimony of the close friendship existing at that time between these two men. Ben Jonson contributed verses to this folio volume in praise of Ferrabosco. These, however, were omitted in the editions published after 1616.

The following is the tribute in the Folio:

To Alphonso Ferrabosco on his booke

To urge, my lov'd Alphonso, that bold fame,
 Of building towns, and making beasts tame,
 Which Musick had; or speak her knonne effects,
 That she removeth cares, sadnesse ejects,
 Declineth anger, perswades clemencies
 Doth sweeten mirth, and heighten pietie,
 And is t'a body, often, ill inclin'd,
 No lesse a sov'raigne cure, than to the mind;
 T' alledge, that greatest men were not asham'd,
 Of old, even by her practice to be fram'd;
 To say, indeed, she were the soule of Heaven,
 That the eighth spheare, no lesse, than planets seven,
 Mov'd by her order, and ninth more high,
 Including all, where thence call'd harmonie:
 I yet, had utter'd nothing on thy part,
 When these were but the praise of the art.
 But when I have said, the proofes of all these be
 Shed in thy songs; 'tis true: but short of thee.

BEN JONSON POEMS
 POEM CXXXI

¹²Nichols, *Progresses, James I*, II, 23.

Sometime in 1605 and 1606, Shakespeare wrote his great play of *King Lear* and it was probably played this year of 1606.

Lady Arbell had been trying to see Edmund Lassells, who had in some way displeased her aunt, Lady Shrewsbury, and she had him put in the Fleet prison, from which he was finally able to get out through the help of Salisbury. Arbell was naturally distressed as he was a neighbor of her grandmother, and she knew him. She had inquired of James Hudson, an actor in the employ of James I, and here is a reply to her. If you will remember, James Hudson was one of the actors in the Latin play *Richard III* given before King James in 1597, as we have related.

James Hudson to the Lady Arbell Stuart

"Right honourable & my very good Lady. It mae please your grace.

"This bearer is the power (poor) man named Richard Lassaye, upon whome your grace hath ben so long desyrus to showe summe part of your honourable piettyr & charetty, whome by chance this dae I mett in the streits: & becaws your grace hath dyvers tymes sent to me to inqyre of hime I have taken this boldness to signiffye thus much to your grace by wrytting, & so preying God to preserve your grace, I humbly tack my leave, & ever remayne.

"Your Grace's most humble to comand wth service.

"London this 24 of Feb., 1605-1606. Ja. Hudson.

"To the right honorable & my singullar good Lady, My Lady Arrebella hir Grace d d. at the Court."¹³

On 29 February, 1606, John Dowland, "Our Willy," was dismissed from the services of Christian IV in Denmark. He had absented himself so much from this post that while the King was away the ministers decided to dismiss him. Dowland was again living in Fetter's Lane and issued a translation of *Micrologus* of Andreas Ornithoparcus, dedicated to the Earl of Salisbury. It was a book on counterpoint. Dowland was a great virtuoso. As a performer on the lute he was without a rival in Europe, and there can be little doubt that he was also a highly skilled singer.

It is as a songwriter that Dowland established a claim to a place among the immortals.¹⁴

On April 2, we find a letter from John Chamberlain to Carleton

¹³Joseph Hunter, *Hallamshire*, p. 122-123.

¹⁴Grove, *Dictionary of Music & Musicians*.

which gives the "particulars of the trial of Garnet." Whether "Our Willy" figured in the information furnished the authorities or not I have not been able to find out. However, "the King, Lady Arbell and many others of the Court were present."¹⁵

There is a letter from the Bishop of Ely, Martin Hector, to the Earl of Salisbury (dated 4 February, 1606, Ely House, Holborn) which is not included in the Historic Manuscript's Commission, Salisbury MSS. which is interesting in that it seems to concern the activities of "Our Willy." George Smith one of the three condemned Popish priests at Wisbech, has become a convert: *he is an excellent musician especially on the organ.*"¹⁶

"Our Willy" in his tracking down the traitors may have joined this community of State prisoners, as we know that Robert Catesby was imprisoned at Wisbeck at this time, and he was known to have been one of the chief members of the conspirators. It might well have been that "Our Willy" changed the first name of his alias from John to George, as he had used John as a first name for his activities as a recusant, and now when he was posing as a priest it was necessary to make some change. He was probably prying out the secrets of these priests for additional suspects. As we have shown he was a trusted spy for Salisbury and Judge Popham.

Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, died on April 5, 1606, and his wife, the former Penelope Rich, died the next year, their marriage having taken place 26 December, 1605.

¹⁵C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 308.

¹⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 285.

CHAPTER XLV

Charter of Virginia

WHO the prime movers were in this first effort to establish a Royal Charter for the land called Virginia, which was at this time the whole east coast of North America, I do not know. There were so many merchant adventurers, knights, gentlemen (and also Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges) whose imaginations had been fired by the story of Waymouth's Voyage by Rosier in 1605, that the King was persuaded to establish such a charter. Of course Raleigh had done heroic work at establishing colonies in the southern part of the claim, while Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Raleigh's older half-brother, had taken over New-Found-Land in the name of Queen Elizabeth even earlier, or in 1583; but there was still no English Royal Charter for it, and the Spanish had laid claim to it, and the French were prowling around the northern part.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was Commandant at Plymouth, where all the rich harvest of fish came in from those regions, and he also had the stories of the five Indians that Waymouth had captured, and had taught them enough English to describe in minute detail their country and its rivers, and their chiefs, including the Bashabes—the ruling Indian of that part that the western English wished to colonize.

So James decided to give Letters Patent to two several colonies that these people wished to establish. This Charter was established on April 10, 1606, and was, besides the Authorized Version of the Bible, the most important action that King James can have contributed to the English nation's benefit.

"Letters Patent were given to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and all the others for the two several colonies and Plantations to be made in Virginia, and other parts and Territories of America. Dated April 10, 1606."

The wording of these documents is very verbose so I will give only that of the vital parts of this document:

(1) "I, James by the grace of God, Defender of the Faith & whereas our loving and well-disposed subjects, Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, knights, Richard Hakluit, clerk and Prebendary of Westminster, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hanham, and Raleigh Gilbert, Esq., William Parker and George Popham, gentleman, and divers others of our loving subjects, have been humble suitors unto us, that we would vouch safe unto them our license, to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, which are not now actually possessed by any other Christian prince or people, situate, lying and being all along the sea coasts, between four and thirty degrees (34°) of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctial line, and five and forty degrees (45°) and the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coasts.

(2) "And to that end, and for the more speedy accomplishment of their said intended plantation and habitation there, are desirous to devide themselves into *two several colonies and companies*; the one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers, of our city of *London* and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be, joined unto them which do desire to begin their plantation and habitation in some fit and convenient place, between four and thirty (34°) and one and forty degrees (41°) of the said latitude, amongst the coasts of Virginia and coast of America aforesaid; and the other consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen and other adventurers of our cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our town of *Plimouth*, and of other places, which do join themselves unto that colony which do desire to begin their Plantation and habitation in some fit and convenient place, between eight and thirty degrees (38°) and five and forty degrees (45°) of the said latitude, all amongst the said coast of Virginia and America, as that coast lyeth.

(3) Paragraph omitted.

(4) "And do therefore, for us, our heirs, and successors, grant and agree, that the said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hackluit, and Edward-Maria Wingfield, adventurers of and for our city of London, and all such others, as are, or shall be joined unto them of that colony, shall be called the **FIRST** colony;

and they shall and may begin their first plantation and habitation at any place upon the said coast of Virginia, or America where they shall think fit and convenient between the said four and thirty (34^0) and one and forty degrees (41^0) of the said latitude; and that they shall have all the lands, woods, soil, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, mines, minerals, marshes, waters, fishing commodities and hereditaments, whatsoever, from the first seat of their plantation and habitation by the space of fifty miles of English stature, measure, all along the said coast of Virginia and America, toward the west and south-west as the coast lyeth, with all the islands within one hundred miles directly over against the same sea coast. . . . (same toward the east and north)

(5) "And we do likewise, for us, our heirs and successors, by these presents grant and agree, that the said Thomas Hanham (the nephew of Judge Popham), Raleigh Gilbert (youngest son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert), William Parker (the man to whom the letter about the Gun Powder Plot was written), and George Popham (uncle of Judge Popham), and others of the town of *Plimouth*, in the county of Devon, and elsewhere, which are or shall be joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the SECOND colony. . . . (Same conditions and ownership of lands, soil, etc., as First Colony)

(6) "Provided always, that our will and pleasure herein is, that the plantations and habitations of such of these said colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their plantation as aforesaid."¹

(7) This paragraph enumerates the Counsels and seals of the two colonies.

(8 to 20) Administrations, etc., as to sale and transference of lands, etc.

On the 20th of November 1606, King James issued his *Articles, Instructions, and Orders for the government of these two several colonies*, and named the members of the King's Counsel, which was to control both colonies. The names of these members follow:

"Sir William Wade, Knight and our Lieutenant of the Tower (probably Wade had learned much from Raleigh who was prisoner there)

Sir Thomas Smyth, Knight

¹Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, v. I.

Sir Walter Cope, Knight
 Sir George Moor, Knight
 Sir Francis Popham (Son of Chief Justice Popham)
 Sir Ferdinando Gorges (Governor of fort of Plymouth)
 Sir John Trevor, Knight
 Sir Henry Montague (Recorder of London)
 Sir William Romney (Governor of East India Co.)
 John Dodderidge (Solicitor-general)
 Thomas Warr, Esq. (Grandson of Chief Justice Popham)
 Thomas James of Bristol (Merchant)
 James Bagge of Plimouth (Merchant) "

There were also two counsels, one for the First and another for the Second Colony, which were under the King's Council. All these Counsellors were sworn to secrecy, as well as the King's Council, who took secrecy and other appropriate oaths.

King of Denmark's visit to James I

Christian IV of Denmark, brother of Queen Anne, came to visit the Court of his brother-in-law and his sister in July, 1606. Anne had had an unfortunate delivery on June 22, of a little daughter who lived only one day, and she was not very well. So she had to turn over the whole of the entertainment to James, who arranged a series of fetes and feasts which kept the two kings and the male members of the Court busy.

Cecil arranged a great feast at Theobald's where after dinner the presentation of Solomon, his Temple, and the coming of the Queen of Sheba was made, or meant to be made, before their Majesties, which was supposed to have been arranged by the Earl of Salisbury and others.

There is a disgraceful account of this celebration written by Sir John Harrington to his friend Mr. Barrows. It was, indeed, a drunken scene instead of a masque, as it turned out. As the Queen was unable to attend so probably Arbell and the other Court ladies were not there. It was a stag affair, and evidently very rowdy.

In August, after his Majesty the King of Denmark had gone, Lady Arbell sent to the Danish Queen, Anne Catherine, a piece of her handiwork which it seems was fine enough to satisfy even a great Queen. She sent it inclosed in the following letter to Sir Andrew Sinclair:

Lady Arbell to Sir Andrew Sinclair

"Sir—You having not only performed the kindness I required of you, in delivering my letters to their Majesties, but returned me so great and unexpected a favour as his Majesty's letters, have doubly bound me to you, and I yield you therefore many great thanks, beseeching you to continue in preferring their Majesties' favour to me, for which good office I most desire to become obliged to you, so worthy and reverent a person. It may please you now with most humble thanks to present this letter to his Majesty, for whose prosperity none doth more daily and devotedly pray than I, and this (work) to the Queen's Majesty, which is so very a trifle as I was ashamed to accompany it with a letter to her Majesty, and if a piece of work of my own, which I was preparing, had been ready, I had presented his Majesty's gracious and your kind letter in sending to you, but I was desirous not to omit her Majesty in the acknowledgment of my duty to her royal husband, and therefore loath to stay the finishing of a greater, have sent this little piece of work, in accepting whereof her Majesty's favour will be the greater.

"Thus I am bold to trouble you even to these womanish toys, whose serious mind must have some relaxation, and this may be one to vouchsafe to descend to these petty offices for one that will ever wish you happiness increase and continuance of honour."² (No date, or signature.)

Sir Andrew Sinclair to Lady Arbella Stuart

"My humble duty being remembered, most worthy lady, it hath pleased both their Majesties to command me to write their Majesties' most gracious recommendations to your ladyship, and to thank your ladyship for the honest faith it hath pleased your ladyship to bestow on both their Majesties. The Queen, in special, esteems much of that present your ladyship hath sent her Majesty, and says that her Majesty will wear it for your ladyship's sake. The King has commended me to assure your ladyship that there is no honour, advancement, nor pleasure that his Majesty can do your ladyship but that he shall do it, faithfully and willingly, as one of the best friends your ladyship has in the world. Surely I must confess with verity I never heard no prince speak more worthily of a princess than his Majesty does of your ladyship's good qualities and

²Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 45. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 209.

rare virtues, while I say no more, but I shall be a faithful instrument to entertain that holy friendship between his Majesty and your ladyship.

"As touching my Lady Nottingham, the King is now very well content with her ladyship, because her letter was written of a little coleric passion founded on a feckless report; for his Majesty did never think that her Ladyship had offended him, but only those that were reporters of such foolish words to her. For so had been that he did speak some merry words in jesting, it was not the duty of men of honour (for her ladyship makes mention in her letters, to have reported again to her such things of no effect. And, as for my part, Madam, I protest before the living God, I showed not the King her letter by malice, but by duty towards my gracious Master; for if I had not shown him the letter I had been in danger of a perpetual disgrace. So I pray your ladyship, that if any speak to my disadvantage in this matter in discharging my obliged devotion to my Master, that your ladyship will answer for me, as for one that has always dedicated himself to do your ladyship all the honour and service that lies in my power, as I confess to be perpetually obliged to your ladyship. So in my inviolable honest devotion I take my leave, and commit your ladyship to the Lord's eternal protection.

"From Court at Kioffenhafen, the 26th of August, 1606.

"Your ladyship's obliged friend to do you service.

"ANDREW SINCLAIR."³

Lady Arbella Stuart to Sir Andrew Sinclair

"My Honourable Good Friend—I yield both their Majesties most humble thanks for their gracious favours and have presumed to do so by letters to themselves, which I must account one of their special graces, that it pleaseth them to license me to do so, for by this patronage of so worthy a prince, so interested in them of whom my fortune depends, and so graciously affected to me, I cannot doubt but at last to come to some such story as shall give me perpetual cause to pray for his Majesty, whose gracious favour, so many ways expressed, is of itself an especial comfort and honour to me. And for you my honourable friend, by whose good means I enjoy this happiness, I can but acknowledge myself your debtor till God make me able better to express my thankfulness, as I doubt not,

³Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 466. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, p. 210.

by God's grace, but I shall be made by your good endeavors, and the mediation of your most gracious Majesty, whose good favour of itself is so highly and duly esteemed by me that I hold myself so thoroughly appaid (rewarded) therewith as I should desire no more but the preservation of it but that I perceive, by your letters, virtue is of itself delighted to do good and the neglect of offered bounty would deprive them of the honour and contentment they receive in well-doing. Therefore, when the first opportunity is offered that I may request your pains to come hither, accompanied with his Majesty's gracious letters, upon and good and hopeful occasion of mine, I will rely so much on your friendship that you will do so, and till the season serve I will consult with my friends of some suits that I have propounded to me, whereof one hath a very good appearance. But his Majesty's favour is so precious to me, and I am so loth to trouble you without almost assurance to make you amends by partaking the fruit of your pains and friendliness, that I will rather lose time than not be in very assured hope to prevail by those means. When I employ them. And so requesting you to present these enclosed to their Majesties, and to maintain me in their favour, I take my leave."⁴

Enclosed in above:

Lady Arbell Stuart to Queen Catherine, Queen of Denmark

"I yield your Majesty most humble thanks for your gracious acceptance of that trifle, which, with blushing at the unworthiness thereof, I ventured to present into your Majesty, only out of the confidence of the sympathy of your gracious disposition, with that I found in the most puissant and noble King your husband. Wherein as I find myself nothing deceived, having received so extraordinary a favour from you, so I am encouraged hereafter to continue the like signification of my dutiful respect and affection to your Majesty, in hope it will please you by wearing my handiwork to continue me in your gracious favour and remembrance. And so praying for your happiness."⁵ (No date, but about Sept.)

The letter to the King of Denmark which was enclosed with this letter of the Queen I have not been able to find. There is a draft of a Latin letter from Arbell to Sir Andrew Sinclair on 24 October, 1606.

⁴Draft. Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 48. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 212.

⁵Draft. Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 40. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 212, 213.

During 1606 both Colonies under the Royal Charter sent out ships to their respective grants in Virginia. The London or First Colony sent out a colony with colonists in 1606, which is a long story, and the Second or Plymouth sent out two, really on scouting expeditions. One was sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his own ship the *Richard* of Plymouth, with two of his precious Indians as guides, and was captured by the Spanish, also a long story. Chief Justice Popham and others sent another ship from Bristol with Captain Pring in charge with one of the charter members, Thomas Hanham, aboard. The two ships were to have met but the capture of the *Richard*, whose Captain had in neglect failed to follow the course set for him, did not meet Captain Pring. However this voyage was a great success as they found the land as had been described by the Indians, and explored it with very satisfactory results, with the aid of the Indians, two of the most important being Chief Tahanada and brother, sons of the Bashabes.

Sometime during the latter part of 1606 Arbell must have been taken sick as she went up to Sheffield. Here she probably attended the marriage of her cousin Alethia Talbot, daughter of the Countess and Earl of Shrewsbury, to Thomas Howard, later Earl of Arundel, which was celebrated there sometime during the first part of this year of 1607.

On 9th March, there was a "grant given to the Lady Arbell of all sums paid into the Exchequer from the lands of Thomas, Earl of Ormond."⁶

This may have been the suit she referred to when she wrote to Sir Andrew Sinclair, sometime in October, 1606.

On March 9, 1607, Queen Anne wrote to Arbell who was evidently still at Sheffield at the home of her Uncle Gilbert and Aunt Mary:

Queen Anne to Lady Arbell Stuart

"Anne R.

"Well-beloved Cousin,—We greet you heartily well. Udo Gal, (Guido), our dear brother's the King of Denmark's gentleman servant, hath insisted with us for the licensing your servant Thomas Cutting, to depart from you, but not without your permission, to our brother's service; and therefore we write these few lines

⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I., 1603-1610, (Grant Book p. 25 March 7).

unto you, being assured you will make no difficulty to satisfy our pleasure and our dear brother's desires, and so giving you the assurance of our constant favours, with our wishes for the continuance or convalescence of your health. Expecting your return we commit you to the protection of God. From Whitehall, 9th March, 1607."⁷

Henry, Prince of Wales to Lady Arbell Stuart

"Madame—The Queen's Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your ladyship that she would have Cutting, your ladyship's servant, to send to the King of Denmark, because he desired the Queen that she would send him one that could play upon the lute. I pray your ladyship to send him back with an answer as soon as your ladyship can.

"I desire you to commend me to my Lord and my Lady Shrewsbury; and also not to think me anything the worse scrivener that I write so ill, but to suspend your judgment till you come hither, when you shall find me as I ever was.

"Your ladyship's most loving cousin and assured friend.

"HENRY"⁸

(Endorsed "A Madame Arbell, ma cousine.")

From these two letters we gather that Arbell has been sick and also that she has taken her musicians with her, or at least Thomas Cutting, for the wedding ceremonies.

Lady Arbell Stuart to Queen Anne

"May it please your most royal Majesty:

"I have received your Majesty's most gracious and favorable token which you have been pleased to send me as an assurance both of your Majesty's pardon, and of my remaining in your gracious good opinion, the which how great contentment it hath brought unto me I find no words to express.

"And therefore most humbly addressing myself to the answer of your Majesty's pleasure, signified in your letter touching my licensing my servant Cutting to depart from me for the service of his Majesty of Denmark, I shall beseech of his Majesty to conceive that although I know well how far more easy it is for so great a prince to command the best musicians in the world than for me to recover

⁷Harleian MSS., 6986, f. 74. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 215.

⁸*Ibid.*

one not inferior to this, yet I do most willingly embrace this occasion whereby I may in effect give some demonstration of my unfeigned disposition to apply myself ever unto all your loyal pleasures.

"And therefore most willingly referring my said servant to your Majesty's good pleasure, and most humbly beseeching that myself may still remain in your gracious and princely favour and protection, I will in all humility kiss your Majesty's royal hand. And ever beseech Almighty God to grant unto your Majesty all honourable happiness that may be imagined, etc. (Sheffield, 15 Mar. 1607.)

ARBELL STUART"⁹

Lady Arbell Stuart to Henry, Prince of Wales

"May it please your Highness:

"I have received your Highness's letter wherein I am let to understand that her royal Majesty is pleased to command Cutting my servant, for the King of Denmark, concerning the which your Highness requested my answer to her Majesty, the which I have accordingly returned by this bearer, referring him to her Majesty's good pleasure and disposition.

"And although I may have seen cause to be sorry to have lost the contentment of a good lute, yet must I confess that I am right glad to have found any occasion whereby to express to her Majesty and your Highness the humble respect which I owe you, and the readiness of my disposition to be conformed to your good pleasures, wherein I have placed a great part of the satisfaction which my heart can receive.

"I have, according to your Highness's direction, signified unto my uncle and Aunt of Shrewsbury your Highness's gracious vouchsafing to remember them, who with all duty present their most humble thanks, and say they will ever pray for your Highness's most happy prosperity. And yet my uncle saith he carrieth the same spleen in his heart towards your Highness that he hath ever done. And so praying the Almighty for your Highness's felicity, I humbly leave.

"From Sheffield, the 15th of March, 1607.

"Your Highness's most humble and dutiful

"ARBELL STUART"¹⁰

⁹Holo. Harleian MSS., 6896, f. 78. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 216.

¹⁰Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 38. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 217.

Lady Arbell Stuart to the King of Denmark

(Latin letter, translated)

"Most August and Potent King,—But few days have passed after I had despatched my last letter to your most August Majesty, when I received a letter from our most high and serene Queen, from which I learned that your Majesty desired my servant Thomas Cutting—who now (God willing) will convey this letter to you—to be sent to you, that you might employ him among your harp players. There are, indeed, few professors of this art who please me as he does; and I am not ignorant that, in the service of a King (to which most all, with least hindrance, are directed all the best cares and wishes, the choicest intelligence, and effort, as well in this as in other arts,) the difficulty is not to obtain a crowd of those who most excel in any art, but to limit the number.

"Yet notwithstanding this, since I have sought nothing with more diligence or eagerness than an occasion of expressing my zeal and devotion to your Majesty, I have most joyfully seized this, slight as it is, which at last opportunity offers itself. This man has been sent to the best masters, and trained in this art to my pleasure, and come to me with no slight recommendation for the excellence as well of his character as of his art. Him I recommend no less (with your Majesty's permission), and send to your Majesty, to whom I would send, were it possible, Orpheus or Apollo.

"I pray the most high God that all things, not only among your musicians and in the Court, but also in your life and kingdom, may be in harmony with your Majesty's desires."¹¹ (No date or place given, but probably written in March, 1607.)

Evidently the friendship between Arbell and the King of Denmark is a very real one, and he has done some kindness for her that she is very anxious to repay. Thomas Cutting returned to England and entered Prince Henry's private band or orchestra in 1611. He may also have been a composer of lute pieces around 1595 and found in collected volumes.¹²

On March 19, "James by the grace of God etc., issued an *Ordinance and Constitution enlarging the number of the King's Council of Virginia*," and enlarging and augmenting their author-

¹¹Draft. Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 6, 37. (There is a rough draft of another letter to the King from Theobalds' dated July, 1607.) Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 220.

¹²Grove's Dict. of Music and Musicians.

ity, "for the better directing and ordering of such things as shall concern the *two* several Colonies." The additional councilors were: Sir Thomas Challoner; Sir Henry Nevil; Sir Fulke Greville; Sir John Scott; Sir Robert Mansfield; Sir Oliver Cromwell; Sir Morris Berkeley; Sir Edward Michaelbourne; Sir Thomas Holcroft; Sir Thomas Smith (clerk of the Privy Council); Sir Robert Kelligrew; Sir Herbert Croft; Sir George Coppin; Sir Edward Sandys; Sir Thomas Roe; Sir Anthony Palmer (probably father of "Our Willy's" vicar at Clavering; Sir Edward Hungerford; Sir John Mallet; Sir John Gilbert (son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's brother); Sir Thomas Freake; Sir Richard Hawkins; Sir Batholomew Mitchell; Edward Seymour, Esq. (probably a half brother of Hertford, or his son); Bernard Greenville, Esq.; Edward Rogers, Esq. (probably the brother-in-law of Beauchamp); and Matthew Sutcliffe, Doctor of Divinity (Exeter).¹³

Sometime in early 1607, "Edward, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford, who, under the circumstances, had been styled Lord Beauchamp, by courtesy only, took a grant of the barony of Beauchamp, and another of the earldom of Hertford, to take effect on the death of the Earl (of Hertford), who was not termed his father in the Patent."¹⁴

"Stephen Bogdan, Pretender to the throne of Moldavia was in England in 1607 and had audience with the King." He was seeking support toward his restoration, and he seems to have obtained it to some extent. Of course he was about the Court and Arbell got to know him.

Nicolo Molin, Venetian Ambassador, gave the following descriptions of the King, Queen and Arbella, in his report to the Doge and Senate, in 1607.

Description of King James

"His Majesty is by nature placid, adverse from cruelty, a lover of justice . . . He loves quiet and repose, has no inclination to war. He does not caress the people and make them that good cheer the late Queen did . . . but this King manifests no taste for them (the common people) but rather contempt and dislike."

Description of Queen Anne

"The Queen is very gracious, moderately good looking . . .

¹³A. Brown, *The First Republic*, p.9.

¹⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610.

She is a Lutheran . . . She likes enjoyment and is very fond of dancing and of fetes. She is intelligent and prudent . . . (takes no part in matters of State). But she is young and adverse to trouble. . . . She is full of kindness for those who support her, but on the other hand she is terrible, proud, unendurable to those she dislikes."

Description of Arbella

"The nearest relative the King has is Madame Arabella, descended from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, which makes her a cousin to the King. She is twenty-eight; not very beautiful, but highly accomplished, for besides being of most refined manners she speaks fluently Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, reads Greek and Hebrew, and is always studying. She is not very rich, for the late Queen was jealous of everyone, and especially of those who had a claim on the throne, and so she took the larger part of her income, and the poor lady cannot live as magnificently nor reward her attendants as liberally as she would. The King professes to love her and to hold her in high esteem. She is allowed to come to Court and the King promised, when he ascended the throne that he would restore her property, but he has not done so yet, saying she shall have it all and more on her marriage, but so far the husband has not been found, and she remains without a mate and without estate."¹⁵

All during 1607, the Two Colonies for Virginia were busy getting money, ships, stores and people for the establishing of their respective colonies. Both efforts were beset with Spanish Catholic spies. The London one had an English clergyman by the name of Hunt, who caused Wingfield much trouble. The Plymouth and Bristol ships carried two of these spies, one by the name of Hunt and another the famous doctor Turner. But this is another story, which I hope to tell, God willing, as Arbella would say, at another time. This winter of 1607-1608 was one of the worst and coldest that England and also America had known, which caused great trouble to the colonists and to England as well.

John Owen, one of Arbella's admirers dedicated his *Epigrams* to her. He was probably the vicar of Aberfraw, Anglesae.

Lady Arbella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"Good Uncle—I write to you within these forty-eight hours by

¹⁵C.S.P. Foreign, James I, Venetian, 1603-1607, p. 514.

Mr. Stanley, and am very glad of the occasion of so good a messenger and so honourable and kind a letter as I received from your lordship by Mr. Parker to scribble unto you again, and that a great deal the rather because this short time and calm climate affording none, you have given me the best theme to write of, which is thanks for your checking my importunity in begging venison, but endeavouring to satisfy it in better sort than I presumed of, for the worst hind of many, I am sure, in any of your grounds should be very welcome hither; and then if it be possible to have so good a one as your lordship wishes, you know what a delicacy it will be to them that shall have it, and how welcome such a testimony of your love and favour shall be to me. And beseeching your lordship to remember me humbly to my aunt for honour and happiness, as for your lordship I will pray, I take leave. From Whitehall, the 2nd of December, 1607.

“Your lordship’s niece

“ARBELL STUART.”¹⁶

The Queen’s Second Masque—Beauty

This Masque, *Beauty*, was written by Ben Jonson and the music by Alphonso Ferrabosco, with stage scenery by Inigo Jones. This Masque was to have been presented on January 8 but was deferred until 14 January, 1608. It was presented at Whitehall on the Sunday night after Twelfth Night.

The persons who were received on Land by the River God were the Queen and Arbell. There was a great show of jewels. One note says “Great show of jewels. One lady with more than 100,000^{lb} worth but the Lady Arbella exceeds her.”

On February 13, 1608, Bess of Hardwick, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury, died at the age of ninety years. She was called the Semiramis of England by the fractious. She had been prevented from building on account of the severe frost of 1607-1608. She had a superstition that when she stopped building she would die, and die she did. In her will she disinherited her older son Henry, Arbell’s friend, and also Arbell. Poor Arbell! She seems to have always had trouble getting money for her wants.

Arbella probably went in January up to Hardwick for the funeral, and while there she had a drawing made of Bess’s great

¹⁶Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 193. Original at Longleat. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 222.

house Chatsworth for the Earl of Salisbury. She started home to London on March 23, 1608. This fact is taken from a letter of the Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Salisbury, dated March 23, 1608. (C.S.P. Dom., 1603-1610.)

There is an item about an "Agreement between the King on the first part; Edward, Earl of Hertford, Edward, Lord Beauchamp, and the Lady Honora, his wife, on the second part; William (Parker) Lord Monteagle on the third part; Gray, Lord Chandos, Lady Anne, his wife, Sir John Egerton and the Lady Frances, his wife, Henry Earl of Huntington, and the Lady Elizabeth, his wife, on the fourth part, as to the lands of Charles Brandon, Late Duke of Suffolk." (Dounquet)¹⁷ These were the lands that Catherine Grey inherited from her mother.

Another document on the same date: "Agreement between the King and the Earl of Hertford and Lord Beauchamp, for conveying to the said Earl certain reversions of entailed manors and lands, and for Lord Beauchamp to be created Earl of Hertford on decease of present Earl."¹⁸

Another document, dated March 15: "Warrant to pay certain allowances to the Earl of Hertford, he having undertaken to discharge the King's debt of 15,180^{lb}, due divers merchant strangers, in lieu of certain lands of the late Duke of Suffolk granted to him."¹⁹ (Warrant Book II, p. 76.) These three documents evidently finish this long standing dispute about the lands belonging to the Seymour boys, including "Our Willy."

Lady Arbell Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury

"Madame—I humbly thank you for your letters, I deferred to write to you till I had taken my leave here, and then I intended to have sent one to your ladyship and my uncle to deliver my humble thanks for so many kindnesses and favours as I have received from you both, and to take a more mannerly farewell than I could at our parting; but your's hath prevented my intention in sending this bearer, by whom in these few lines, I will perform my duty (not compliment) of acknowledging myself much bound to you for every particular kindness and bounty of yours at this time, which reviveth the memory of many more former; and to assure you that none of my cousins, your daughters, shall be more ready

¹⁷C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, pp. 410, 499.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

to do you service than I. The money your ladyship sends to Lady Pembroke shall be safely and soon delivered her. And praying for your ladyship's happiness, honour and comfort in as great measure as yourself can wish, I humbly take my leave. From Hardwick, this Monday (March 21?).

"Your ladyship's most affectionate neice to command

"ARBELL STUART

"P.S. I pray your ladyship commend me to my uncle Charles, my aunt and my two pretty cousins. I think I shall many times wish myself set by my Uncle Charles at meals."²⁰

Lady Pembroke was Mary Talbot, the eldest daughter of Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, who was married to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the friend of "Our Willy." Charles Cavendish, the Old Dowager of Shrewsbury's third son, was married to Catherine, Lady Ogle, and had three sons by her. The eldest died in infancy. Arbell refers to the two younger, William and Charles. This was a second marriage.

Sir Edward Seymour, the eldest son of Lord Beauchamp was created Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Prince of Wales in 1616. He married June 1, 1608, Anne, daughter of Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset; her portion being 6,000^{lb} and the Earl of Hertford settling a jointure of 800^{lb} a year on her. They had one son and two daughters, all dying in infancy.²¹

Both "Our Willy" and Arbell were great matchmakers. Here is an example supposed to be hers:

The Earl and Countess of Arundel to Earl of Salisbury

"My Lord: We could not omitte to advertise your Lordship of an accident that will be so welcome to you as to our cousin (William) Cavendishe (son of Baron William Cavendish) hath gotten a good wife, who was this Sunday in the morning married to my Lo. of Kinlos his daughter, (for this was by the order of King James.) The matter hath bin soe secretly carried as it was never heard of any till it was done. (These children were only about 12 or 13 years old.) The Queen hears that Elveston and (it is thought) my Lady Arbell were the match makers. . . 10 April, 1608."²²

²⁰Sloane MSS., 4164, f. 194. Original at Longleat. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 223-4.

²¹Bridges, *Memoirs of the Peers of England*, p. 300.

²²Nichols, *Progresses, James I*, II, 195.

" . . . I heare that the Lo. Cavendishe, presently, after the marriage went to Whitehall, to intreat my Lady Arbell to come to the Rolls to the wedding-dynner, and that her Ladyship came accordingly. I also heare that his Lordship sent in like sort to invite Mr. Henry Cavendishe, but it is said he went not."²³

Arbell's uncle Henry and aunt Grace were in unfortunate circumstances. Her aunt Grace was the daughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury who had disinherited those of his children who were friendly to his wife, Bess of Hardwick, and Arbell, his daughter Grace were of them. Her uncle Henry, who had so nobly come to Arbell's rescue when her grandmother was so terrible to her, was cut off his inheritance by his mother, Bess of Hardwick. She had left the bulk of her fortune to her worthless son William Cavendish, who now was inviting Henry to the wedding feast of his son William.

²³*Ibid.*

CHAPTER XLVI

New Plot of Arbell and Our Willy

WE now come to another and new attempt by Arbell and "Our Willy" in a plot to effect her escape from England.

Our story begins with a letter, from Samuel Daniell to James Kirton (Hertford's chief steward, living at Pye Corners in Somersetshire) dated May 20, 1608, and another dated May 31, 1608.

But before we give these letters we must explain the relationship between the Earl of Hertford and the Daniell's family.

Samuel Daniell and his brother John Daniell were the sons of a music master living at Taunton, co. Somersetshire, quite near Salisbury and the home of the Seymours. They had a sister Rosa, the supposed Rosalind of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, who had married John Florio, a son of an Italian Protestant refugee. Daniell had been tutor to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

Both Samuel Daniell and John Florio had attended Magdalen College, Oxford, and were intimate friends. Both were members of Queen Anne's entourage when she came to England in 1603. Samuel was Groom of the Privy Chamber and Master of the Queen's revels: Florio was the Queen's reader of Italian. Arbell must have known both of them very well as she was a prominent member of the Queen's household.

Not only Arbell and the King but Samuel Daniell found that Court life was very expensive; so in 1608, perhaps before, he had sought refuge from his debtors on a farm belonging to the Earl of Hertford at South Wraxhall in the position of farm bailiff. He reported to the Earl's Chief Steward, James Kirton. The first letter is about farm affairs, but it is interesting as all letters by such a great poet and historian must be.

Samuel Danyell to James Kirton

"*Charissimo patron mio:* I mervayle I cannot heare one word from you whether you live or what you doo in yor world wer is a world I know of busynes and misery. I sent to yor brother at

Wraxhall and inclusively to yor self a very volume of a let'r, wh methinks might require the answe're of a lyne in all this time, that yor pore Baylifs have expected yor directions so long, as we are now at a stand. Keeping comes to me wth a complaynt that Maltman seeing he went from his bargayne wh he held before, cavells with Moxham for half an Acre of land wh he claymes uppon exchange wth Billingley, enters uppon the same & disquiets the man. I wrote unto him to forbear to molest his neighbor till we might heare from you, who yf he had right you would redress him, yf he did wrong you would not take it. The Hay would not be sold at any rate reasonable; so it remaynes. Keeping wd know yor pleasure whether he should sell the 7 acres in the comon meade, whilst men would give money for it, wh hereafter, being provided, they will not. Four marks they offer. The farme is charged with 2d more a week than it was before; wh he desyres to know whether he shall condiscend to pay. Myself have had 3 dozayn & 9 pigions for which I owe you. Thus I am fayne to discern in my particulars that in my generall account do somme & cast up the busynesses of princes and convers dayly in my quiet wth the best of the earth; and so tell yor witty, worthy, and happily compos'd wife from mee: & look over the leaf.

"And write unto mee whether you will accept of my offer according as I wrote unto yor brother in my le's of the 9th of Aprill or els forgive mee the eating of so many pigions, & I have donne, saving only to wish it well. I long to know of the receipt of my pay, and what you heare out of Kent¹ & that pore side of ye world, wch in my account now is out of Christendome, or else I am turned renegado. A word or two from your hand will much comfort my hart, wch shall ever be firme, and faithfull unto you worthy friend whilst I live. 20th May, (1608).

"SAMUEL DANYEL."²

This letter is endorsed, "Mr. Danyell the Poet, 20 May, 1608."

Samuel Danyel to Mr. James Kirton

"Good Mr. James Kirton, being come to towne wth as much speed as I could possibly make, uppon my Lords pleasure signified unto me by Mr. Hamon's l'r I doo here attend my directions

¹This reference to Kent is probably an inquiry about the Sydney family with whom he had lived so long at their home in Penhurst, Kent.

²"Longleat Papers," No. 4, Wilts. Arch. Mag., XVIII, 273.

wherein I shall be used, wth out wh of my self I will not adventure to doo anything, but onely revive myne owne desyre, and understanding as far as I can gather the disposition of the Ladies, (probably Arbella and her Aunt Mary), wh I have donne in as ample a manner, & wth as good oppoetunitie as I could wish, my coming being exceeding welcome to them both. This wholle day I have there spent till 5, & I much desyre to relate the substance of what I gather by conference. *Wherein I am satisfyed of many things I doubted.* To come to Cannon Row in respect of myne owne particular I am very unwilling, (Cannon Row was the house of Hertford in London), & to be often seene in ye cittie at this tyme of some I would not see, (probably some debtors,) might much prejudice mee; for wch cause I ly private in a garden howse of Mr. Watersonnes (Old St., St Luke's). I do intimate this unto you being the neerest unto my lodging, desyryng you to impart so much & to commend my humble service to my most honourable good Lord (Hertford). I have, though much against my will at this tyme, made two journies to the Temple where I was in hope to have met your brother Josias, but did not. I would we might once agayne meet together conveniently to consider thorowly of this good worke, *wch were grete pittie being so worthy and honourable for all parties, should now fall to the ground for want of a little furtherance to hold it up and set it forward agayne.* My L. is truly noble and wise *et sapiens seit quid velit, et quod semel voluit velle non desinit.*

"I shall thinke this as meritorious a deed for me yf it succeed as pore Peter the Hermit did to combine in comitie all the Christian princes together and I would most gladly imploy all my best powers in it. So expecting to hear from Chanon Rowe by any word or writing I rest

"Your Assured faithful frend. This Sunday night.

"SAM DANYEL."³

This is addressed "To my assured good frend Mr. James Kirton at Pye Corner," and "Endorsed by Mr. Kirton, 'Mr. Danyell the Poet,' the last day of May, 1608."

This letter shows that Daniel's letter was from Hertford, as Mr. Hamon, as we have stated, was the gentlemanly servant of Hertford. There was evidently a consultation for another scheme of "Our

³"Longleat Papers," *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, v. XVIII.

Willy" and Arbell for an escape by her from England and this time Hertford was evidently taking a hand. Probably there were various schemes discussed. The great difficulty was that Arbell was a chaste maiden and only legal marriage would satisfy her conscience. One has only to read the "Threnes" in the *Phoenix' Nest* to find these lines "Twas not their infirmity, it was married chastity," and continue with the first line, "Leaving no posterity," to understand her idea. Also additional confirmation can be found in her letter to Queen Elizabeth, in 1603.

Evidently Samuel Daniel was to be used as a go-between in contacting the Scotch George Douglas who was the first person named as conspirator in getting Arbell out of the country so that she could marry Stephen Bogdan, pretender to the throne of Moldava. James had given Arbell permission to negotiate a marriage with him, provided he regained his throne. There is a good deal of evidence that this scheme was hatched with the aid of the Seymour family.

There was another scheme, as I believe, long favoured by "Our Willy" which I will include under my remarke about Shakespeare's Sonnets, and later on.

Evidently Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, was back in Sheffield, as there is a record of the christening of her daughter, Alethea's son:

Chamberlain to Carleton

Dated London, July 20, 1608. Christening of the Earl of Arundel's son, Lady Arbell was godmother by proxy for Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury at the Court Chapel, where King James I and (Henry Howard) Lord Chamberlain were godfathers. "The Earl of Arundel was related to Henry Howard, Lord Privy Seal. This Earl of Arundel was later one of the "furthers" of the North Virginia Colony, or New England.⁴

On the 9th of September, 1608, Mary Shakespeare, "Our Willy's" foster-mother, died and according to reports was buried in Stratford-on-Avon. It has been said that after her death Shakespeare established himself at New Place and transacted business there, of various kinds.

Shakespeare was evidently in Stratford-on-Avon on October 16, 1608, as he acted as godfather to William Walker, probably grand-

⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 365.

son to "*old man Walker*." This child was also named William, after Shakespeare.

Blackfriars Theatre

Blackfriars Theatre, which belonged to Burbage and the other King's Players, had been molested by the Londoners and had finally been taken over for some years by the Children of the Revels, but finally the King's Company of Actors made a determined effort to get back the right to give their performances there. There were many petitions and letters advocating their claim. Among them was one which has vexed many people as to the authorship, as Shakespeare had a share in the theatre, and everything about him has come in for the closest scrutiny. I give it here with my explanation of its authorship. It was found among the papers of Lord Chancellor Ellsmere (Sir Thomas Egerton) who held the great seal, 1603-1617. It runs as follows:

"My verie honored Lord. (Probably written to Earl of Salisbury) The manie good offices I haue receiued at your Lordship's hands, which ought to make me backward in asking further favors, onely imbouldeneth me to require more in the same kinde. Your Lordship will be warned howe hereafter you grant anie sute, seeing it draweth on more and greater demaunds. This which now presseth is to request your Lordship, in all you can, to be good to the poore players of the Black Frayers, who call them selves by authority the servaunts of his Majestie, and ask for the protection of their most gracious Maister and Sovereigne in this tyme of their trouble. They are threatened by the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, never friendly to their calling, with the destruction of their meanes of livelihood, by the pulling downe of their plaiehouse, which is a priuate theatre, and hath neuer giuen occasion of anger by anie disorders. These bearers are two of the chiefe of the companie; one of them by name Richard Burbage, who humblie sueth for your Lordship's kinde helpe, for that he is a man famous as our English Roscius, one who fitteth the action to the word, and the word to the action most admirably. By the exercise of his qualitey, industry, and good behavior, he hath become possessed of the Black Fryers playhouse, which hath bene employed for playes sithence it was builded by his Father, now nere 50 yeres agone. The other is a man no whitt less deserving favor, and my especiall friende, till of late an actor of good account in the companie, now

a sharer in the same, and writer of some of our best English playes, which as your Lordship knoweth, were most singularly liked of Quene Elizabeth, when the companie was called uppon to performe before her Maiestie at Court at Christmas and Shrovetide. His most gracious Maiestie King James alsoe, sence his coming to the crowne, hath extended his royal favour to the companie in divers waies and at sundrie tymes. This other hath the name William Shakespeare, and they are both of one countie, and indeede allmost of one towne; both are right famous in their qualitiyes, though it longeth not of your Lo. grauitie and wisdome to resort vnto the places where they are wont to delight the publike eare. Their trust and sute nowe is not to bee molested in their way of life, whereby they maintaine them selves and their wives and families, (being both married and of good reputation) as well as the widows and orphanes of some of their dead fellows.

"Your Lo. most bounden at com.

"H. S."⁵

"Copia vera."

I believe that this was written by Henry Seymour, Hertford's younger brother and the uncle of "Our Willy." He was gallant commander of the *Rainbow* in the Armada, and was, I think, under the name of Thomas Lodge, a well-known writer.

If the writer had been Southampton, as some have thought, he would have signed his name by his title, as was the custom in those days. He also would have known well the fact that the Burbage family were the near neighbors of the Seymours at Tottenham Lodge in Wiltshire.

This letter shows that Shakespeare was still pretending to be the head of the family of his adopted pre-namesake, William Shakespeare, who had evidently died in 1586 in Leicester's fight in the Netherlands.

If this letter was written to the Earl of Salisbury, to have it approved it must have been passed to the Privy Seal for confirmation, and so remained amoug the papers of Lord Ellsmere.

I have found other papers among these of Lord Ellsmere, which really should have been returned to the official files. These dealt with the North Virginia Colony. I believe that most of these papers are now in the Huntington Library in California, and are called the "Egerton Papers."

⁵White, *Shakespeare's Works*, II, 37.

William Shakespeare was supposed to have written during the years 1606 to 1608 inclusive the following plays: *Julius Caesar*; *Antony and Cleopatra*; *Troilus and Cressida*. He may also have started to work on his play *Cymbeline* which will be of peculiar interest to us later.

In the late summer of 1608 Chief Justice Popham died suddenly, which was a great blow to the Virginian colonizers, especially to the North Colony. He may have been poisoned, although there is no record of that.

Ben Jonson wrote another masque for the Queen, 1608-9, and Ferrabosco wrote the music. It was called the *Masque of the Queen*.

For some reason the Venetian Ambassador had not been invited to the Masque. He says, "The Queen let it be understood that she would be pleased if I came incognito to the Masque, and Lady Arbella invited my suite and offered them a place apart. . . . The Queen let me know that she regretted that I had not been invited and pleaded that as the King paid the bill he desired to be host." This statement is contained in a letter of Marc Antonio Correr, Venetian Ambassador to England to the Doge and Senate in Venice.⁶

Ferrabosco published a volume of *Ayres* dedicated to Prince Henry, which contains twenty-eight songs with accompaniment for lute and bass viol, of which a large portion are from Jonson's Masques. This book contains, among others, commendatory verses by Ben Jonson, and also some verses by Campion addressing Ferrabosco as:

*"Musick's Maister and the offspring
Of rich Musick's Father
Old Alfonso's Image living."*

I think "Our Willy" is here spoofing when he compares this Ferrabosco to his father as "Image living." It was the custom of the time for great musicians to adopt talented pupils, and this Ferrabosco was only "Our Willy." Another point in this is that Campion, also being "Our Willy," has him speak of Ferrabosco to disguise his identity. The only records we really have of this Ferrabosco are in Morley's books. Morley, too, being an alias of "Our Willy."

We now give Ben Jonson's tribute to Ferrabosco:

⁶C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 20 Feb. ns., 1609.

"When do we give, Alphonso, to the light,
 A work of ours, we part with our owne right;
 For then, all mouths will judge, and their own way
 The learn'd have no more priviledge, than the lay.
 And though we could all men, all censures heare,
 We ought not give them taste, we had an eare.
 For, if the hum'rous world will talk at large,
 They should be fooles, for me, at their own charge,
 Say, this, or that man to thee prefeare;
 Even those for whom they doe this, know they erre
 And would (being ask'd the truth) ashamed say,
 They were not to be nam'd on the same day.
 Then stand into thy selfe, nor seeke without
 For fame, with breath soone kindled, soone blown out."⁷

It might be well to quote Jonson's tribute to Shakespeare, "for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory (on this side idolatry) as much as any," found in Ben Jonson's *Timber*.

The second book of music published by Ferrabosco was a book of *Lessons* for 1, 2, and 3 viols, dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. They consist of short pieces, dances, etc. for the lyra viol and are printed in lute tablature. This also contains poems by Ben Jonson entitled "Gual" and "Quin," the latter in Italian.⁸

In February 1609, there is a record of a petition of Lady Arbell to the King for Irish hides to be brought into the country and for license to export 40,000 hides yearly for thirty-one years, paying a poundage thereon, and a rent of 50^{lb} per ann., (Irish Correspondence)⁹

Another family matter seems to hold Arbell's attention in March, for we have the following letter:

Lady Arbell Stuart to Charles Gosling

"Charles Gosling:—Upon good counceit I have of you for a just and well-meaning man and well wishing to me, I have thought fit to write you this letter, desiring you to call to remembrance all you can, and take your son's help wherein he knoweth, or both or either of you think you can learn out anything of the contract

⁷Ben Jonson, *Poems*, "To Alphonso Ferrabosco," p. 132.

⁸Grove, *Dict. of Music and Musicians*.

⁹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1602-1610, p. 494.

betwixt my cousin William Candish (probably son of her Uncle William) and Mrs. Margett Chaterton. That write to me so soon as you can, and if you can believe I have power to do you or your son good, expect my remembrance of what you do herein.

"And so I commit you to God. From the Court at Whitehall, this 28th of March, 1609. Your loving friend.

"ARBELL STUART"

"P. S. Remember the old buck of Sherland, and the roasted trench (fresh water fish) and other good company eat so sauorly at your house, and if thou be still a good fellow and an honest man, show it now, or be hanged."¹⁰

In May, 1609, Shakespeare's sonnets were published. We give the title page:

Shakespeare's Sonnets,

Neuer before Imprinted. At London by G. Eld for T. T. and are to be sold by *William Aspley*. 1609 4 to 40 leaves.

The same. By the same. "and are to be solde by *Iohn Wright*, dwelling at Christ Church gate. 1609."

A Louer's Complaint By William Shakespeare, in imprinted at the end of this volumne, of which it makes eleven pages.

(The dedication of this volume)

To. the. onlie. begetter. of.
these insving sonnets,
Mr. W. H. all happiness.
and. that. eternitie.

promised
by

Our. ever-living. poet.
wisheth.
the. well-wishing.
adventurer. in
setting.
forth.

T. T. (Thomas Thorpe.)

¹⁰Cat. Stowe MSS., H.M.C., 8th Report. Printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 224.

Undoubtedly "W. H." is William Herbert, Shakespeare's lifelong friend William, Earl of Pembroke. It is he to whom the First Folio is also dedicated.

These sonnets are supposed to express the innermost thoughts of the poet.

My interpretation of the Sonnets addressed to a young man, pleading with him to get married, is that they were addressed to his young namesake, William Seymour, to induce him to marry Arbell. While at first glance this thought would seem to be impossible on account of the difference in their ages—the next year after these Sonnets were published William Seymour *did* marry Arbell. "Our Willy" had been trying since 1592 to get Arbell married to someone, and if you believe my interpretation of her Statements and Letters which she wrote when she was a prisoner of her grandmother, it will seem quite reasonable.

"Our Willy" was so determined to get her married that he was willing to involve his father Hertford, his brothers, and any and every friend. It had become almost an obsession with him.

That he wrote most of his Sonnets to her is evident. His Sonnets involving the *dark lady* are still a mystery to me. I have tried to trace down candidates for this lady. There were three who might have been in the running. "Our Willy" was extremely jealous, which Arbell records as his only fault. Of course he might have used the *dark lady* for this purpose, but I do not think so. Certainly Arbell must have been his true love. I give here a resume of my three candidates.

Candidate number one, Lady Penelope Rich

When Arbell and "Our Willy," or William Shakespeare, had their misunderstanding in 1594, when the Earl of Essex paid her so much attention at Court, and "Our Willy" became ungovernably jealous (as she relates in her statement to her Grandmother) he seems to have gone quite daffy. He wrote and published a book under his pen-name of Richard Barnfield, *The Affectionate Shepherd*, founded on the second eclogue of *Virgil*. He dedicated it to Lady Rich, Essex's sister Penelope, who had already been honoured by Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnets in which Sir Phillip has been supposed to have expressed his love for her.

Penelope Rich did not love her husband, Lord Rich, although

she is supposed to have had six children by him. That "Our Willy" could have had wrong relations with her during this year of 1594-1595 of course is possible, because he was closely associated with Essex in this year under his alias of Constable. But Penelope in 1595 took as lover Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, a friend of "Our Willy," and she seems to have remained devotedly attached to him for the rest of her life. When her husband divorced her in 1601, she continued to live with Charles Blount and finally married him in 1605, after he was created Earl of Devonshire in 1603, and he acknowledged her children, born after 1595, as his. She was either dismissed from the Court in 1605 when they were married, or she retired, and he died shortly after. She survived him only a year or two. I have not been able to find out if she was dark.

Candidate number two, Mrs. Morley

"Our Willy," also in 1594-1595, lived under the name of Thomas Morley, the same alias he had used as tutor of Arbell, in St. Helen's, Bishopgate, the same address at which Shakespeare also lived at about this same time. Near by or perhaps in the same house lived another Thomas Morley, who was an organist at St. Giles Church. Probably he had made arrangements to use this man's name as an alias, as this alias was to be known as a musician.

He seems to have been very intimate with this Thomas Morley and his wife. As he was almost crazy with his jealousy, he wanted Arbell to know that he had taken a wife (although she must have known that he always used a wife in his spy activities as a matter of form), so he wrote two songs and published them in 1595. As we know, one of Morley's characteristics was a chattiness in his dedications and prefaces.

He dedicated this book called *Canzonets, 1st Booke-Two voices*, to the Lady Periam, the wife of the Judge of the Exchequer, as follows:

"To the Most Vertuous and Gentile Ladie
The Ladie Periam,"

"Loe heere, most worthy Ladie these *Canzonets* of mine like two wayting Maydes, desiring to attend vpon you; destined by my wife (euen before they were borne) unto your Ladyship's seruice. Not that for any great good or bewtie in them shee thought them worthy of you: but that not being able as heretofore still to serve

you; she would that these therefore with their presence should make good and supply hir absence. For her sake then vouchsafe, gentle ladie, to entertain them, hauing no other thing to commend them to you for, but this they are Virgins, neuer hauing once been out at doores, nor scene the fashions of the world abroad. And therefore notwithstanding perhaps in the highest degree they shall not satisfy you; yet if they shal but in any sort content you; I know that the greatest fault you will finde in them shalbe for their smalness. And so good Madame, I cease further to trouble; but not still to serve and honour you. From London the 17th of November, 1595.

"Your Ladyship's Euer to Commaund.

"THOMAS MORLEY"

(Published in London by Thomas Este.)

This wife of the real Thomas Morley was named Susan and she may have been the *dark lady of the sonnets*. That he is disgusted at her power to sway him is evident from these *dark lady sonnets*, and as he speaks of her "bed-vows broke," it would seem to be that she was a married woman. But of course bed-vows may have had another meaning.

Of course these *Canzonets* would have come to Arbells attention as she constantly received music and books of all kinds and forms. It was one of her great extravagances. So publishing these he could probably touch her.

After Essex was executed it is quite evident that Morley got in touch with her in Lent following Essex's death, as Arbella so states in her letter to her Grandmother: "I will offend none but my uncle of Shrewsbury, my aunt and my uncle Charles (Cavendish) and them it will anger as much as ever they angered me, and make myself as merry at them as the last Lent they did at their own pleasant devise, for so I take it, of the gentleman with the red eyes (evidently "Our Willy's" disguise). And, if they will, as they ought in duty, reconcile themselves to your ladyship, your ladyship shall command me to forget all injuries they have done me, one only excepted, *and that is the wrongs they have done this most worthy gentleman, for whom I have already forsaken parents, kin, and all the world, her Majesty excepted.*"

From this time on until their deaths Arbells and "Our Willy" never had another misunderstanding.

If this is the true dark lady, "Our Willy" had broken up his

liaison with her before this, or in 1596, and under his other musical alias, a Catholic one, John Dowland, took a trip to Germany in 1597-1598 and on to Italy, where he assumed his alias of elegant Henry Constable to talk with the Pope in Rome.

Of course on his return he took service with the King of Denmark under this alias of John Dowland, but a very irregular service it was until Essex's death. Then he returns to Arbell under this disguise of the "gentleman with the red eyes." He quit the service of the Royal Chapel in 1602 and is supposed to have died in 1603. In many of his publications as Thomas Morley he speaks of his ill health previous to 1603. But it is only the alias of Thomas Morley that has died. "Our Willy" lived on, as we will continue to the end to relate it.

Candidate number three, Mary Fitton

Mary Fitton, whom several students of Shakespeare have picked out for the dark lady of the Sonnets, would seem to fill the title although the matter hangs on that interpretation of "bed-vows broke" for Mary Fitton was not married until much later than the Sonnets would seem to indicate. Although she was related by marriage to Lady Newdigate, and "Our Willy's" paternal grandmother, Anne Stanhope, Dutchess of Somerset (who had married as second husband Sir Frances Newdigate) the story does not seem to click as to dates.

Mary Fitton was born in or around 1578, probably at Cawsworth in Cheshire. About 1595 she became a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth, under the guardianship of Sir William Knollys, Comptroller of the Queen's household. He was in hopes to marry her should his old wife die. But Mary Fitton met William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and became his mistress in 1600. She had a baby by William but it died in 1601. Pembroke was sent to the Fleet prison for a short time in connection with this affair, but Mary Fitton was simply dismissed the Court.

After her trouble she went to stay with her sister, Anne Fitton, Lady Newdigate, at Arbury, co. Warwick, the family home of the Newdigates. She was supposed to have been dark. "Our Willy's" friendship for William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, is very well known as both the dedication of the *Sonnets* and the *First Folio* would certainly indicate. This connection of "Our Willy" through

the second marriage of his Grandmother with Newdigate, is the only thing I can find, although my search has not been very thorough.

Mary Fitton afterwards married a very worthy gentleman.

Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury to Lord Salisbury

(June, 1609.)

"Lady Arbell Stuart has informed him that the City of London desires to purchase Houghton, part of the Queen's jointure, within a mile of Pontefracy Castle, which would be a great prejudice to that fair and stately castle, etc."¹¹

During this year Shakespeare must have written *Cymbeline* and probably *Winter's Tale*.

¹¹C.S.P. Dom. James 1st, 1603-1610, p. 494.

CHAPTER XLVII

Arbell's Progress

THAT the consultation of the Arbell escape schemers went on seems to be certain. The plot evidently included the necessity for her change of residence from the Court. This plan was for her servants to remove her household from Whitehall to Puddle Wharf. The excuse, and probably the real reason, being the expense of her establishment. As near as I can find out this was done some time between March 28 and August 22, 1609. As the scheme involved her going to a foreign country, she wanted to visit her friends before leaving, perhaps also to get funds so she decided to go on what at that time was called a Progress, or a long journey to visit them. We have a detailed account of this Progress, by Hugh Compton, her most faithful servant, who records the expenses, routes, and length of visits at each place.

Arbella's Progress, 1609

"She left Whitehall on Tuesday, the 22 of August and 3s.4d. were 'given this daye at the garden Gate at Whitehall to the poore as my Ladie tooke hir coache to come into the country'; and she supped and slept the first night at St. Albans. Soper 1^b2.8s.6d.; breakfast 1^b2.11s.10d.; horse mete for 20 horses 1^b2.2s.6d.; hostellers 2s.od.; musitions 10s.; poore at the gates 10s.; ringers 10s.; chamberles 5s.; my La. Arroundale's (Lady Arundel, her cousin) coachman 1^b1.; a trompeter 2s.6d.; the poore on the way back to St. Albans and Toddington 4s.11d. The next stop was at Lady Cheney's house at Toddington, near Dunstable, and here she had some clothes washed and gave '10s. to the landy woman, besides over 1^b7. to groomes, bakers, butchers, cooks, yeomen, porters, boyes in the kitchen, clerke of the kitchen, and a woman wayted on the chamber.' Small wonder that money flew when one night's stay required such lavish reward, but Arbella was the King's kinswoman, and her position had to be maintained. On the 26th of August she was at Northampton (probably at one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's houses),

the next night at Prestwold, and so through Nottingham (where 4s. was spent on cake and ale at the alehouse), to Mansfield, where my Lady Bowes 'cochman came to meet her and had ^{lb}1. for his troble, and 1s. for my Lady Bowes coachhorses meat attending my La. coming there.' The schoolmaster also presented her with some verses, and was rewarded with 6s. At Clapwell the 'spring tree of the coach' had to be mended at a cost of 6d.; and Arbella graciously spent the time in buying three and a half yards of crimson baize for a petticoat at 3s.4d. a yard; and finally she reached Walton Hall, Chesterfield, the residence of her friend Lady Bowes, where she remained till the 2nd of September. Several of her horses needed attention: 1s. each was paid for shoeing 'Bay Briton, Bay Fenton, the spotted nag, and the sumpter horses'; while the 'ould coach mare stayed three days in Chesterfield to be dressed of a foote she was pricked,' and 1s. 6d. was charged for her hay. While Arbella was at Walton Hall, my Lord of Rutland (husband of Sir Philip Sidney's daughter) sent his 'musions' to amuse her and she gave them ^{lb}1. for their performance and another pound to the Mayor and Brethren of Chesterfield who brought her a present; while when she left she gave ^{lb}2. to the poor of Chesterfield, and nearly ^{lb} 7. to Lady Bowe's Steward to be distributed in the house.

"From Walton Hall Arbella travelled to Sheffield, and here, since she came in state and not merely as the Earl's neice, great preparations had long been on foot to welcome her. On the 29th August, Gilbert being then at Trankysley, wrote to his Steward: 'Harry Butler,—Tell Richard the cook I would have him stay at Sheffield until I come hither, which shall be, God willing, to-morrow at night. Tell Moorhouse that my Lady Arbella will be at Sheffield some day this week, as I verily think. Fish enough must be watered: for there will be an extreme great number in the hall every day. Fat beef and fat muttuns must be had, and the beef in time killed and powdered. Fat capons provided and reserved till then, and everything else that either Richard or Moorhouse can provide or think useful; and Wyngfield's best advice to be had and followed. So in extreme haste I end. Send away this letter to be safely delivered to Leigh, speedily, wheresoever he be, for it requireth great haste. Send this other letter to Sir Charles this day also. . . . G.Sh.'

"While Arbella was at Sheffield she wrote to Lord Salisbury to thank him for his promised influence in obtaining her the Irish monopolies she had requested. At the same time her uncle Earl of

Shrewsbury wrote to Lord Salisbury 'My Lady Arbell hath been pleased to impart unto me the honourable and favourable care that she hath found in your Lordship in her occasions and particularly in that suit of hers touching the wines in Ireland, being so full of thankfulness for it, as I must need obey her commandment by presenting my best thanks to your Lordship from my poor self also for the same. I perceive her Ladyship doubteth that this same suit of hers for wines, and acqua vitas, and usquebagh, called also Irish wines, will receive some cross in Ireland, for that the same law of restraint of beer and ale are not there that are here, and therefore beseecheth that your Lordship will grant her furthermore for the King's Majesty's Letters, that by precedents from our laws here, prohibition by judgment of State may be made there, and this noble Lady to have the licensing, the brewing and the sales of them; as an addition to that good that is so honourably intended by your Lordship to her.'

"To Sheffield also Sir Charles Cavendish sent over his musition to play before his neice. (Probably either Michael Cavendish or John Wilbye came as they were in Sir Charles employ or orchestra,) who rewarded the man with ^{lb} 1. and she gave ^{lb} 2. to Mr. Tuke for a sermon he made by my Lady's command; and 30s. to Sir Peter Fretchville's keeper for a stag killed in Stavely Park, near Chesterfield, and sent after her. Money was given too to poor women who brought her wardens (pears) and when she left Sheffield her departure was not final, as she meant to stay there again on her return journey. Her next destination was Melwood Park, the residence of Sir George St. Paul, but many difficulties had to be encountered before it was reached. Half a mile out of Stockwith the road was so broken that three men had to be sent for to mend it, before the coach could pass; and this took so long that it was almost dark before the party came anywhere near Melwood, and then nobody was sure of the road. 'A man of Mr. Northe's came to guide the gentlewomen that night to Melwood,' recorded Crompton; and he was paid 2s.6d. for his trouble, while 3s.6d. was given for 'a boat to pass the stuff (baggage) in the coach from Beautrie (Bawtry) to Melwood by water in the night.' Melwood was the furthest point of Arbella's progress, and she stayed there four days and bought a coach horse from Sir Gervase Clifton for ^{lb} 20. Some letters had been sent to her by mistake at Welbeck, Charles Cavendish's place, and a man of Lord Shrewsbury's brought

them over to her while she was at Melwood; she had too a present of a stag brought by Sir Edward Swifte's keeper. All the time she was there, men were diligently at work mending the highway between Melwood and Stockwith, and she paid 13s. for it; but when the time came for her return, she preferred after all to go by boat down the river at a cost of ¹lb 1.

"Arbella left Melwood on the 13th of September, for Workshop Priory, Notts. and distributed 15s.6d. to poor people on the way. She had ordered some spices to be sent her here, and a mayde brought my La. a present from Sir Bryan Lassells, but she only stayed two nights and then drove on to Aston near Sheffield, the seat of John, Lord Darcy, for one night more. To the servants and the poor at Ashton she distributed considerably over ¹lb 7. and her next journey to Chatsworth and Buxton, seems to have been a very difficult and expensive one. Crompton's account book has; 'Given to a footman of the Lord Darcy's come to guide part of the way to Chatsworth, 10s.6d. To two guides more that same day on the moors to Chatsworth 6s. To a farier for bludding and drenching Freake's nagg sicke of the staggers, 3s. For mending the sompter saddle and long rein to lead him 2s. For the sompters and 6 men attending the same from Walton to Buxton lying shorte one night. Their charges spent of themselves and their horses came to 9s.6d.'

"Sunday the 17th was spent at Chatsworth; 6.5s. went in tips to the servants there, and next day Arbella proceeded to Buxton. She tried the waters there, and gave ¹lb 1. to 'him that kept the well,' 6s. to his man, and another ¹lb 1. to the woman who attended her, besides 13s.4d. to the poor on leaving; and so, on the 20th September she returned again to Sheffield. Lord Sheffield sent two guides to bring her across the moors from Buxton to Sheffield: but the going was so rough that her coach broke down, and she had to alight, and deigned to drink some ale while 'certen laborers mended the wayes that day on the moors,' and got 5s. for it and 10d. was paid for a 'roape the same time to bind the coatche.' Fortunately Lord Pembroke's coach was available, (Lord Pembroke was the husband of her cousin Mary Talbot), and in this she continued her journey and was welcomed in passing through Sheffield by the ringing of church bells. Her own coach followed ignominiously behind tied up with rope, but she only afterwards paid 10s. for mending it and 2s.6d. for the harness, which hardly sounds extravagant.

"Whilst here, Sir George St. Paul sent another coach horse she

had ordered from Melwood for ¹20. and she gave ¹1. to the man who brought it; while many other curious little expenses are noted too; 5s. to the gardener for 'certain nose-gaies he gave my La.'; 5s. to a piper; 5s. to 'a man of Mrs. Digbie's brought my La. certain preserves; 10s. to a poore woman gave my La. a petition in her coatche the day she came thence to Roughford' (Rufford); 5s. to 'a man brought and delivered my La. a pair of small sheeres, the same time in her coatche.' This expedition to Rufford, which Arbella made with her Aunt Lady Shrewsbury on the 25th, was somewhat in the nature of a pious pilgrimage, for it was at the church here that her unfortunate young parents had been married."

(When Arbella and her aunt Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury took this pilgrimage through the wonderful Sherwood Forest to Rufford, they may have been able to continue their plans for Arbella's escape. Alone in a coach with no servants to overhear they could have gone over every phase of their plans. Servants were a great danger to secrets in those days. They may even have been going over their money plans, and possibly counting over the jewels that might have been given them for the venture. All these people Arbella had known all her life and they loved her. It is evident from later facts that Arbella had a very large assortment of jewels and her Aunt Mary had lots of money.) "She spent the night at the house of George Markham, Esq. (You will remember that Sir George Markham was one of the members of what was called the Arbella plot to put her on the throne instead of James in 1603-1604.) She gave ¹5 to the servants there, and went on to Wingfield, between Chesterfield and Derby, every inch of the ground recalling the days of her early childhood. (It was from this section of England that many of the American Pilgrims originated: Scrooby, Bawtry, Austerfield, Rotherham, etc.)

"At Wingfield she stopped another night, (Wingfield was near Hardwick Hall) and gave nearly ¹10. in tips, besides 10s. to a servant of Sir Richard Harper's, who brought her, 'a letter and certain writings in a box.' (These may have been books published by "Our Willy.")

"On the 28th of September she drove through Derby, but did not stay there, and went for the night to Mr. Farnham's house, Quarndon, near Loughborough. A carrier named Taylor met her in Derby with letters for her from London and she paid him 2s.; and gave besides over & 5. to the 'poor of the towne of Derby as

my Lady passed that way' and another **lb** 5. to Mr. Farnham's servants. The next day she went on to Market Harborough, and **ls.** was paid 'for ale my La. dranke,' on the way; **lb** 5. for my La. and her companies one night at Harborow,' and 'lb 2. 9s. 7d. for horsemeat there for 26 horses one night.' Lord Shrewsbury had sent litter-men and horses to wait for her at Wellingborough, but she does not seem to have needed them there, but sent them **19s. 6d.** for waiting two nights and a day for her, with instructions to go on to Wrest. She stayed two nights at Sir Christopher Yelverton's house, Easton Manduit, near Wellingborough, dining one day at Sir Edmund Conquest's Lodge; and Sir Christopher then lent her a man to guide her to Wrest Park, the Earl and Countess of Kent's house, where it will be remembered King James sent her after her disastrous quarrel with her Grandmother in 1603. She had always been fond of her cousins the Kents, and one of the first uses she had made of her favours with the new King had been to support the Earl's suit for his Ruthvin estates in 1604; 'for the which,' wrote he; 'as for many her other most honourable favours I am and ever will be most thankful unto her for the same.' Before arriving at Wrest on the 4th of October, 'the coach man had his legg broke,' and was awarded **lb** 2. in compensation; and 'the lytter men in reward for their paines,' got **lb** 3. besides **13s. 2d.** 'for their charge lying two nights at the towne at Wrest, as may appeare by their bill.' From Wrest (where she stayed nearly a week), Arbell travelled through Toddington to St. Albans, where 'soper and dynner cost **lb** 8. 15s. 6d. and horsemeat for xx tie of my La. and x of Sir Henry Gray's horses ran to **lb** 2. 9s. 4d.; in addition to which **10s.** was given to a footman 'who brought worde' that Lady Arundel, Arbell's young cousin Alethea was 'brought bedde of a son.' On the 10th of Oct. Arbella was back again at Broad Street and this journey, which occupied less than two months and had cost her about **lb** 350, marks a distinct turning point in her life."

This is the end of the account of her expenditures by her servant, Hugh Compton, interspersed by explanations by Cannon Jackson, who wrote this article.¹

We have also record of Arbella's Progress in Bradley's *Arbella Stuart* (II, 228-237). Here is given a list of the dates and length of stay in each place:

¹Wilts. Archaeological Magazine, v. 19, "Longleat Papers," No. 5, p. 217.

Beginning of Journey

Tuesday Aug. 22—From Whitehall
Wednesday Aug. 23—St. Albans
Thursday Aug. 24—St. Albans
Friday Aug. 25—Toddington
Saturday Aug. 26—Northampton
Sunday Aug. 27—Prestwold
Monday Aug. 28—Nottingham
Tuesday Aug. 29—Mansfield
Wednesday Aug. 30—Mansfield
Thursday Aug. 31—Walton Hall
Friday Sept. 1—Chesterfield
Saturday Sept. 2—Sheffield
Sunday Sept. 3—Sheffield
Monday Sept. 4—Sheffield
Tuesday Sept. 5—Sheffield
Wednesday Sept. 6—Sheffield
Thursday Sept. 7—Sheffield
Friday Sept. 8—To my Ladie Pembroke's
Saturday Sept. 9—Bawtry
Sunday Sept. 10—Stockwith-Melwood Pk.
Monday Sept. 11—Melwood Park
Tuesday Sept. 12—Melwood Park

Return Journey

Wednesday Sept. 13—Melwood Park
Thursday Sept. 14—Worksop, Notts.
Friday Sept. 15—Worksop, Notts.
Saturday Sept. 16—Ashton, Lord Darsey's
Sunday Sept. 17—Chatworth
Monday Sept. 18—Chatworth
Tuesday Sept. 19—Buxton
Wednesday Sept. 20—Buxton
Thursday Sept. 21—Sheffield
Friday Sept. 22—Sheffield
Saturday Sept. 23—Sheffield
Sunday Sept. 24—Sheffield
Monday Sept. 25—Sheffield

Tuesday Sept. 26—Rufford
 Wednesday Sept. 27—Rufford
 Thursday Sept. 28—Rufford & Wingfield
 Friday Sept. 29—Wingfield
 Saturday Sept. 30—Quardon House
 Sunday Oct. 1—Market Harborough
 Monday Oct. 1—Easton Manduit, Yelverton
 Tuesday Oct. 2—Easton Manduit, Yelverton
 Wednesday Oct. 3—Wrest
 Thursday Oct. 4—Wrest
 Friday Oct. 5—Wrest
 Saturday Oct. 6—Wrest
 Sunday Oct. 7 & 8—Wrest
 Monday Oct. 9—Toddington
 Monday Oct. 9—St. Albans
 Tuesday Oct. 10—Broad St., London

Expense of Progress 1b323.18s.

Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Earl of Salisbury

“Writes at Lady Arbell Stuart’s request to thank him for his care in her suit touching wines in Ireland. She wishes also to have the licensing of brewing and sale of beer and ale in Ireland.”²

“Grant to Lady Arbell Stuart of the privilege of nominating such persons as shall sell all wines, aquavitae, or usquebagh in Ireland.”³

Dated Nov. 2. (Douquet)

Marc. Correr, Venetian Ambassador, to the Doge and Senate

“Plague has broken out again. There is a rumour that two of the prominent ladies about Court have embraced the Catholic Faith. This causes much talk. (Arbell supposed to be one of them. Lady Suffolk and Lady Hammond already are Catholics.)”⁴

Lady Bowes to Arbell Stuart

“To the right noble and moste worthie Ladie, the Lady Arbell Stuart. Excellent Lady, I humbly thank you that you would be pleased to remember me by your letter. I did hope I should have

²C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 542.

³*Ibid.* p. 555.

⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James 1st, 1603-1607; Nov. 19, 1609.

seen your Ladyship in that place before this tyme, but some occasion fell out to hinder my coming upp for a while; I would be glad to heare howe your ladyship proceeds in your Irish suit, but I long more to heare howe you keep your health this wet winter. I did not forget to write my brother St. Poole (St. Paul), to know what house, or when it shall bee fitted for your Ladyship, but I have received no certain answer yett, but I will not fail to bring your Ladyship one myself, for I hope ere it be long to wait on you there, if the days would grow a little longer for travell: in the mean tyme ever I cannot forget to pray for your Ladyship's health and happiness, acknowledging myself more bound to your Ladyship and for your manifold favours than to all the world besides, and soe humbly take my leave, but will never ceave to love and honour your Ladyship, and so ever reste your honour's in all things.

"ISABELL BOWES"⁵ (Dated 5 December, 1609)

Lady Arbella Stuart to the Earl of Salisbury

"My Honourable Good Lord: I have been a long suitor; as your lordship knows, whose honourable favour, I humbly thank you, I have from time to time, I am now advised by some friends of mine, of good judgment and experience, to procure the Great Seal of England to my book. Both because it will be a furtherance to a speedier despatch of this suit in Ireland, and that this business must be done and executed by deputation, which cannot be done without the Great Seal were first obtained, with which also the book may receive alterations and a check there. Therefore I humbly beseech your lordship that, by your favour, on which I only rely, I may obtain the Great Seal of England to the book herewith presented to your lordship. For whose honour and happiness I pray, and so humbly take leave. From Puddle Wharfe, the 17th of Dec., 1609.

"Your lordship's much bounded poor friend

"ARBELLA STUART"⁶

⁵Harleian Papers. Also printed in Hardy, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 225.

⁶C.S.P. James I, Dom., 1603-1610, p. 573. Also printed in Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 225-226.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Arbell Restrained by James

SOME time after Arbell wrote her letter to her uncle the Earl of Shrewsbury on December 17, she was again in conference with the family of the Seymours, though I can't find out which one. She was, however, spied upon by one of King James's agents, and the King acted quickly on the hint, sending his Captain of the Guards and his wife to entice her away from the Seymours to visit his house for supper. As I get this information from the Venetian Ambassador's letters, I will give them here:

Marc Antonio Correr to Doge and Senate

"Jan. 8, 1610 ns. Feb. 29 os.

"One of the two ladies who, as I reported on the 19th, Nov. had become a Catholic, is Lady Arbell, cousin-german to the King; his Majesty had a hint last week that she intended to cross the sea with a Scot named Douglas (Sir George Douglas) and had some idea of marrying him. He (the King) accordingly sent his Captain of the guard and the baroness, his wife, to take Lady Arbell from the house of one of the Seymour family (probably Cannon Row house), under the pretext of friendship and an invitation to sup with them. They conveyed her to the Palace, where she was placed under guard for several days. Douglas, too, was arrested, and some of her servants and waiting maids, and seals put on her effects. She is now at liberty, however, which is not the case with the others. She answered well to the King before the Council. For long she has been living far from Court, in great melancholy, both on account of the little esteem in which she is held, and because her income is insufficient: she is engaged in many suits for the recovery of her patrimony. She has on this occasion petitioned for support, and the King will give it to her."¹

There are other letters in regard to Arbella at this time:

¹C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1607-1610, p. 405.

Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. Carleton

(Dated 30 December, 1609) "I can learn no more of the Lady Arbell, but that she is committed to the Lord Knevet and was yesterday again before the Lords. Her gentleman Usher (probably Hugh Compton) and chief woman are close prisoners since her first restraint."²

On February 4th, 1610: "At Ben Jonson's Masque, the Lady Arbell was absent, being then in disgrace," her part, "Nymph of the Medway, being taken by her cousin, Elizabeth, Countess of Kent; the Medway being a Kent River."³ The Masque was dedicated to Prince Henry.

When Lady Arbell told of her financial difficulties she evidently wrote the following letter to the Earl of Salisbury:

Lady Arbell Stuart to the Earl of Salisbury

"Where your lordship willed me to set down a note of those three things wherein I lately moved you, they are these: The first, that I am willing to return back his Majesty's gracious grant to me of the wines in Ireland, so as your lordship will take order for the paying of my debts when I shall upon my honour inform you truly what they are. The next, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to augment my allowance in such sort as I may be able to live in such honour and countenance hereafter as may stand with his Majesty's honour and my own comfort. And lastly, that where his Majesty doth now allow me a diet, that he will be pleased, instead thereof, to let me have one thousand pounds yearly. Some other things I will presume to entreat your lordship's like favour in that they may stand me in stead; but for that they are such as I trust your lordship will think his Majesty will easily grant, I will now forbear to set them down.

"Your lordship's poor friend,

"ARBELL STUART"⁴ (Some time between December 17-25, 1609.)

We continue with Arbell's story through the Venetian Ambassador's Letters, as they seem to be the most complete of any of the accounts of this period.

²Birch MSS., 4173. Nichols, *Progresses of James 1st*, II, 260.

³Nichols, *Progresses of James 1st*, II, 260.

⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 226-7.

Marc. Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate

(Dated Jan. 15, 1610 ns. Jan. 5, os. 1610)

"The Lady Arbell is confined to her own apartment, but not under ward. She neither leaves her rooms, however, nor is she visited except by intimates. Douglas is also at liberty, which is a sure sign that the affairs of the Lady are not in danger. One of her maids, however, is still in prison, it is said because of a too bold answer to the Lords of Council, for she said briefly and firmly that neither ought their Lordships to enquire into ladies' secrets nor was it her place to lay them bare: had she heard anything hostile to the King she would have withdrawn from the house, but it was no business of hers to tell tales. Lady Arbell's replies are considered very prudent and wise. She would neither affirm nor deny that she thought of leaving the Kingdom; she merely said that, ill-treated as she was by all, it was only natural that she should think of going. I am told that the King will increase her income."⁵

In the meantime the Warrant for her diet was issued; Royston, January 20, 1610 "Sir Thomas Lake to Lord Salisbury. The Lady Arbella's Warrant for Diet signed."⁶

Marc. Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate

("Dated Jan. 28 ns. Jan. 18 os., 1610.")

"Lady Arbell's troubles are caused by a consignment of money which her Excellency made at Constantinople for a Moldavian Prince, and by Douglas' intention to go to the Port with instructions in the matter. The Moldavian was many months ago at the English Court, and as I hear, with the King's consent, negotiated about marriage with the Lady; the conclusion thereof to depend on his making good his claim to his State. With that object in view he obtained a promise from his Majesty, besides other favours through the English Ambassador in Constantinople, that he would be furnished with four thousand ducats, which were never paid him. After he left England, it is now asserted, he married in Venice.⁷ In a reply to a question on the subject of Religion, Lady Arbell said that she never had any inclination to become a Catholic but her troubles and worries have prevented her from attending church for some time. She complained loudly of the small account

⁵C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1607-1610, p. 405.

⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 583.

⁷"Wotton to my Lord." (Probably Salisbury).

in which she is held, and recalled the frequent promises of the King. His Majesty has taken it all in good part and has ordered that she be repaid for the moneys remitted to Constantinople. Her pension will be increased. All the same she publicly declared that she is not satisfied. She claims the restoration of her patrimony and asks to be married, or at least allowed to depart and choose a husband.

"Douglas has now free access to her Excellency's apartments. She was present these days at the barriers and at other public functions."

An account of Stephen Bogdan, Pretender to Moldavia

"He came to Venice and in Wotten's absence took possession of his house, with a portmanteau or two. He said he was engaged to Lady Arbell; that he had letters to the English Ambassador in Constantinople and an order for 4,000 dollars. 'Wotten told him that unless he could produce an order from the King he must leave the Embassy.'"⁸

In 1600 Michael the Brave in Walachia was able to annex Moldavia to his Great Dacian realm. It was tributary to the Turks. Stephen Bogdan was the pretender to this throne of Moldavia. It is now a part of Rumania.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood

(Dated 13 Feb. 1610)

"... The Lady Arbell's busyness (whatsoever it was) is ended, and she restored to her former Place and Grace. The King gave her a Cupboard of Plate better than 200^{lb} for a New Year's Gift, and a 1000 marks to pay her Debts, besides some yearly addition to her maintenance. Want being thought the chiefest cause of her Discontentment, though she be not altogether free from suspicion of being collapsed."⁹

Mr. Beaulieu to Mr. Trumbull

(Dated 14 Feb. 1610.) (Arbell) "Examined yesterday at the Court about it."¹⁰

(Her being privately contracted for marriage with William Seymour.)

⁸C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1607-1610, p. 414.

⁹Winwood, *State Papers*, III, 117.

¹⁰Bridges, *Peers*, p. 361.

Mr. Beaulieu to Mr. Trumbull, Resident at Brussels

(Dated London, February 15, 1610.)

"... The Lady Arbell, who (as you know) was not long ago censured for having without the King's privity entertained a Motion of Marriage, was again within these few days apprehended in the Treaty with my Lord of Beauchamp's second sonne, and both were called and examined yesterday at the Court about it. What the matter will prove I know not, but these Affections of Marriage in her, do give Some Advantage to the World of imparing the Reputation of her constant and virtuous Disposition."

"JOHN BEAULIEU."

"Mr. Beaulieu was secretary to Sir Thomas Edmonds in his Embassies to the Archduke and the French King."¹¹

Contarini and Correr to the Doge

"Dated Feb. 18 ns. February 8 os. 1610."

"Lady Arbell is seldom seen outside her rooms and lives in greater dejection than ever. She complains that in a certain comedy the playwright introduced an allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia. The play was suppressed. Her Excellency is very ill-pleased and shows a determination in this coming Parliament to secure the punishment of certain persons, we don't know who."¹²

This play must have been put on by the Henslowe-Alleyn Company. Certainly the King's Company would not have done it.

Francesco Contarini and M. A. Correr, to the Doge

"Dated 25 Feb, 1610 ns. Feb. 15 os.

"His Majesty thinking it undesirable to drive the Lady Arbell to further despair has given her ten thousand crowns to pay her debts and has greatly increased her annual pension, and instead of eight dishes a day from the kitchen she is allowed 18. *All the same there is still much suspicion about, partly because she is not satisfied and is a lady of high spirit and ability, partly because the malcontents may some day use her as a pretext for their schemes. And so, there being a rumour of some design of marriage with a son of the Earl of Hertford, himself a person of royal descent, on*

¹¹Winwood, *State Papers*, III, 117.

¹²C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1607-1610.

Friday, the Earl was summonsed before the Council and questioned thereon. He himself showed no dislike of the plan, but as it is highly distasteful to the King, it is thought that obstacles will be raised." (The whole of this is also given in Italian, as follows: "*Non mancano pero in questo proposito molte gelosie cosi perche ella si trova poco sodisfatta, et e di gran spirito et valore, comre perche li mal contenti potrebbono in alcuna occasione valersi di lei per preteste nelli loro dissequi. Onde intendendosi alcuna practica di matrimonio con un figlio del Conte di Hertford, che discende esso ancora dal sangue regale, venerdì fu chia mato esso Conte Avanti li. Sigri del consiglio et interrogato sopra questo particolare dal quale egi mon si mostro alieno, ma dispiacendo cio (?) grandemente al Re si tiene che vi sara messo impedimento.*" This is the deciphered underlined part of the above letter.

"To this suspicion is attributed the fact that on Saturday about midnight search was made in almost all houses in the City, and great diligence used to find out if strangers were lodged there."¹³

I do not know why this is also given in Italian in the Cal. State Papers unless the translator wanted to be sure that he was correct in his translation. So as it is given there, I too, give it here.

Hertford certainly showed that he was not opposed to having Arbell a member of his family. Probably "Our Willy's" schemes seemed the only way they could help that unfortunate girl. Hertford's second and also his third wife were women who had difficult times before they married him, as we have related. However, I do not believe that Hertford really approved of their attempted elopement, after Arbell's marriage. However he was a great man in every way, and abhorred interference by authorities with marriage of lovers. He should have known as he was a prisoner for ten years for marrying his beloved Catherine, the mother of his sons.

William Seymour's Letter to the Council

"William Seymour to the Right Honourable my Singular Good Lordes of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

"Dated 20 February, 1610

"May it please your good Lordships:

"Since it is your pleasure, which to me shall always stand for law, that I should truly relate under my hand those passages which

¹³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1607-1610, p. 488.

have been between the noble Lady Arbell and myself, I do here in these rugged lines, truly present the same to your Lordships' favourable censure, that thereby his most excellent Majesty may, by your Lordships, be fully satisfied of my duty and faithful allegiance (which shall ever be a spur to me to expose my life and all my fortunes to the extremest dangers for his Highnesse service), (and) that I will never attempt anything which I shall have certain foreknowledge will be displeasing to him.

"I do therefore humbly confess that when I conceived that noble lady, might with his Majesty's good favour, and no just offence, make her choice of any subject within this kingdom, which conceit was begotten in me upon a general report, after her ladyship last being called before your Lordships, that it might be; myself being a younger brother and sensible of mine own good, unknown to the world, of mean estate, not born to challenge anything by my birthright, and therefore my fortunes to be raised by mine own endeavors, and she being a lady of great honour and virtue, and as I thought, of great means, I did plainly and honestly endeavor lawfully to gain her in marriage, which is God's ordinance common to all, assuming myself, if I could effect the same with his Majesty's most gracious favour and liking (without which I resolved never to proceed), that thence would grow the first beginning of my happiness; and therefore I boldly intruded myself into her ladyship's chamber in the Court on Candlemas Day, (2 Feb. Feast of the Purification) last, at what time I imparted my desire unto her; which was entertained, but with this caution on either part, that both of us resolved not to proceed to any final conclusion without His Majesty's most gracious favour and liking first obtained; and this was our first meeting. After that we had a second meeting at Mr. Buggs his house, in Fleet Street; and then a third at Mr. Baynton's; at both which we had the like conference and resolution as before. And the next day save one after the last meeting I was convented before your Lordships when I did then deliver as much as now I have written; both then and now protesting before God, upon my duty and allegiance to his most excellent Majesty, and as I desire to be retained in your Lordships' good opinion, there is neither *promise of marriage, contract, or any other engagement what so ever between her ladyship and myself, nor ever any marriage by me or her intended, unless his Majesty's gracious favour and approbation might have been first gained*

therein, which we resolved to obtain before we would proceed to any final conclusion whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships to inform his Majesty that by your good means joined to the clearness of an unspotted conscience and a loyal heart to his Highness, I may be acquitted in his just judgment from all opinion of any disposition in me to attempt anything displeasing to his Majesty, as one well knowing that the just wrath and disfavour of my sovereign will be confusion, whereas his gracious favour and goodness towards me may be the advancement of my poor fortune. And thus, my Lords, according to your commands I have made a true relation of what was required, humbly referring the favourable construction thereof to your Lordships, having, for the further hastening of the truth, and ever to bind me thereunto, hereafter subscribing my name the 20th February, (1609 os.) 1610 ns.

“WILLIAM SEYMOUR”¹⁴

Now we come to who *was* this young William Seymour, grandson of the Earl of Hertford? According to my theory of the personalities of the group known as the “Packe,” he was one of the youngest of them, and had as his alias “Francis Beaumont.” It was to him, I contend, that the Shakespeare Sonnets to a young man to marry are addressed. It is unnecessary for me to speak of his brilliant mind, every study of him speaks of it. That he combined with John Fletcher, a pal and “brother in song,” to write some fine plays all the world knows. My belief is that this John Fletcher is also an alias for a young man name Edward Rodney. As we follow the fortunes of William Seymour for the next few years we will see that these young men were living together in Paris for a number of years, and probably wrote most of their joint work together there. I will now give the summing up by Heywood of these Packe fellows’ familiar names.

*Excellent Beaumont, in the foremost ranke
Of the rar’st wits, was never more than Franck.
Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose enchanting quill
Commanded mirth or passion, was but Will;
And famous Jonson, though his learned pen
Be dipt in Castaly, is still but Ben.
Fletcher add Webster, of that learned packe
None of the mean’st, yet neither was but Jacke.*

¹⁴Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 59. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 257.

That Beaumont was quite a beautiful young man is recorded, and certainly Shakespeare speaks of him in that vein. That Beaumont was a devoted worshipper of Shakespeare is spoken of in most of his biographies. A little later in our story I will tell why I think this John Fletcher was Rodney.

We now continue with the Arbell story, contained in the letters of the Venetian Ambassadors to the Doge.

Contarini and Correr to the Doge

(Dated 4 Mar. ns. 1610.)

"As we reported, the King is anxious that the marriage of Lady Arbell with the nephew of the Earl of Hertford should not go forward, so as to avoid the union of claims of these two houses, who are nearest to the Crown. After examination separately they were both summoned before the King, the Prince and the Council and ordered to give up all negotiations for marriage. Lady Arbell spoke at length, denying her guilt and insisting on her unhappy plight. She complained again that her patrimony had been conceded by the King to others. She had sold two rings he had given her. She was then required to beg the King's pardon but replied that seeing herself deserted she had imagined that she could not be accused if she sought a husband of her own rank. All the same, if error she had made she humbly begged pardon. This did not satisfy the King: he demanded an absolute confession of wrong and an unconditional request for forgiveness. That she complied with, and received fresh promises of money and leave to marry provided the King approved."¹⁵ (Trans. from Italian.)

It is quite evident from the following paper that William Seymour was hesitant to continue with "Our Willy's" plans to marry Arbell Stuart after he had so boldly told the Council that he would not do so without the consent of his Majesty.

This is the draft of a message delivered to some gentleman of his to be repeated to her. It was found among the Seymour Papers in the Longleat Library.

"Message from William Seymour (afterwards Marquis of Hertford) to Lady Arbell Stuart, suggesting the prudence of breaking off their proposed marriage. (From original draft. No date given.)

"I am com from Mr. William Seymour wth a message to your La: wch was delivered unto me in ye present of this gentm yor

¹⁵C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610, (813).

Servant and therefore yor La: may be assured I will neither add nor diminish, but will truly relate unto you what he hath dyrected me to do, wch is thus: he hath seriously considered of the proceedings betwene yor La: and hymselfe, and doth well perceive, if he should go on therein it would onely prove exceeding prejudiciall to yor contentment but extreame dangerous to hym, first in regard of the inequality of degree betwene yor La: and hym, next, the King's Matie's pleasure and commandment to the contrary, wch neyther yor La: or hymself did ever intend to neglect: he doth therefore humbly desier yor La: since the proceeding that is past doth not tye him nor yor La: to any necessity but that you may freely commit each other to your best fortunes, that you would be pleased to dedist from your intended resolution concerning hym, who likewise resolveth not to trouble you any more in this kind, not doubting but yor La: may have one more fitter for your degree he having alredy presumed too hygh and hymselfe a meaner match with more security."¹⁶

Lady Arbell Stuart to the Lords of the Council

"May it please your Lordships to give me leave to be an humble suitor to you that, whereas upon his Majesty's pleasure I was restrained of my liberty, and that I have presumed to prefer my most humble petition to his Majesty to be restored unto his gracious good favour again, which is my greatest comfort on earth, your Lordships will be pleased to prefer my said petition to his most gracious Majesty's hands. And if your Lordships will also vouchsafe your favourable intercession of my offence, and be a means to his Majesty on my behalf, I shall be infinitely bound to pray for your honour and prosperity, and remain humbly

"At your Lordships' commandments."¹⁷

This letter is unsigned and undated but probably written in February or March. It is endorsed, "Lady Arbella Stuart to the Lords of the Council."

In the meantime Arbell's petition to appoint her representatives for her Irish wines has gone through, as we have the following note, dated 22 March, 1610:

¹⁶"Longleat Papers" No. XVIII, *Wilts. Archae. Mag.* XV, 201. From Original draft by Canon Jackson. This paper is dated 1609, so it must have been delivered soon after his having written to the Council, and was probably around the last of February or the first of March, of 1610. ns.

¹⁷Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 1610. Sloane MSS. 4161, f. 39. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 240.

"License to Lady Arbell Stuart, Sir George St. Paul & Hen. Yelverton to appoint such persons as they think fit to keep taverns and to sell wines and usquebaugh in Ireland for 21 years."

"Grant Book, p. 65. See Irish Corresp. Mar. 31, 1610."¹⁸

By the above item it will be seen that Arbell had visited the two men she appointed to help her with the Irish Wine License; these men whose houses she had visited on her Progress in 1609.

That all Scotland was also interested in Arbell's doings is shown by the following letter:

"Edinburgh. 31 Mar. 1610.

Earl of Dumfermline to the Earl of Salisbury

"Thanks for his tidings of Lady Arbell. The rumor in Scotland was that she would marry a younger son of Lord Beauchamp."¹⁹

We have another letter that the Ambassador of Venice wrote to the Doge that seems to represent her attitude just at this time:

Marc' Antonio Correr to the Doge and Senate

"1 April, 1610

"Lady Arbell in addition to the gifts I have reported and the increase of her table allowance, has been granted an increase of her ordinary income, the duties on wine in Ireland. It seems she is well pleased."²⁰

Creation of the Prince of Wales

There was a great celebration of this event in June, 1610, and as we have a very detailed description of the event we will give it now, as it shows the kind of spectacle that Arbell had to attend.

*Mr. William Cleverly Alexander to Heathfield Park, Sussex,
to his wife*

"Beloved wife my commendations remembered to youre selfe and to all my children. I have here sent you the maner of the Creation of Prince Henry.

"First that great roome, which is called the Courte of Requests was hanged arounde about with clothe of Arrasse with five or six benches or formes one above another rounde about the house, and in the middle of the house there was at (sic) it were an allie rayled

¹⁸C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610.

¹⁹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 596.

²⁰C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610.

on eache side for a cleare passage to go in and out. At the upper ende was the Kinges throne with a riche canopie over his head, on the right hand sate the Lord Channcelor, and at his left hande the Lord Treasurer, with the rest of the lordes, on eache syde some. A litell distance beneath that sate all the Upper House of Parlyment uppon red woolle sakes as the maner is. The Lord Bishoppes sate on the right hand, and the judges and barons on the leaft hande. In the verie middle of the house there was a partition made after the maner of a barre of arragnment, beneath the partition sate the whole Lower House of Parlyment, in the middle of which although unworthie I placed my selfe more boldly then wisely I confesse. The Speaker of the Lower House sate in his chayre face to face right over against the Kinges Majestie. And in the upper part of the Courte of Requests there were places of purpose provided for Straung Ambassadors, as the Ambassadors of Spayne and the Ambassador of Fraunce, and the Ambassador of the Lowe Countries. Likewise on the left hand, there were seates prepared for the Lorde Maior of London, with XX of his bretherne; and a little beneth them sate the litell sonnes of the nobilitie. I think to the number of XXiiij which was a verie goodly sight to beholde so manie litill infants of suche noble parentage, about the age of nine or tennes yeares apeece, some more and some lesse. At the very lower end of the Courte of Requests in an upper roome above all the rest, there sate the Duke, (Charles) the Kinges second sonne, with his sister the Ladie Elizabeth, and the Ladie Arbell with many other ladies, and the maides of honor belonging to the Courte, onlie the Quenes Majestie her selfe was not at this action for ought that I could see or heare. I (n) an upper gallerie above all this were placed the trumpeters and drumme players to the number of XX or thereabouts. Yf I should goe about exactly to describe the riche apparrell that there was worne of all estates this whole paper would not conteyne the one half thereof; to passe by the Kings attyre which was gloriouslie garnished with pretious stones and pearlls, the Noble men had red velvet garments with ornaments of white pretious furies uppon theyr shoulders theyer hattes also were of red velvet made after the maner of cornets, with shing gold bandes, and they did weare athwart theyr shoulders as it were girdells besett with pretious pearells. As soulders use to were theyer belts.

“The Lord Mayor of London and his bretherne were all in red skarlet gownes with chaines of gold about theyer necks for the

most part of them, with other ornaments uppon theyer shoulders of silke changable coloures. The Judges and barrons were also in red gownes with verie costlie and rich furniture about theyer neckes. The noble mens litell sonnes were in doublets and hose of chaungable silkes, with theyer silke hattes and their feathers of divers couloures. Yf I shoulde take in hand to write of the apparell and facions of the ladies and maydes of honor I shoulde be foolishe as they were vaine, and therefore I saye no more than this that they were unspeakable brave, and intollerable curious yea and some knights of the Lower House of Parlyment (as it is thought) did weare apparell worthe an hundred poundes a man. Seaven laces of gold of almost an hand breadth apeece, one above another rounde about theyer clokes, was nothing to speak of, for some of them verie parres of theyer breeches were nothinge els but laces imbroydered with gold. The whole howse beinge furnished with sumptous and shininge apparrall, I thought myself to be like a crowe in the middes of a great manie of golden feathered doves.

“Well all this was yet nothings to the maner of the prynces Creation. After two howers expectation and more came the prynce in at the lower end of the howse accompanied with five and twentie knights of the Bath so termed as some thinke because they were bathed and washed with sweete waters, all which were clad in purple satten garments after the fasion of groomes, and the prynce him selfe in the like garment of the same stuff, but his garment was girded unto himm, and so were none of the rest. Then at the verie first appearinge of the prynce, all the trumpeters and drumme players did sound out theyer instruments, with others which played uppon cornets and flutes with such acclamation and exultation as if the heavens and the earthe would have come together; but this endured but a verie litell while. When the prynce was come into the middes of the howse, there he stooode stille a while beings attended with his five and twenty knights. Then came down two noble men from the kinges side which led up the prynce, arme in arme, unto his father, but before he came at his father he mad three verie lowe and humble curtesies, and after him followed the Earle of Pembroke and as some saide the Earl of Bedford, which carried the prynces robe after him betwixt them uppon theyer shoulders th’ one end of the robe lyinge upon one of the Earles shoulders and the other end upon the other Earles shoulder, which robe he was to put on afterwards. After them followed twoo

harroulds of armes th' one with a golden rod in his hande of the length of an elle and a half. . . ."²¹

This is all I am giving of this letter, which shows the type of splendor that prevailed at the public functions of King James' Court. Later it will perhaps explain Arbell's actions when she bought so many extravagant clothes. This was Arbell's last appearance in public, excepting for the Masque in honor of Prince Henry.

²¹H.M.C., Various MSS.

CHAPTER XLIX

Arbell's Marriage to William Seymour

ALTHOUGH William Seymour seems to have been unwilling to go on with their scheme, as we have reported in our last chapter, someone, evidently "Our Willy" got them to go on with it, for the next item of news is quite startling. The documentation is found in a notebook belonging to Arbell's servant, Hugh Compton, on a fly leaf pasted down to the cover. It was found by the Canon Jackson in the Longleat Library, and reads as follows:

"The 22 of June, 1610
about 4 in the morninge
My. La: was married at
Greene-wiche to Mr. William Seymour.

Witnesses at the marriage:

Mrs. Byron (Mother of Margaret, her Maid of Honour) Female attendant

Mrs. Bradshawe—Female attendant

Mr. Rodney (Friend of William)

Mr. Kyrton (Hertford's solicitor)

Mr. Blauge, the minist. (Son of the Dean of Rochester)

Mr. Reeves &

Myselfe (Mr. Hugh Compton)

The 8th of July Mr. Sey.

was comytted to Tower.

The 9 of the same moneth

My La: to Sr. Thomas Parrye's."

The minister was John Blague, belonging to that family who lived near Wolfhall, Old Sarum and Tottenham Lodge, Wilts., home of the Seymours.

This wedding has one or two strange circumstances about it. Why should Edward Kirton, Hertford's solicitor, have been there, unless the Earl of Hertford approved the marriage? Who was Mr.

Reeves? "Our Willy" was probably at the wedding, but the only person he could have impersonated was Mr. Reeves, Arbell's servant, unless by arrangement he impersonated his nephew young William. He could have had plenty of time to disguise himself in this way if the records are right. One has only to read Shakespeare's comedies to see Shakespeare's tricks about marriage, as in *Much Ado about Nothing* and *Twelfth Night*. I think this whole marriage scheme was out of Shakespeare's brain. We will see more of it later. At any rate Arbell Stuart and William Seymour which ever one he was, and I think, "Our Willy," were married at four o'clock on the morning of 22 June, 1610.

It is evident that Arbell still had a place at Greenwich. There is no record that I can find as to where they went after the marriage nor why they did not try to escape from England at once. Probably they misjudged James, cowardly nature and his belief in his supreme prerogative as King. At any rate they had sixteen days of marriage before they were caught up with by the wrath of the King.

Mr. William Seymour's Confession

"The Examination of William Semar Esq. before ye Lld of his Matie Prevy Councell the 8th of July, 1610.

"He confesseth that upon Fryday was fortnight he was maryed unto the La: Arbell at Greenwich in the chamber of the sayd La: Arbell ther. That there was present one Blagew sonne to the Deane of Rochestr who was the minister that maryed them; there were also present one Edward Rodné, Crompton-gent usher to the La: Arbell, Edward Kyrton, Edward Reve, Mrs. Biron and Mrs. Bradshawe two servants of La: Arbell. The Maryadge was on the Fryday morninge, between fouer and fyve of the clock, but without any lycense as he confesseth. He saith he came to Greenwch on the Thursday at night about twelffe of the clock, accompanied with the said Rodné and Kyrton and did sitt upp in the La: Arbell her chamber all the night untill they were maryed.

"WILLIAM SEYMAURE"¹

The dates of the various documents are not given sometimes and it is often impossible to be sure of the order in which they should be presented, but as they were within a day or so of each other at this point in our story, I will give them as seems best for the meaning and sequence.

¹Bodl. Lib. Tanner MSS., 75, f. 353. *Wilt. Arch. Mag.*, XV, 203.

Petition of Lady Arbella Seymour to the King

"I do most heartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend your Majesty the least, especially in that whereby I have long desired to merit of your Majesty, as appeared before Majesty was my Sovereign. And though your Majesty's neglect of me, my good liking of this gentleman that is my husband, and my fortune drew me to a contract before I acquainted your Majesty, I humbly beseech your Majesty to consider how impossible it was for me to imagine it could be offensive unto your Majesty, having few days before given me your Royal consent to bestow myself on any subject of your Majesty's (which likewise your Majesty had done long since). Besides, never having been either prohibited any or spoken to for any in this land by your Majesty these 7 years that I have lived in your Majesty's house, I could not conceive that your Majesty regarded my marriage at all; whereas, if your Majesty had vouchsafed to tell me your mind and accept the freewill offering of my obedience, I could not have offended your Majesty, of whose gracious goodness I presume so much that if it were as convenient in a wordly respect as malice may make it seem to separate us whom God hath joined, your Majesty would not do evil that good might come thereof, nor make me, that have the honour to be so near your Majesty in blood, the first precedent that ever was, though our Princes may have left some as little imitable for so good and gracious a King as your Majesty, as David's dealing with Uriah. But I assure myself if it please your Majesty in your own wisdom to consider thoroughly of my cause, there will no solid reason appear to debar me of Justice and your princely favour, which I will endeavor to deserve whilst I breathe. And never ceasing to pray for your Majesty's felicity in all things continue—

"Your Majesty's

"A. S."² (Arbell Seymour)

This is evidently the letter that Arbell sent to the Queen for her to deliver to the King. I think that she must have signed it not "A. S." as this copy gives it but with her new name Arbell Seymour, because of the King's remarks about this signature later. It must have been written either on July 8 or 9, just after her husband and she had been notified that they were to be imprisoned; he in the Tower and she to the house of Sir Thomas Parry at Lambeth

²Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 57. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 114, 115.

House, quite near London, or just across the river Thames, but not opposite each other.

Warrant to Sir Thomas Parry

"After our verie hartie Commendaçons, Whereas it is thought fit that La. Arbell should be restrained of her libertie, and choice is made of you to receyve her and lodge her in your house.

"These are therefore to give you notice thereof, and to require you to provide convenient lodginge for her to remaine under your charge and custodie, with one or two of her woomen to attend her, without accesse of any other persone unto her untill his Majestie's pleasure be further knowen. And this shall be unto you a sufficient warrant. From the Court at Whitehall, this 9th of Julie, 1610.

"Your very loving friendes,

R. CANT

T. ELSMERE

NOTTINGHAM

J. SUFFOLK

R. SALISBURY

E. WORCESTER

"To our very lovinge friende Sir Tho: Parry, Kt. Chancellor of his Majesties Duchy of Lancaster."³

Lambeth House, according to Norton's *Survey*, was "A fair dwelling house, strongly built, of three stories high, and a fair staircase breaking from it of 19 feet square. . . . It stood on the river Thames, and had a large garden, in which Arbell was permitted to walk; she also had her own set of apartments, was allowed certain of her own women to wait upon her, could correspond with her friends and have such books and other amusement as she required."⁴

Clandestine Marriage of Arbella and William Seymour

"Seymour meanwhile went to the Tower, but he was treated with no special severity. He was at first lodged with Sir Wm. Waad in the Lieutenants Tower till a suitable set of apartments was made ready for him in St. Thomas's Tower over the Traitor's Gate, looking out upon Raleigh's walk on the inner side, and upon the river on the outer. These were extremely handsome rooms but they had no furniture or hangings, which prisoners were expected to supply for themselves, as well as to contribute an allowance for their food. Seymour had no money of his own, but though he did

³*Ibid*, f. 111. *Ibid*, p. 112.

⁴Norton, *Survey*. B. C. Hardy, *Arbella Stuart*, p. 244-5.

not really suppose he would stay very long in the Tower, no young man was ever more determined to be comfortable. He demanded an allowance from his grandfather and with the King's consent (for Lord Hertford dared not move without it) ^{1b} 50 a quarter was provided for his maintenance. Seymour then ordered Waad with an arrogance more suitable in gaoler than prisoner, to purchase hangings for him, and according to Tower accounts Waad got five handsome pieces of tapestry at ^{1b} 10. a piece from an upholsterer named Jennings. One of these Seymour cut right across the middle to fit above a fireplace; and as he had not yet paid for them, and in the end never did so, Waad became furiously angry and refused to be responsible for any more purchases. 'The Villain Waad,' as Raleigh called him, who had been a cruel tyrant to many noble gentlemen, seems to have met his match in William Seymour; who after this sent to Arbell's villa at Hackney (evidently the house St. Paul was to get for her), and ordered everything he required—silver, linen, candlesticks, trenchers, kitchen necessities etc., to be sent up to him; and probably by her orders they were immediately despatched."⁵

The date of this account must have been during the first weeks of his imprisonment. The King must have been on Progress and it took time in those days to get messages to and from even Kings and Queens.

One can really be pleased at the action of William Seymour to the Lieutenant of the Tower as he proved later to be quite, as Raleigh called him, a villain. Not that William remembered it, but he must have known that in this very St. Thomas's Tower his great-grandfather, the Duke of Somerset, and his great-aunt Lady Jane Grey, and the family friend the Earl of Essex had all been prisoners.

If he was as I believe him Francis Beaumont, he would know how, in dramatic literature, bullies and inferiors ought to be dealt with, and so he, knowing the greatness of his line, acted as would one of the characters of such a plot.

Probably it was almost a week before Arbell was settled enough in her new quarters to write to her uncle the Earl of Shrewsbury, at least if she wrote him before, we do not have a copy of the letter, but we do have one dated July 16 from Lambeth.

⁵Birch, P. & W. Brady, **Arbella Stuart**, p. 244-5.

Lady Arbell Seymour to the Earl of Shr (ewsbury)

"If it please your Lordship, there are divers of my servants with whom I thought never to have parted whilst I lived, and none that I am willing to part with. But since I am taken from them, and know not how to maintain, either myself or them, being utterly ignorant how it will please his Majesty to deal with me, I were better to put them away now, than towards winter. Your Lordship knows the greatness of my debts and my unableness to do for them either now or at Michaemas. I beseech your Lordship let me know what hope you can give me of his Majesty's favour, without which I and all mine must live in great discomfort, and make me so much bound to you as both of yourself and by means of any that you take to be my friends or pity me, to labour the reobtaining of his Majesty's favour to me. So humbly thanking your Lordship for the care it pleaseth you to have of me and mine, and for your honorable offer, I humbly cease.

From Lambeth, the 16th of July 1610.

"The poor prisoner, your neice,

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR

The bay gelding and the rest are at your Lordship's commandment."⁶

Petition from Lady Arbella Seymour to the Lords of the Council

"To the right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's Honourable Privy Council.

"Right Honourable and my very good Lords—

"I humbly beseech your Lordships give me leave to become a humble suitor to your Lordships to let his Majesty understand my hearty sorrow for his Majesty's displeasure. And that it will please your Lordships to become intercessors to his Majesty for me, whose error I assuredly hope his Majesty of his own gracious disposition will, by your Lordships' good means, rather pardon than any further expiate with imprisonment and affliction. Which and more, if it were to do his Majesty service or honour, I should endure with alacrity; but this is very greivous, especially as a sign of his Majesty's displeasure, on whose favour all my worldly joy as well as fortune dependeth. Which, if I may reobtain, all the course of

⁶Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 71. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 118.

my life hereafter shall testify my dutiful and humble thankfulness.

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR"⁷

Lady Arbella Seymour to the Earl of Shrewsbury

"I acknowledge myself much bound to your Lordship for your care of disposing of my servants, but I cannot guess what to do with any of them till I know how his Majesty is inclined towards me. Therefore I again very humbly and earnestly beseech your Lordship to move his Majesty at his return to be gracious to me. That according to his Majesty's answer and disposition towards me, I may take order for my servants or anything else concerning me. So with humble thanks I take leave. From Lambeth 19th July.

"I pray your Lordship remember me humbly to my Aunt."⁸

This letter was unsigned.

Probably in this or in her former letter of July 16 she enclosed the following list of her servants:

Request of Lady Arbella Seymour with respect to her Servants

"The Lady Arbella desireth that her servants that are now in the Tower, or so many of them as shall be thought to be allowed to her.

"That Peter, who attended Mr. Seymour, an ancient servant of hers, may be her bottleman.

"To have herewith another servant, an embroiderer whose name is Roger Hartwell.

"For a woman, she desireth the Lady Chaworth.

"Her desire is that Mrs. Yelverton may receive her money and jewels.

"That Smyth, her servant, may have access unto her."

"There must of necessity be linen brought, both for her wearing, for sheets, and table linen, whereof there is not any amongst her stuff.

"She hath xxxij servants, for which some order would be taken."⁹

This servant Smyth is I believe "Our Willy" in his alias of Samuel Smyth and he does obtain access to Arbella and evidently carried letters to William Seymour in the Tower, and also to others, for her.

⁷Harleian MSS., v. 7003, f. 91. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 132. Also a copy in the C.S.P. 1610.

⁸Harleian MSS. 7003. f. 74. Printed in Cooper, *Arbella Stuart* v. 2. p. 121.

⁹Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 72. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 116.



After Van Dyck.



From his monument in Salisbury
Cathedral.

Hertford.

Left: William Seymour II. From Doyle's OFFICIAL BARONAGE, p. 181. The portrait was after a painting by Van Dyck. Right: Earl of Hertford. From Doyle's OFFICIAL BARONAGE (1885) from the effigy in Salisbury Cathedral, p. 180.



As we have said before, Arbell had a young girl, Margaret Byron, for her maid of honor. The girl although very young was fond of Arbell and she of her young maid, who was not only a good musician but a fine singer. When Arbell was taken to Lambeth, Margaret, who was in her confidence, was so broken hearted that although her brother took her home and tried in every way to console her, she could not forget Arbell and spent many hours in melancholy solitude thinking of her beloved mistress. She finally died when she was only twenty-six, in the midst of a song.¹⁰

Lady Arbell Seymour to Queen Anne

"May it please your most excellent Majesty, since I am debarred the happiness of attending your Majesty or so much as to kiss your Royal hands, to pardon my Presumption in presenting your Majesty in this rude form my most humble thanks for your Majesty's gracious favour and meditation to his Majesty for me. Which your Majesty's goodness (my greatest hope in this affliction) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to continue. So praying to the Almighty to reward your Majesty with all honour and felicity both in your Royal self and yours, in all humility I cease. From Lambeth, the 22nd of July, 1610.

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble and dutiful

"Subject and servant.

"ARBELL SEYMOUR

"To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."¹¹

M. A. Correr to the Doge and Senate

"A few days ago Arbell concluded her marriage with the second son of the Earl of Hertford, in spite of the King's injunction to abstain. Both were summoned before the Council. The young man who was brought in first denied the fact; she, however freely confessed it and excused the denial of her husband on the *score of fear*. She endeavored to demonstrate that neither by laws Divine nor by human laws could she be prevented. But the King took offence and committed her to the custody of a gentleman who lives a short way out of the city, and her husband was sent to the Tower. A law forbidding under pain of *loesa Majestas* and rebellion, the

¹⁰Mrs. Hutchinson, *Life of Col. Hutchinson*.

¹¹Lansdowne MSS., 1236. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 127.

descendants of blood-royal to intermarry without leave, is a serious injury in her case. This law was passed to meet the case of the Earl of Hertford, grandfather of the youth, whose father was secretly born in the Tower; and for this reason they say Lady Arbell has been separated from her husband; rumour says she will not be so easily set free. *If she were with child* she would, perhaps, have a greater advantage, as the hope of hindering the succession would cease. . . . the lady a close prisoner at Sir Thomas Parry's house at Lambeth."¹²

(Dated in record: July 28 ns. July 18 os.)

During early August Arbell hears that a contagious disease is in and about Marshalsea prison, where her two servants Hugh Crompton and Edward Reeves have been committed and so she becomes much distressed. She evidently gets her uncle of Shrewsbury to write to Salisbury, who tells him that should "Hugh Crompton perish, the poor lady would be infinitely distressed, he being the man in whom she most reposes her trust touching her debts."

Arbell also writes to the Council:

Petition from Lady Arbell Seymour to the Lords of the Council

"To the right honourable the
Lords of his Majesty's most
honourable Privy Council.

(August 10, 1610)

"Right Honourable and my good Lords, I have constrained to trouble you, rather than be guilty of the danger of life wherein Hugh Crompton and Edward Reeves, two of my servants lately committed to the Marshalsea for my cause, remain. I am informed divers near that prison, and in it, are lately dead, and divers others sick of contagious and deadly diseases. Wherefore, I humbly beseech your honours to Commiserate their distress and consider that they are servants, and accomptable for divers debts and reckonings, which, if they should die, would be a great prejudice to me and others. And therefore I humbly beseech you to move unto his Majesty my most humble duty and theirs, that it will please his Majesty they may be removed to some other healthful air.

"ARBELL SEYMOURE."¹³

This was evidently written from Millbrook where she had probably been removed during the hot weather.

¹²C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610-1613, July 28.

¹³Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 92. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, p. 117.

Lady Arbell Seymour to her Husband Mr. William Seymour

"Sir—I am exceedingly sorry to hear you have not been well. I pray you let me know truly how you do, and what was the cause of it, for I am not satisfied with the reason *Smith* gives for it. But if it be a cold, I will impute it to some sympathy betwixt us, having myself gotten a swoln cheek at the same time with a cold. For God's sake, let not your grief of mind work upon your body. You may see by me what inconvenience it will bring one to. And no fortune, I assure you, daunts me so much as that weakness of body I find in myself, for '*si nous vivons l'age d'un veau*' as Marot says, we may by God's grace be happier than we look for in being suffered to enjoy ourselves with his Majesty's favour. But if we be not able to live to it, I, for my part, shall think myself a pattern of misfortune in enjoying so great a blessing as you so little a while. No separation but that deprived me of the comfort of you; for wheresoever you be, or in what state soever you are, it sufficeth me you are mine.

"Rachel wept, and would not be comforted because her children were no more; and that indeed is the remediless sorrow, and none else. And therefore God bless us from that, and I will hope well of the rest, though I see no apparent hope. But I am sure God's book mentioneth many of his children in as great distress that have done well after, even in this world. I assure you, nothing the State can do with me can trouble me so much as this news of your being ill doth. And you see when I am troubled, I trouble you too with tedious kindness, for so I think you will account so long a letter, *yourself not having written to me for this good while so much as how you do*. But sweet Sir, I speak not this to trouble you with writing but when you please. Be well, and I shall account myself happy in being your faithful loving wife.

"ARBELL."¹⁴

From all the indications William Seymour is a hesitant and reluctant husband. This letter shows that not only did *Smith* have access to Arbell but also to William Seymour. That William is acting the will of somebody else seems evident. It must have been "Our Willy," whom he loved and emulated, and only for whom he would have entered into such a curious plot. Added to the items we already know, we add this one:

¹⁴Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 150. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 119.

Letter of Clement Edmonds

"When Seymour was charged with his fickleness to her (Arbell) in her presence by some friend, who doubtless thought of acting for 'her good,' she refused to listen, but said that Seymour, '*did no more in that case than Abraham and Isaac had both done, who disclaimed their wives for a time.*'"¹⁵

We now begin to record Arbell's frantic letters to her friends, and first those to her cousin Jane Drummond, Lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Anne. No dates are on any of these letters, which makes it impossible to give them with certainty of chronology.

Lady Arbell to Lady Drummond

"Good cousin,—I pray you do me the kindness to present this letter of mine in all humility to her Majesty, and with all my most humble and dutiful thanks for the gracious commiseration it pleaseth her Majesty to have of me, as I hear to my great comfort. I presume to make suit to her Majesty, because if it please her Majesty to intercede for me, I cannot but hope to be restored to her Majesty's service and his Majesty's favour, whose just and gracious disposition, I verily think, would have been moved to compassion ere this by the consideration both of the cause, in itself honest and lamentable, and of the honour I have to be so near his Majesty and his in blood, but that it is God's will her Majesty should have a hand in so honourable and charitable work as to reobtain his Majesty's favour to me that esteemeth it her greatest worldly comfort.

"So wishing you all honours and happiness, I take leave and remain,

"Your very loving cousin.

"A. S."¹⁶

Lady Arbell Seymour to Lady Drummond—Fragment

"Good Cousin,—I think my self as much beholden to you as if my man had brought me assurance of his Majesty's favour by her Majesty's means, because I find your kindness in remembering me and preventing suspicions. But I cannot rest satisfied till I may know what diaster of mine hindreth his Majesty's goodness toward me, having such a mediatrix to plead so just and honest a cause as

¹⁵Court and Times of James the First, I, 126. Letter of Clement Edmonds.

¹⁶Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 61. Cooper, Arbella Stuart, II, 122.

mine. Therefore, I pray you with all easnestness let me know freely what hath been done concerning me. So wishing you all honour and happiness I take my leave.

"YOUR. . . ."17

"Indorsed." "Two letters by *Smith* now; one no doubt is that to her husband, in the text."18

Lady Arbell Seymour to Lady Drummond

"Good Cousin,—I pray you present her Majesty my most humble thanks for the token of the continuance of her Majesty's favour towards me that I received in your letter, which hath so cheered me as I hope I shall be the better able to pass over my sorrow till it please God to move his Majesty's heart to compassion of me, whilst I may thereby assure myself I remain in her Majesty's favour, though all other worldly comforts be withdrawn from me; and will not cease to pray to the Almighty to reward her Majesty for her gracious regard of me in this distress with all happiness to her Royal self and hers. I pray you likewise present her Majesty this piece of my work, which I humbly beseech her Majesty to accept in remembrance of her poor prisoner, her Majesty's most humble servant that wrought them, in hope those Royal hands will vouchsafe to wear them, which till I have the honour to kiss I shall live in a great deal of sorow. I must also render you thanks for your so friendly and freely imparting your opinion of my suit. But whereas my good friends may doubt my said suit will be more long and difficult to obtain than they wish, by reason of the wisdom of this State in dealing with others of my quality in the like cause, I say that I never heard nor read of anybody's case that might be truly and justly compared to this of mine, which truly considered will be found so far differing as there can be no true resemblance made thereof to any others; and so I am assured that both their Majesties (when it shall please them duly to examine it in their Princely wisdoms) will easily discern. And I do earnestly entreat you to move her Majesty to vouchsafe the continuation of her so gracious a beginning on my behalf and to persuade his Majesty to weigh my cause aright, and then I shall not doubt but speedily to receive that Royal grace and favour that my own soul witnesseth I have ever deserved at his hands, and will ever endeavor to deserve of him and

¹⁷Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 70. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 122-3.

¹⁸Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 255.

his whilst I have breath. And so with many thanks to yourself for your kind offices, I take my leave and rest,

"Your very loving Cousin,

"ARBELL SEYMOUR."¹⁹

Queen Anne did her best for Arbell with the King, but what could she really do with such a man as was her husband with his ideas of his supreme authority. Even at this time, Arbell had to resort to her own beautiful embroidery to repay a favor given to her by the Queen.

Lady Arbell Seymour to the Queen

"May it please your most excellent Majesty. I presume to send herewith a copy of my humble petition to the King's Majesty, whereby your Majesty may perceive (with less trouble than any other relation of mine) as much (in effect) as I can say of the condition of my present estate and fortune. Now to whom so fitly address myself with confidence of help and mediation as to your Royal person (the mirror of our sex) and being for me your Majesty's humble and devoted servant, and in a cause of this nature, so full of piety and commiseration. I will wholly rely upon your Princely goodness, whom I humbly beseech to vouchsafe to enter into a gracious consideration of the true state of my cause and fortune, and then I nothing doubt but that in the true nobleness of your Royal mind your Majesty will be pleased to mediate for me in such sort as in your most Princely wisdom and favour the same shall be moved. And I shall always pray for the everlasting honor and felicity of your Majesty with all your Royal issue in all things, and will remain for ever, your Majesty's most humble and dutiful subject and servant.

"ARBELL SEYMOUR"²⁰

Lady Jane Drummond to Lady Arbell Seymour

"Madame,—I received your letter, and with it another paper which has just the same words that was in the letter, but your ladyship did not command me to do anything with it, so as I cannot imagine to what use you sent it, always I shall keep it (till) I know your ladyship's pleasure.

"Yesterday being Sunday, I could have little time to speak with

¹⁹Harleian MSS. 7003. f. 66. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart* v. 2. p. 125-6.

²⁰C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1610 (Oct). Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 130.

her Majesty, but this day her Majesty hath seen your ladyship's letter. Her Majesty says that when she gave your ladyship's petition and letter to his Majesty, he did take it well enough, but gave no other answer than *'that ye had eaten of the forbidden tree;* that was all her Majesty commanded me to say to your ladyship in this purpose, but withal did remember her kindly to your ladyship, and sent you this little token in notice of the continuation of her Majesty's favours.

"Now, when your ladyship desires me to deal openly and freely with you, I protest I can say nothing on knowledge, for I never spake to any of that purpose but to the queen. But the woedum of this state, with the example of how some of your quality, in the like cause, has been used, makes me fear that ye shall not find so easy end to your troubles as ye expect or I wish. This is all I can say, and I should think myself happy if my notions could give better testimony of my truly being your ladyship's

"Affectionate friend to your service.

"JANE DRUMMOND"²¹

It is almost impossible to give these and following letters in their exact order as we have no record of the meetings of the Privy Council during these years. In 1615 a disastrous fire in the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall destroyed the bundles of papers of the Privy Council Records for several years including the years 1608 to 1613. The story of Arbella as well as that of the North Virginia Colony is therefore hindered for checking purposes. However, the Venetian Ambassador's account of the King's reactions when Arbella's petition was given him at the Council, although we do not have a copy of that petition, is here given, dated Sept. 30, 1610, ns. Sept. 20, 1610, os.

M. A. Correr to the Doge and Senate, at Venice

"Lady Arbella has, on the King's return from his Progress, induced the Lords of the Council to present to his Majesty a petition drawn up and written but by herself begging for greater freedom.

She met with some opposition (probably by Henry Howard her enemy), but they agreed to oblige her.

"The King first of all made an observation on the subscription in which she no longer calls herself a *Stuart* but *Seymour*, the family of her husband, and he showed annoyance. After reading the

²¹Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 64. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 124-5.

petition he desired the Earl of Salisbury to look through it; Salisbury subsequently declared that *he did not blush to own that his style, for all that he was first Secretary, could not rival that of a woman, for he thought it would tax all Parliament to draft an answer which should correspond to the arguments and eloquence of the Petition.* (Probably it would have been as well had Salisbury refrained from praising her literary efforts as James had great conceit about his own literary style, and would not have liked Arbell's efforts to be praised so highly.)

"The King asked whether it was well that a woman so closely allied to the Royal blood should rule her life after her own caprice?, and announced that he reserved his answer.' All the same it is thought that she will presently be satisfied, as it will be difficult to see her husband again before she is too old to bear children."

*"Plague on the decrease."*²²

That "Our Willy" may have given Arbell help in drafting her petition may be assumed as he in his alias of Smith had access to her during her stay at Lambeth. We can gather the meat of the arguments and logic from the first petition she wrote to the King through the Council which we have given before.

Arbell as she has stated in her former writings had a 'restless mind and a wandering pen,' and time hung heavy on her hands at Lambeth and so again she appealed to the Queen, probably in October.

Lady Arbell Seymour to the Queen

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty to consider how long I have lived a spectacle of his Majesty's displeasure, to my unspeakable grief, and out of that gracious disposition which moveth your Royal mind to compassion of the distress may it please your Majesty to move his Majesty in my behalf. I have presumed to present your Majesty herewith the copy of my humble petition to his Majesty against this time, when the rather I am sure his Majesty forgiveth greater offences as freely as he desires to be forgiven by him whose sacrament he is to receive. Though your Majesty's intercession at any time I know were sufficient. Thus hath my long experience of your Majesty's gracious favour

²²C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610-1613, Sept. 30.

to me and all good causes encouraged me to presume to address myself unto your Majesty, and increased the obligation of my duty in praying continually unto the Almighty for your Majesty's felicity in all things. And in all humility I remain

"Your Majesty's

"To the Q."

(No signature)²³

The next news I can find of this unfortunate marriage is found in Hardy, *Arabella Stuart*, 2 volumes, and is from Unpublished MSS. sold at Southeby's:

Letters to Francis Seymour from Arbella and William

"Both praise Francis for his friendship to them, but if the 'my lady' in the following passage from Seymour's epistle were to be interpreted as his wife, there would be a sad difference in tone to hers to him. It is much more probable, however, that he refers to her Aunt Mary of Shrewsbury, who, while remaining on Arbell's side, no doubt injured her cause by her violence on her behalf; for Mary had inherited all her mother Bess of Hardwick's scheming, ambitious character. After speaking of his grandfather, Seymour says, 'As for my Lady (Hertford) I can expect no good from her, since I am credibly informed that she doth more harm than good, as I can in some particulars evidently prove, but I am not deceived in her, since I never expected other from her.'"

"Arbell's letter is addressed to her honourable good brother, Mr. Francis Seymour. In it she says she hopes that 'howsoever higher powers cross the greatest part of my happiness in depriving me for a time of your dear brother, my husband, I may not be altogether a stranger to your family, and yourself in particular, whose extraordinary kindness in this time shall be requited, God willing, with the redoubled love of so near alliance and obligation. I will endeavor to make my patience deserve excuse, if not consideration, at your hands; but it is the virtue I wish may be best put to proof in my friends, of all others.'

"This letter is supposed to have been dated Nov. 4, 1610."²⁴

I have been unable to find who purchased this manuscript. If it could be found by me, with my theory of these two William

²³Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 78. Sloane MSS., 4161, f. 32. Cooper, *Arabella Stuart*, II, 128. Also an abstract in C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1603-1610, p. 639.

²⁴Unpublished MSS. sold at Southby's. Bradley, I, 266-7. B. C. Hardy, p. 258.

Seymours, it might add a point or two to my thesis. However, it may be found by someone interested in the subject.

*Draft of A Petition from Mr. William Seymour
to the Lords of the Council*

"May it Please your Lordships: Since his Majesty is so highly offended with me that I dare not as yet (fearing further to incur his Majesty's disfavour) offer any manner of petition to his Princely hands, before the way be made more easy, I only address my self to your honourable Lordships, being now bereft of my nearest friends through his Majesty's indignation, humbly beseeching you to be intercessors to his Majesty, that it would please him of his gracious and accustomed bounty to restore me to his most wished for favour and my former liberty; or, if that may seem too large a suit, that it would please his Majesty in the meantime to grant me the liberty of this place, to the recovering of my former health, which through my long and close imprisonment is much decayed, and will not easily, I fear me, be repaired, whereof the Lieutenant can well certify your Lordships. I must confess I have offended his Majesty, which is my greatest sorrow, yet I hope not in that measure that I should deserve my utter ruin and destruction, since I protest my offence was committed before I knew it to be an offence. Wherefore I humbly beseech your Lordships, since the bottom of this wound is searched, to be a means that it may be healed. Thus relying on your Lordship's honourable disposition, I humbly take my leave, resting all ways—

"To be commanded by yr Lordships'

"W. S."²⁵

Arbell and William must have constantly known the doings of the other since *Smith*, "Our Willy," was a constant visitor to both of them, although we have no record of this except in Arbell's letters where she names Smith as carrying her letters. If the King had known this fact he would have been more angry than he already was.

My idea is that the King was busy investigating the claims of the Seymours to the crown and later we will report what he seems to have done about the claims, which were so much stronger and regular than his own, and added to the fact that he was a foreigner

²⁵Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 113. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 133.

to the realm. What he found he proceeded to act upon by the drastic severing of any hope these two might have of ever living together again.

There must have been some leak about this correspondence either from the Tower spies or from some servant of Sir Thomas Parry's, for James was thoroughly angry and meant to put them so far apart that there could be no hope of their getting together ever.

Probably Arbella's letters to the influential men in England did not help either, for James became afraid of their gathering around her as they had done in 1604, when he first became King.

CHAPTER L

Arbell Ordered to Durham

THE next event I have to record about the unhappy Arbell is so dismal that I dislike doing it; but here it is:

M. A. Correr to the Doge and Senate, Venice

(Dated Jan. 21 ns. 1611 Jan. 11 os. 1611 Par. 164)

"Just when it was hoped that the Lady Arbell was about to enjoy the royal clemency, she, in spite of many arguments advanced in defence of her marriage and many humble excuses made the King, was unanimously by the whole Council ordered to set out, within twenty-days for Durham, thirty miles from the Scottish border, where she was to live in the keeping of the Bishop. It is thought that the King will send her even further, and by putting her out of the Kingdom he will secure himself against disaffection settling around her. Her husband is confined to the Tower for life and more closely guarded than heretofore; this has thrown him into extreme affliction; nor are there wanting those who bewail his unhappiness."¹ (Deciphered.)

That the Council should unanimously yield to James's demand for her virtual banishment seems strange, as Arbell's uncle Shrewsbury, and his son-in-law William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and cousin-in-law of Arbell, were members of the Council. Perhaps Pembroke was not there, for I feel sure he would have demanded some reason from the King. The Earl of Shrewsbury evidently felt that he would injure Arbell more by opposing the King than by accedence.

The next official document we find is:

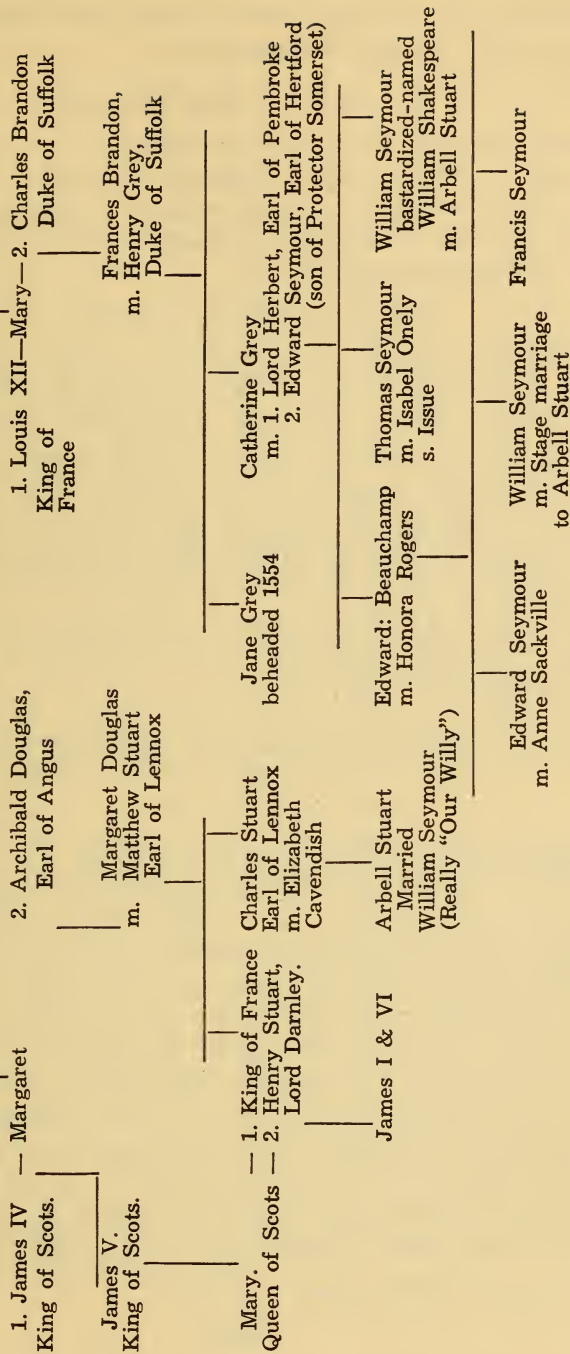
"Warrant to pay to Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, 300 lb. for diet, lodging, and other necessaries, for the Lady Arbell and five of her servants, during the seven months of her continuance with him."² (Warrant Bk. II, p. 190)

¹C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610-1613.

²C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1613, p. 4.

DESCENDANTS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF HENRY VII.

HENRY VII



Footnote: Adapted from Green's, Short History of the English People.

The next news we get about Arbell comes again from the records of the Venetian Ambassador:

M. A. Correr to Doge and Senate

(Dated Feb. 4, 1611, ns. Jan. 26, 1610, os.)

"Lady Arbell is in bed so afflicted and ill that the King has been obliged to postpone her departure for Durham for another twenty days. She is relegated to Durham and her husband is a closer prisoner then ever."

Same to same, the next day.

"They say a decree of the Sultan's has been issued ordering that in Moldavia they shall receive as Prince the person (Stephen Bogdon) who is now in the house of the English Ambassador."³

King James at Royston decided to really destroy this claim to the throne by the Seymours, and as Arbell was in his power he vented his wrath on her. He must have studied, or had someone study the subject, as to the Will of Henry VIII. and found that it was enrolled on the Close roll of I, Edward VI, Feb. 14 (1548). This Will entirely removed James from the throne. So evidently he decided to go on with his project for Arbell to be removed to Durham. He therefore gives:

A Royal Warrant to the Bishop of Durham, committing the Lady Arbell Seymaure to his Custody

"JAMES R."

"Right Reverend Father in God, and Trusty and well-Beloved, We greet you well. Whereas our cousin the Lady Arbell hath highly offended us in seeking to marry herself without our Knowledge (to whom she had the honour to be near in blood), and in proceeding afterwards to a full conclusion of a marriage with the self-same person whom (for many just causes) we had expressly forbidden her to marry; after he had in our presence, and before our Council, forsworn all interest as concerning her, either past or present, with solemn protestations upon his allegiance, in her hearing, never to renew any such motion again. For as much as it more necessary for us to make some such demonstration now of the just sense and feeling we have, after so great an indignity offered to us, as may make us neglect those considerations wherein both

³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610-1613.

the honour and order of the State is interested. We have therefore thought good, out of trust in your fidelity and discretion, to remit to your care and custody the person of our said cousin, requiring and authorizing you hereby to carry her down in your company to any house of yours as unto you shall seem best and most convenient, there to remain in such sort as shall be set down to you by directions from the Council, or any six to them, to whom we have both declared our pleasure for the manner of her restraint, and have also given in charge, upon conference with you, to take order for all things necessary either for her health or otherwise. This being, as you see, the difference between us and her—that whereas she hath abounded towards us in disobedience and ingratitude, we are (on the contrary) still apt to temper the severity of our justice with grace and favour towards her, as may well appear by the course we have taken to commit her only to your custody, in whose house she may be so well assured to receive all good usage, and see more fruit and exercise of religion and virtue than in many other places. For all this shall be your sufficient warrant.

“From Royston. this 13th of March, 1610-1611.”⁴

On the same day, March 13, 1611, there was a “Warrant for payment of necessary sums for the charges of Lady Arbell Seymour Committed to the custody of the Bishop of Durham.”⁵ (Warrant Bk. II, p. 196.)

The next record is dated March 15, 1610-1611:

“Warrant to Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, from the Lords of the Council, Ordering him to Deliver Arbell to the Bishop of Durham.

“After our verie harte comendacions. Whereas it hath pleased his Matie by Letters under his royall Signature to give order to the right reverend father in God, the Bishop of Durham, to receive into his charge the person of the Ladie Arbell Seymoure, to be carried down and conveyed from hence in his companie to such house of his as shall seem best and most convenient, there to remayne in such sort, and according to such Directions as are contained in the said letters. Forasmuch as she was committed to

⁴Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 94, 96, 97. Printed in full in Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England*.

⁵C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 16.

yr charge by his Maties commandmt, and that it is meete the like order to taken for yor discharge:

"These are therefore to will and require you, accordinge to his Maties good pleasure in that behalf, to deliver the person of the said Ladie unto our verie good Lord, the Bishop of Durham, to be by him conveyed as aforesaid, which we require you to perform this present Friday, for which this shall be sufficient warrant. And we bid you heartie farewell.

"From Whitehall, the 15th of March 1610-1611

"Your verie lovinge Friends.

"T. ELLESMERE

R. SALISBURY

T. SUFFOLK

E. WORCESTER

E. WOOTTON

H. NORTHAMPTON

GILB. SHREWSBURY

W. KNOWLLES

JUL. CAESAR

LENOX"⁶

It seems that it was planned to have Arbell immediately removed to Barnet, but her condition was such, when the Bishop received her at Lambeth Ferry, that it was necessary for these plans to be revised as her physician, Dr. Moundford, who had provided cordials against weakness, had to administer them against her weakness. She evidently was too weak to move and had to be carried on a litter. It became evident that they would have to break the journey to Barnet at Highgate. For this they had to have an order from the Council, as follows:

Warrant to Sir William Bond

"Forasmuch as there is some occasion to make provision for one night's lodging for the Lady Arbell, in respect that she cannot conveniently recover Barnet, some things being wanting for her journey this afternoon, contrary to our expectations, we have thought good to entreat you not to refuse such a courtesy as the lending of a couple of chambers for her ladyship; because we doubt not the inns there are full of inconveniences. By doing whereof you shall give us cause to report well of you to his Majesty. And so we commit you to God.

⁶Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 98. C.S.P. Dom. James I, LXI, 30.

"At Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1610-1611

"Your loving friends.

"R. SALISBURY

NOTTINGHAM

E. WORCESTER

JUL. CAESAR

H. NORTHAMPTON

T. SUFFOLK

GILB. SHREWSBURY

"To our loving friend, Sir William Bond, Knt, or in his absence, to the Lady his wife at High Gate."⁷

Highgate was on the Great North Road over which Arbell was supposed to travel, stopping at East Barnet at the house of Mr. Conyers.

As Miss Cooper has described this journey so much better than I can do, not having access to the complete letters in the Public Record Office, I shall use her description which I hope will offend no one.

"On the 16th of March, in the morning, the Bishop of Durham went to Sir Thomas Parry's to receive his unhappy charge, carrying with him the King's letters, ordering her departure. Her agony was unspeakable. Cold drops burst from her forehead, her brain seemed as if it would give way; probably then she received a blow which laid the foundation of after suffering.

"The Bishop did all in his power to sooth her. She demanded a sight of the King's letters. He showed them immediately, and 'used all the poor skill' he had to persuade her to resignation. He recounted to her the lives of patient saints, of less fortunate prisoners, adding exhortations of his own in the presence of Mr. Chancellor, Doctor Moundford, and others, who doubtlessly joined their arguments to his.

"But for the 'sudden wrench from all we love,' what consolation can be offered even when it is unavoidable or inflicted by the just hand of death! How then can the high and intense spirit endure it when it is the effect of unprovoked tyranny and unmerited suspicion! Such a soul as that of Arbell cannot sink passively. Resignation is unknown, and the heart is impelled by its inward force to make war till death against the remorseless agents of its cruel destiny. The misery of her feelings utterly overcame the physical strength of the prisoner. Dr. Moundford, the physician, was obliged to administer cordials three times to prevent her from

⁷Harleian MSS. MSS., 7003, f. 102. Sloane MSS., 4161, f. 53.

fainting on the way from Lambeth to Highgate. Between ten and eleven they reached Highgate, where she was lifted from her litter in a state resembling death. The Bishop 'being somewhat distempered himself' could not do more just then, than speak a few words of attempted comfort as she was carried to the house of Sir William Bond, who received her with 'special care both of her and such as were about her.'

"Till midnight she remained in the same state, when she sunk into the exhausted but unrefreshing sleep that for a few hours will steep a heavy grief in the temporary oblivion of stupefaction.

"When she awoke, she declared her utter inability to obey the King's orders, and continue her journey to Barnet. The Bishop came to her bedside with exhortations and persuasions to rise, telling her of 'the sweet day, and air, and duty of her journey,' but the doctor, who took 'careful and dilligent pains about her,' declared her total unfitness to proceed. The Bishop then asked her whether she would be pleased to hear prayers, and on her assenting, he immediately offered to say them himself, and to prepare a sermon for the next day; but the offices of religion were deferred, even by a Bishop, to the respect due the King. Arbell had to wait for her religious consolation till the Bishop had written a letter to the Privy Council, minutely detailing the journey, and asking for further directions. Dr. Moundford, who was greatly touched and alarmed at the state of his patient, wrote also to one of the Lords of the Council on the subject. James sent his own physician, Dr. Hammond, less from a kind motive than with a view to discover whether or not the illness of Arbell was feigned—a suspicion which greatly troubled him. Dr. Hammond had some private talk with the Bishop and Dr. Moundford, who assured him of the reality of her illness, and then waited on Arbell, with whom he was before acquainted. She received him with that gracious manner which won all who approached her, and which had not forsaken her, even in her present state of mental and bodily suffering. He felt her pulse, talked with her as to the cause of her illness, and prescribed medicine, which he probably knew to be a farce. Dr. Moundford, as was necessary, promised to obey the royal physician, but remarked privately 'I am sure that neither of this (feeling her pulse and giving medicine) he can warrant either amendment of her health or contynuance of lyfe if some contentment of minde be not gained.' He said that he would administer Hammond's pre-

scription 'with all dewe respect,' when time and opportunity should be afforded, but he preferred administering cordials. It was not without some fear that he administered stimulants in Arbell's excited state, but he preferred the risk of 'cherishing her to life,' to letting her sink from exhaustion, saying how vain it was to expect all circumstances incident to the perfect recovery of such an imperfect body."

"On the 21st of March Arbell, apparently no better, was obliged by the King's orders to remove from Highgate to Barnet. During the ride of six miles they were forced to stop five or six times, on account of the ghastly sickness with which she was overcome; and it was only by Dr. Moundford administering the best cordials which he had had the precaution to prepare and bring with him, that she was enabled to reach her journey's end. Helpless as an infant she was carried to bed in the house of Thomas Conyers, Esq. a gentleman of East Barnet. The Bishop, who seems to have been in the utmost dread of displeasing the King, immediately wrote to the Council describing her state. . . . "

We now take this pause to insert Correr's letter to the Doge:

M. A. Correr to the Doge and Senate

(Dated Mar. 17, 1611, ns. Mar. 7, 1610, os.)

"The King has ordered that Lady Arbell shall leave London for Durham before his return. She has been relegated there and I hear orders will be carried out next week; the delay has not succeeded in revocation of the order."⁹

In the meantime Arbell has been busy with her pen and has written all the letters to every person of importance that she could, including one to the Council.

Petition from Lady Arbell Seymour to the Lords of the Council

"May it please your Lordships,—I protest I am in so weak case, as I verily think it would be the cause of my death to be removed any whither at this time, though it were to a place to my liking. My late discomfortable journey, which I have not yet recovered, had almost ended my days, as I have never since gone out of a few little and hot rooms, and am many ways unfit to take the air. I trust your Lordships will not look I should be so unchristian as to be the cause of my own death, and I leave it to your Lordships'

⁸Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 106. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 146.

⁹C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I.

wisdom to consider what the world would conceive if I should be violently enforced to do it. Therefore I beseech your Lordships to be humble suitors in my behalf, that I may have some time given me to recover my strength, which I should the sooner do if I were not continually molested. And I will hope and pray that God will incline his Majesty's heart every way to more compassion towards me, who rests

"Very humbly at your Lordships' Command.

"A. S."¹⁰

Sir James Croft to Salisbury

(Dated Mar. 31, 1611. East Barnett)

"Lady Arbell dressed herself as well as her extreme weakness would permit and showed readiness to remove, but could not, because nothing was prepared at Mr. Conyers house. She had a violent attack in the head."¹¹

When Lady Arbell wrote this letter to Lord (Salisbury) I do not know, but it was after she was banished to Durham.

Lady Arbell Seymour to Lord - - (Probably Salisbury)

"My Lord,—The nobleness of your nature and the good opinion it hath pleased your Lordship to hold of me heretofore, emboldeneth me to beseech your Lordship to enter into consideration of my distress, and be touched with the misery I am in for want of his Majesty's favour, whose clemency and mercy is such that if it would please you to make my grief known, and how nearly it toucheth my heart that it hath been my hard fortune to offend his Majesty, I cannot doubt but it would gain me both mitigation of the hard doom, and mercy in some measure to yield comfort to my soul, overwhelmed with the extremity of grief which hath almost brought me to the brink of the grave. I beseech your Lordship deal so with me as my prayer may gain God's reward, for his sake, though it be but a cup of cold water, I mean any small hope of intercession of his Majesty's displeasure shall be most thankfully received by me. And I doubt not but if it please your Lordship to try your excellent gift of speech, his Majesty will lend a gracious ear to your Lordship, and I shall rest ever bound to pray

¹⁰Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 147. C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-18, p. 16.

¹¹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 19.

for your Lordship's happiness, who now myself rest the most unfortunate and afflicted creature living."

"A. S."¹²

Bishop of Durham to Lord Salisbury

"Arrival of Lady Arbell at Barnet. Sends his own servant because the Postmaster refused to despatch an express—Inclosed.

(Letter) Bp. of Durham to the Council

"After six days stay at Highgate, Lady Arbell travelled thither, bu was very ill on the journey. Thanks for sending Sir Jas. Croft's to relieve him. Lady Arbell's extreme reluctance to proceed on her journey *compelled the use of the means prescribed, which were employed with all decency and respect.* Mar. 21, Barnet."¹³

This is certainly a curious letter to Salisbury by the Bishop of Durham! WHAT did they do to Arbell? Evidently something that Arbell knew for her next letter to Salisbury bears out my suspicion that Dr. Hammond may have prescribed some medicine that was such that it subdued her fiery spirit. We have another undated letter to Salisbury, which we give at this point:

Lady Arbell Seymour to (Lord Salisbury)

"My Lord,

"The long acquaintance betwixt us, and the good experience of your honourable dealing heretofore maketh me not only hope but be most assured, that if you knew of my most discomfortable and distressed estate you would acquaint his Majesty withal, and consequently procure my relief and redress as you have done other-times. I have been sick even unto the death, from which it hath pleased God miraculously to deliver me for this present, but find myself so weak (by reason I have wanted those ordinary helps whereby most others in my case, be they never so poor or unfortunate soever are preserved alive at least for charity); that *unless I may be suffered to have those about me that I may trust, this sentenance that my Lord Treasurer (Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk) pronounced after his Majesty's refusing that trifle of my work, by your persuasion, as I take it, will prove the certain and apparant cause of my death.* Whereof I then thought good to advertise you that you both may the better prepared in case you, or

¹²Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 104.

¹³C.S.P. Dom. James 1st, 1611-1618, p. 17.

either of you, have possessed the King with such opinion of me, as thereupon I shall be suspected and restrained till help come too late, and be assured that neither physicians nor other but whom I think good shall come about me whilst I live till I have his Majesty's favour, without which I desire not to live. And if you remember of old I dare to die, *so I be not guilty of my own death*, and oppress others with my ruin too, if there be no other way, as God forbids, to whom I commit you and rest assuredly as heretofore, if you be the same to me.

"Your lordship's faithful friend.

"A. S."

"P. S. I can get neither clothes, nor posset ale, for example, nor anything but ordinary diet, nor complement fit for a sick body in my case, when I call for it, not so much as a glister, saving your reverence."

The draft of this letter which is contained in the Record's Office has more to it, which Arbell did not send. As we want to know as much as we can of her mental attitude at this time we give it here, although it was never sent:

"That unless it please his Majesty to show me mercy, and that I may receive from your lordship at least some hope of regaining his Majesty's favour, again, it will not be possible for me to undergo the great burden of his princely displeasure. Good my lord, consider, the fault cannot be uncommitted, neither can any more be required of any earthly creature but confession and most humble submission, which, if it should please your lordship to present to his Majesty, I cannot doubt but his Majesty would be pleased to mitigate his displeasure, and let me receive comfort. I wish your lordship would in a few lines understand my misery, for my weakness is such that writing is very painful to me, and cannot be pleasant to any to read. From your hand, my lord, I receive the first favour, which favour, if I may obtain from your lordship's hand in my greatest necessity, I shall ever acknowledge myself bound to you for it, and the rest of my life shall show how highly I esteem his Majesty's favour. The Almighty send to your lordship health, and make you His good means to help me out of this great grief. Your lordship's most distressed friend."¹⁴

¹⁴State Papers, Dom. James I, 1610-1618. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 150.

We now go back to the writings of Miss Cooper which continued with the Bishop of Durham's Letter to the Council:

"The Bishop was therefore compelled to send his own servant to say, that though there was no knowing what a night's rest might bring forth, yet Dr. Moundford declared that she could not safely travel. Dr. Moundford wrote the same day to Earl Gilbert (Shrewsbury) to the same effect, declaring her illness and weakness to be alarmingly increased. Earl Gilbert, though a member of the Privy Council, had no influence whatever in her favour, nay, as a member of that body, he was obliged to sign all the hard decrees issued against his neice. 'I can doe her very small service more than by my prayers,' he says, when after vainly trying to move King James told him coarsely 'that it was enough to make any sound man sick to be carried in a bed in that manner she is, much more for her whose impatience and unquiet spirits heapeth upon herself far greater indisposition of body.'

"Moundford also wrote to Mary, the wife of Gilbert, who though she appears to have been cold to her neice heretofore, now manifested great sympathy and anxiety on her account. Gilbert begged Moundford to write his wife, therefore, and assure her that no news was always good news.

"At Barnet, Dr. Hammond visited Arbell again. He found her weak, with a dull and melancholy pulse, her countenance very heavy, pale and wan, though free from fever and specific bodily disease. A little respite was granted, and she was told 'in no case to trouble herself till restored to some better strength both of mind and body.'"

"A month's stay at Barnet to recruit her strength was granted. The Bishop departed to Durham, probably to make preparations, and Arbell was confined to the care of Sir James Crofts. Earl Gilbert wrote soothing letters, telling her that the 'greatest, nearest, and wisest' about the King are of opinion that 'his Majesty's disfavour and her imprisonment will not last long.' Her servants, however, were taken away, probably from suspicion, and it is to this that she alludes in the second of the following letters, thanking the King for the month's grace."¹⁵

Now we come to the letter of the Lady Chandos written on Good Friday, March 22, 1610-1611:

¹⁵Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 150-153.

Lady Chandos to Dr. Moundford

"Dr. Moundford,—I desire the widow's prayer, with my humble service, may by you be presented to the Lady Arbell, who I hope God will so fortify her mind, as she will take this cross with such patience as may be to His pleasing, who, as this day signifies, took upon Him a good deal more for us: and when He seeth time He will send comfort to the afflicted. I pray you if you want for the honourable Lady what is in this house, you will send for it; for most willingly the master and mistress of the house would have her ladyship command it. If the drink do not like my lady, spare not to send. The knight and my daughter remember their kind commendations unto yourself.

"So I commit you to God, and rest as your friend,

"FRANCIS CHANDOS."

"(Indorsed 'To my friend, M. Dr. Mountford at Barnet.')" ¹⁶

Lady Arbella to the King

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty graciously to accept my most humble thanks for these halcyon days it hath pleased your Majesty to grant me. And since it hath pleased your Majesty to give this testimony of willingness to have me live awhile, in all humility I beg the restitution of those comforts without which every hour of my life is discomfortable to me, the principal whereof is your Majesty's favour, which none that breathes can more highly esteem than I, who whilst I live will not cease to pray to the Almighty for your Majesty's prosperity and rest.

"Your Majesty's Most humble,

And faithful, almost ruined

Subject and servant.

"ARBELL S." ¹⁷

"The Bishop accompanied his charge to the new abode, and leaving her in charge of Sir James Croft and his cousin, a man named Minors, hurried north, stopping a few days at Royston on his way to report to the King in what state he had left his prisoner.

"Writing to Croft and Moundford on the 17th of April, he describes his interview, and he seems hopeful as to the future. 'I was no sooner come into the Court,' says he, 'but I was presently

¹⁷Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 89. Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, p. 152.

¹⁸Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 109. Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, p. 263.

brought to his Majesty, who asked me of the Lady Arbell, and where I had left her. I told his Majesty of her estate in her three removes; of the grief which she conceived of his Majesty's indignation; of her hearty and zealous prayers for him and his; of her willingness, if it might so please him, even to sweep his chamber. Whereunto it pleased his Majesty to call the Prince, who was then in the same room. I do not see but that his Majesty is well pleased with the time she hath to recover strength, and that he hath an especial care that she should be used and respected as a noble lady of her birth and nearness to him; and time may work that which in this shortness cannot be affected. I pray you present my duty and service unto her, to pray her to remember what I oftentimes out of a true heart (as yourselves in my hearing have done) have said unto her. So shall she best please God by her obedience, satisfy his Majesty, comfort her own conscience, enable her good friends to speak for her, and stop the mouths, (if any there be) who envy her restitution into his Majesty's favour. My poor opinion is that, *if she wrong not herself*, God in time will move his Majesty's heart to have compassion upon her.' . . . And then, as the Bishop rather tactlessly reminded her, 'they should meet in the north.'

"Prince Henry sent his favourite Chaplain to minister to her whilst she was at East Barnet, as appears by an entry in his accounts at this time. 'To Mathias Melwarde, one of the Prince's Chaplaynes, for his paynes in attending the Ladye Arbell Seymour to preache and reade prayers during her abode at Est barnett, 1b5.'" ¹⁸

The following which if we reckon chronologically should have been used sooner, will have to be recorded here:

M. A. Correr to the Doge & Senate

(Dated Apr. 7 ns. Mar. 29 os. 1611.)

"The King has insisted that before he returned to London Lady Arbella should set out for Durham. For this purpose he has sent repeated messengers and has declared that he will not enter the city till his orders are carried out. But as the lady refused to rise from her bed, being partly crushed by grief and partly pleading illness, she was taken a few miles out of London in a litter, and will continue her journey slowly. The King has gone back to Theobalds and on Monday will be followed by the Prince. The Queen has gone to Greenwich and will stay there three weeks."

¹⁸Bradley, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 273.

(Dated Apr. 14, ns. Apr. 4, os. 1611.)

"His Majesty, informed of the evil plight of the Lady Arbell, and fearing to be generally judged to be too harsh, has given leave to her to remain for a month longer in the place where she is a few miles out of London, and has changed her place of confinement from Durham to a house belonging to Lord Cavendish, brother of her mother, which lies in the middle of the kingdom. To this last resolution Arbella does not consent, owing to the quarrels she has always had with her uncle from whom she claims large estates. She hopes that within the time appointed her she will find new access to the King's grace."¹⁹

We now come to something that the King was doing during this period when Arbell was suffering at Barnet. This is contained in a *Treatise on the Union of the British Realms, 1605*. It is edited from the manuscript in the Advocates Library, Aberdeen, and again reedited by C. Sanford Terry. It is contained in a footnote on page 257.

"(1) Craig raises an interesting point. The original will of Henry VIII is in the Public Records Office and is endorsed as being enrolled on the Close Roll of I Edward VI. With it is an exemplification by letters patent, dated February 15, of I Edward VI recording its enrollment. But there is no trace of the enrollment of the Will on the Close Roll I Edward VI, and the membrane must have been bodily removed from the Roll. On that point, Craig would appear accurately informed. But the more interesting question arises. By whom was the enrollment on the Close Roll cancelled? Craig says that Mary Tudor did so; but, as Dr. James Gairdner remarks in a letter to me on the point, 'I do not see that Mary is likely to have tampered with the records.' In the reign of Elizabeth the Will of Henry VIII was of special interest to the Jesuits, but it is difficult to attribute to them or Elizabeth the excision of the Will from the Close Roll. At the same time the Will technically barred James's succession to Elizabeth, and it is possible that the action attributed by Craig to Mary should be assigned to Elizabeth or her ministers at the close of her reign. It may even be mooted whether James himself was not the author of the excision of the enrollment. It was hostile to his claims as was the so-called

¹⁹C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1611-1618.

Will of Edward VI, and the latter, as appears from a copy of the original letters patent in the British Museum, (Harleian MSS. 35) was cancelled by James at Royston on April 12, 1611.

“(2) Somerset’s suggestion for a union in 1548 in *Epistle to the Nobilitie of Scotland*. (It is reprinted in the Early English Text’s Society *The Complaynt of Scotland*.) See Pollard’s *Protector Somerset*. Chap. 6.

“(3) From the elder (sister of Henry VIII) Margaret, wife of James IV, Mary Steward and James VI descended. As Mr. Pollard remarks (*Cambridge Mod. Hist.* v. II p. 475) ‘the genuiness (of the will) was not disputed until the possibility of a Stewart succession drew attention to the obstacles it placed in their way to the throne.’ On this matter see R. Doleman’s, *A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*, pt. ii, chap. 1 and 5, and also Craig’s posthumously published treatise on the subject of the *Succession*. Doleman was Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, who published his above *Conference of the next Succession to the Crown of England*. He did not support James’s claims to it.”

Queen Mary would not have bothered with the Close Roll, as she expected almost to her death that she would have an heir. Elizabeth could have excised the Close Roll, for the people she had around her would do almost anything she desired. I believe, however, that with all the spies employed around her by the important statesmen, she would have hesitated. James, was another matter, however. As we follow so closely his actions against the heirs of Mary, Henry VIII’s younger sister, the Grey’s in the family of the Seymours, and now his cousin Arbell who had united herself with them, it could have been that he had the Close Roll excised before he cancelled Edward VI’s Will, or on the same date, April 12, 1611.

He was at this time in such a towering rage at this marriage of Arbell’s with William Seymour, uniting the two claims, and she being a native while he was a foreigner, that he might do anything. He was strong enough, with his unscrupulous Howard faction in his Privy Council—Henry and Thomas Howard and the Earl of Salisbury. He was almost one of them, for he had married the sister of Lady Francis, she of the Overbury fame, one of Thomas

Howard's daughters. So Arbell's old time friend was really in the other camp.

James was undoubtedly afraid for his throne, which must have accounted for his treatment of Arbell, although as we have shown she was far from a prudent person. If the people really disliked him, as the Venetian Ambassador claimed they did, they would do something about it, which later they did in the beheading of Charles I.

To go back to our story of Arbell and her treatment when she was being taken to Durham:

Sir James Croft to the Council

"Asks further instructions for Lady Arbell's journey to Durham. 'She is somewhat better and lightsomer than heretofore, but that not otherwise than that she hath not yet walked as yet the length of her chamber, to my knowledge, neither do I find her at any time otherwise than in her naked bed, or in her clothes upon her bed. Concerning her ladyship's mind, it is so much dejected, as she apprehendeth nothing but fear and danger in their ugliest forms, conceiting always the worst, and much worse than can any way happen unto her of danger. As to her going this journey, or that his Majesty should dispose of her at his pleasure, she doth not gainsay, but the horrors of her utter ruin and end, which hourly present themselves to her phantasy occasioned (as she discovereth herself unto me) by the remoteness of the place whereunto she must go, driveth her to utter despair to return, or to be able to live out one only year: where otherwise, if she were left, as her ladyship saith, in some convenient place, not so clean out of the world as she termeth Durham to be, she would gather to herself some weak hope of more gentle fortune in time to come. These and the like are the best and pleasingest discourses that I can any time have with her ladyship, whereunto whatsoever I can reply to the contrary giveth her no manner of satisfaction at all.'

"When the month was up, (April 25 was the end of respite) she was so little able to undertake her journey, that Dr. Moundford himself went to London and asked for an audience of the King in order to obtain another month's grace. Dr. Hammond seconded his petition, declaring before the Privy Council, the Prince of Wales and the King, Arbell's utter unfitness to travel. The King complained of her 'obstinacy,' declaring 'that to Durham

she should go if her were King.' Moundford said 'he had no doubt of her obedience.' 'That obedience is what I require,' said the King, 'and procured I will do more for her than she expecteth.' After much pleading, another month was granted, chiefly, Moundford declared, through the eloquence of Arbell's own letters, one of which was read more than once with the applause of the Prince and Council."²⁰

The following is the letter in question:

Draft of a Petition from the Lady Arbell Seymour to the King

"May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

"Though it hath pleased God to lay so many heavy crosses upon me, as I account myself the most miserable creature living, yet none is so grievous to me as the loss of your Majesty's favour, which it appeareth not so much to my unspeakable grief in any other effect of it. Though the least of many it hath already brought forth is sufficient for my utter ruin, as it that your Majesty giveth credence (as I hear) to those sinister reports which impute that to my obstinacy, which proceeded merely out of necessity, not willing that I might be thought guilty of hastening my own death by any voluntary action of mine, having first endeavored by all good means to make my extreme weaknes known to your Majesty. But nothing availing me, certainly I had suddenly perished if your Majesty had not speedily had compassion of me in granting me this time of stay for my recovery, to which if it may please your Majesty of your gracious goodness to add 3 weeks more, Mr. Dr. Moundford hopes I may recover so much strength as may enable me to travel. And I shall ever be willing whilst I breathe to yield your Majesty most humble and dutiful obedience as to my Sovereign, for whose felicity for ever in all things I cease not to pray, and in all fortunes rest your Majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant.

"A. S."²¹

(In this MSS. this letter is marred, crossed, and blotted, as if written in a state of distraction.)

M. A. Correr & Foscarini to Doge & Senate

(Dated May 12 ns. May 2 os. 1611.)

"Lady Arbell ought to have left for Durham by this time, as

²¹Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 79.

²⁰Cooper, *Arbella Stuart*, II, 156.

the last concession of a month's delay, made to her at the instance of the Chancellor of Scotland, has now expired. All the same she is said to be in a state of very poor health and with a mind most impatient of this trouble, and it would not be surprising if her departure were put off for a day or two."²²

Bishop of Durham to Salisbury

(Dated Mar. 24. Auckland)

"The 300 ^{lb} appointed from the tenths for Berwick shall be ready, and also his half-year's pay of 44 ^{lb}., though he could have wished moneys to be left in his hands towards Lady Arbells charges."²³

Foscarini & Correr to the Doge & Senate

(Dated May 26 ns. May 16 os. 1611)

"Lady Arbells has obtained leave through the Countess of Shrewsbury, her aunt, to stay where she is for another twenty days, and for Lady Shrewsbury to visit her, which she was not allowed to do in the past."²⁴

This seems to be the last report that I can find before the news of Arbells and William's flight, apparently to France.

²²C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James 1st, 1610-1613, par. 227.

²³C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

²⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1610-1613.

CHAPTER LI

Arbell and William Seymour Escape

WE wonder what "Our Willy" and his co-workers were doing during this year outside of "Smith" having obtained access to Arbell at Lambeth? Undoubtedly he was now, since she was to be consigned to Durham, trying desperately to get more time for her to stay around London. There seemed nothing for her to do but to fly abroad to prevent that, and so the plot was put into shape. Certainly when Mary Talbot finally got permission to visit Arbell at Barnet plans were hastily put into action. "While the doctor Moundford and Arbell were discussing medicines, Anne Bradshaw and Mary Talbot were discussing ways and means of getting in touch with Seymour and effecting an escape."

"The second month of respite was to end on the 8th of June. By the second of June all arrangements had been made. On that day Edward Rodney, again the friend of the ill-fated couple, went to a house by St. Mary Overy and engaging some rooms, sent goods there the same night, of such weight and evident value that the landlady became suspicious. The next morning came a flaxen-haired gentleman with 'a tall person not richly appparelled and very pale. . . . having a wart. . . . on her face upon her cheek.'

"They stayed in the house until two o'clock seeing the goods conveyed to Great Tooley Wharf. The landlady, her suspicions aroused, sent to watch them when they left, and discovered that they went off from Pickle Herring Station. The goods of weight and value were the jewels and baggage of Arbell, (evidently still at Lambeth); the flaxed-haired gentleman was Edward Reeves, one of her old servants, and the tall person with the wart was her maid Anne Bradshaw."

Her Story

"On Monday, the 3rd of June, Arbell walked out of Mr. Conier's house disguised as a man accompanied by her servant Markham. She had persuaded her attendant Mrs. Adams, 'a minister's

wife,' that she wished to see her husband for this last time before going North and promised to return early next morning.

"The good woman had believed her, and with her own hand had helped her to put on the great French-fashioned hose which covered up her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloake, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side (another account calls it a sword), which the faithful steward Crompton had provided for his mistress' disguise. (Markham was really a servant of the Earl of Shrewsbury.)

"After a walk of a mile and a half, Arbell and her companion reached a 'sorry inn' near Barnet where Crompton was waiting with packhorses. The unaccustomed strain of walking told on Arbell, and the ostler remarked, 'The young gentleman looks ill, and will hardly last out to London.'

"But her pluck carried her through: 'yet being set on a good gelding, astride in unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face, and riding harder through the day, she and her companion reached Blackwell about six in the evening.'

"Arbell and Seymour had concerted a flight, as bold in its plot and as beautifully wild, as any recorded in romantic history."

It is evident that Arbell had used the attire of "Imogen" in *Cymbeline* as her model. *Cymbeline* had just been published in 1609 and it was quite well known to all her helpers. In fact, "Our Willy" must have used Arbell as his model for Imogen, as she resembled that character so thoroughly. She never hesitated to put on man's clothes when she had to escape, neither did Arbell. Evidently her acting was good, it fooled the hostler and others. Clever too, was her acting before the minister's wife and Dr. Moundford. Yes, she was an actress and a good one as well; for she had had some experience with the Queen's Masques, and what a master as teacher!

"According to Sir John More's report, they had started immediately but one of the watermen who rowed them stated later that they had tarried at Blackwell tavern, for one and a half hours. When Monson hastened himself to Blackwell to question watermen there he soon heard of the strange happenings at the Tavern the night before, learning that one at least of the frequent visitors during the last few days had been recognized as Lady Grey, 2nd daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury, who had married Henry Grey,

Lord Ruthin, who had so kindly welcomed Arbell to Wrest, her home after Arbell's trouble with Queen Elizabeth and her Grand-mother.

"They were evidently waiting for Seymour, who had not come at the arranged time, and as might be expected Arbell naturally feared he had been prevented escaping from the Tower. Finally they started in two boats, the three, Markham, Crompton and Reeves in one, Arbell and Anne Bradshaw in the other. Even now after they had started Arbell ordered that the boats should loiter in case Seymour should appear. Still he did not come, and it was not until early dawn that the two boats arrived at Lee, where they failed to sight the French Bark that had been chartered to wait for the fugitives and convey them to Calais.

"Hailing a brig bound for Berwick, they tried to persuade the Captain, John Bright, to alter his course and take them to Calais. He refused, but taking a careful note of the party was able at a later time to give evidence to the Government.

"'Being demanded what manner of men the three men were, he saith 'the one (Reeves) was about forty, with a large flaxen beard. . . . the other (Crompton) younge, with a black beard, who was the man that most desired him to receive and carry them, the last man (Markham) he observed not.' Further he stated 'that in the other wherie there was a tow (sic) women, the one (Anne Bradshaw) bare faced in blacke ridinge safgard with a black hatt havinge nothinge on her head but a blacke hatt and her hayr which he tocke by her face to be *Moll Cutt-purse*, thought so to himsealf that it was she, and that she maide some fault and so was desirous to escape. The other woman (Arbell) satt verie cloose cooverid with a blacke whod or vaylle over her head and face so that he could not see her, only saw that under her whode she had a whitt atyre, and that puttinge off her glove he observed a marvelous fayre whitt hand.'

"All Bright had done was to point out to them that the French ship they were looking for was probably the one riding at anchor seven or eight miles beyond Lee. Thither the little party had made, but Arbell desperate at the non-appearance of her husband, once more delayed until he should come. The delay was fatal. The tide went down, and the ship could not sail for some hours. The time which would have undoubtedly put her out of reach of her pursuers was uselessly wasted. When the vessel was at last ready to sail,

Arbell's flight had been discovered, a proclamation was issued, and orders sent for her pursuit."

The Venetian Ambassador Antonio Foscarini to Doge and Senate

"The day before yesterday, Seymour, who was chosen by the Lady Arbell as her husband against the King's wishes and who was therefore imprisoned in the Tower, made his escape: Lady Arbell is also fled. Though destined to live in the custody of the Bishop of Durham, near the Scottish border, by the King's clemency she was permitted to stay on hard by London. (See C.S.P. Dom., 1611, June 4.) The King only knew of it yesterday morning. Council was summoned immediately and proclamations were issued and printed the same day. I enclose them with a translation. The proclamation declares that for grave offences both were prisoners; that by the help of evil persons—some of whom are named—they had found means to fly with the intent to seek another country. Then follows the prohibition to shelter and the order to denounce and arrest them. Couriers were sent out in all directions, and especially to France, as there is some idea that they embarked not far from here. To-day, in the afternoon the King, who was at Greenwich, returned to London. The King and Council have spent the whole day in close consultation. It is thought for certain that the flight took place by the advice and help of some personages of weight; and it is held that Lady Arbell, who hitherto has professed the Puritan religion, may very easily become a Catholic along with her husband, in the hope of finding protection more easily."

Proclamation by the King

"Whereas we are given to understand that the Lady Arbell and William Seymour, second sonne to the Lord Beauchampe, being for divers great and hainous offences committed, the one to Our Towre of London, and the other to a special guard, have found the meanes by the wicked practices of divers lewd persons, as namely Markham, Crompton, Rodney, and others to break prison and escape on Monday, the third of June, with intent to transport themselves into forreine parts; wee doe hereby straightly charge and command all persons whatsoevre, upon their allegiance, and duetie, not onely to forbear to receive, harbour or assist them in their passage anyway, as they will answer it at their perils, but upon the like charge and paine to use the best meanes they can

for their apprehension, and keeping in safe custodie, which we will take as an acceptable service.

“Given at Our Mannour at Greenwich the fourth day of June, in the ninth yeere of our Reigne of Gt. Britain, France and Ireland.”

Lord Treasurer Salisbury immediately wrote to Ambassador Trumbull, English Ambassador to the Archduke at Brussels, dated June 6, 1911:

“The copy of this enclosed to the Archduke, will fully acquaint you with the strange occasion of this sudden dispatch. It only remains for me to let you know, that his Majestie’s Pleasure is you should presently demand audience of the Archduke: and having delivered the Letter, to represent unto him how sensible his Majesty shall be of the Proceedings that be used toward them in a matter of this nature, wherein Friendship ought not to be guided by that which is only visible, but by entering into Judgment how far Circumstances of Persons and Pretences may make the things dangerous in Consequence, though in other Examples wanting some such Considerations that may be refused which ought now to be granted. Upon which Ground you shall do well to make the further Instance: that the Archduke will not suffer the World to conceive that their Friendship with his Majesty is so weakly grounded, as not to demonstrate on such an occasion somewhat more than the ordinary Rules of Amity or Treaty may directly tie them to. And therefore his Majesty doth now require of them, that both the Persons and their company (if they come within their Dominions) may be stayed, untill upon advertizement of it they may further hear from his Majesty. Though you may conclude, that excepting the Scorn and Example of so great Pride and Animosity where his Majestie’s only Clemency hath bred his own Offence, there is nothing in these Persons relating to themselves, to hold them other than contemptible Creatures.

“This being the Effect which his Majesty doth desire, the time admitting no particular Relation of the Fact nor any long Discourse, the rest must depend upon your own Discretion, to employ and enforce the same as you shall see cause.

“They had so good Correspondency, and plotted their Escape with such Cunning and Secrecy though they were under severall Custodies, Mr. Seymour being in the Tower, but had the Liberty of the Prison, and the Lady Arbell committed to Sir James Crofts,

who was to conduct her to *Duresme*, yet they found means to escape much about the same time, the Lady putting her self into Man's Apparell, and the other disguising himself with a false Hair and Beard and mean Apparell. They embarqued themselves at Lee yesterday about nine a Clock in the morning: so that if they make not the more hast than I think they can, and this Messenger be not too slow, you shall have time enough to demand Audience and know the Archdukes Answer before they come to Brussells. And so I commit you to God.

"Your Loving Friend

"R. SALISBURY"

His Story

"Her husband in the meantime, having tricked his servant with the same promise that Arbell had made to the minister's wife, had managed to escape from the Tower. His barber, Tom Batten, who (believing his master spake *bona fide*) did according to his instructions, telling everyone that came to inquire for his master, that he was newly taken to his rest, being much troubled with tooth-ache; and when the matter was discovered did seriously persist to persuade Mr. Lieutenant, that he was gone to lie a night with his wife and would surely return thither of himself again. The man that made their perukes was a French clock maker, who is fled with them.

"His barber, Batten, afterwards committed to the Tower for his offence, brought him his disguise of a carter, and in this he escaped by following a waggon and a team of horses, which had brought some billets of wood to the Tower for him. His friend Rodney was waiting with a boat and horse at Tower stairs. Seymour took the boat and rowed to Blackwell, while Rodney rode thither. Arrived there, they found that Arbell and her companions after having waited at the tavern for an hour after the appointed time had been forced by the grumbling of the watermen hired to row them to Lee to make their way down the river. Rodney joined Seymour in the boat, and they rowed together after Arbell. However they arrived at Lee too late for the French boat, and after searching some time for it, finally induced a Newcastle collier to take them to Calais, for the sum of 40^{lb}.

"After much cruising they finally arrived at Ostend about eight o'clock in the morning of the following Friday (June 7) and sent

messages along the coast to 'hearken after the arrival of the Lady Arbell.'

"By that time, however, Arbell was a prisoner, and Rodney though he little knew it, had been through Seymour's delay, one of the means of bringing the story of her flight to the King's ears. Before leaving the house of Francis Seymour's younger brother (Hertford House), with whom he had lodged, Rodney had written to Francis informing him of the flight, in a letter which was to be delivered on the following (Tuesday) morning at eight o'clock, by which time he calculated that the fugitives would be beyond pursuit. But, as we have seen, William Seymour, either from an indolence of which he has often been accused, or from an inability to leave the Tower sooner, the cart being late, had arrived at the meeting-place an hour late and Arbell had waited for him and risked her own chance of escape. Hence Francis Seymour had the letter in his possession before the fugitives were safe. The news was too dangerous for him to attempt to keep it concealed, he was piqued that all had been done without his knowledge, whereas he might now be wrongly suspected of complicity. Finally, he probably reckoned with Rodney that the escape was by that time accomplished. Anyhow he went immediately to the Tower, found that his brother was indeed gone and showed Rodney's letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Waad, who made known the escape to the King and Salisbury at Greenwich.

"Meantime Sir William Monson (former Admiral of the Narrow Seas and in the pay of Spain) had also gathered the same news from gossip of the watermen who had rowed the mysterious passengers of the night before. He had thereupon written to Salisbury, on the morning of June 5th, that the French bark had set about six o'clock in the morning but that counting on the contrary winds, he was sure they could not reach Calais that night. He had already sent to the Narrow Seas for a ship to stand over for Calais and had stayed an oyster-boat and put men and shot into her, and was now about to hasten after the fugitives' bark.

"The King was thrown into a terror and despair quite unwarranted by the cause. The Council obediently followed his lead. Lord Nottingham wrote in a sensible style to Salisbury, that he was sorry for the escape since he knew it would trouble his Majesty, 'else England wyll find no lose by ther absence.' 'I am verily persuaded,' he adds, 'that if they be not relyved from ther

friends here, they shall find but lyttle relyfe wheresoever they shall be come.' Further his advice is that 'it doe not appear to the world that ther is here any gret account moved of them!'

"He was certain the fugitives could not be 'fare gone' since the wind was contrary and all that was necessary was to send notice with all possible speed 'to the shypes in the Narro Seas.' But the King refused to be comforted until Arbell was safely in the Tower.

"In the meantime, Sir William Monson was already in pursuit of the French brig, and had sent orders to a pinnace (*The Adventure*) that lay in the Downs to put to sea, first to Calais Roads, and then to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. The captain of *The Adventure*, Griffin Crockett, having had orders from Sir William Monson, 'stood off and under the South Sundhead and seeing a smale saill, gave chase.' As there was little wind he sent forward the ship's boat with shot, and 'half Channel over,' the boat overtook the sail and 'making some shoatt 13 fired straight into her, she yielded.'" Thus the Captain wrote from the Downs on the afternoon of Wednesday (5th June), his boat having already returned thither from midchannel with the Lady Arbell.

"'Hast, hast, hast, posthast hast, posthast for your lyffe'; he wrote on the back of this letter. The various post masters marked the time of delivery at their stations on the letter, showing that it reached Sittingbourne at five o'clock on the morning of 6th of June, Rochester at six o'clock and Dartmouth probably at seven. Hence the Lord Admiral knew of the capture early on the Thursday morning. By the next morning, between seven and eight o'clock, Sir Edward Zouche and Sir William Buttom came to *The Adventure*, and Sir William Monson wrote to Salisbury that everything should be done according to directions. 'For the more convenientcy and spead,' Sir William wrote, 'we do imbarke in the French barke wherein they were taken and goeth with her to the North Forland where we shall have choyce of ketches to put my Ladie and her servants in . . . and least the wind doe overblowe and hange westerly as yt is like to doe both. I have wrytten to the officers of the Navye to hasten doune with all spead, the lighthorsemen to meet us at the east end of the Swale: And so to rowe directly up to London: but least your Lordship should not know the meaning of the Swale, yt is the easternmost part of Sheppey whear we shall rowe betwixt the yland and the mayne.' Thus was Arbell Stuart captured and carried up to the Tower,

exhausted by the excitement of the past days, and the terrible uncertainty as to her husband's fate, yet not so sorry for her own restraint as she should be glad if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect more than her own."

The Seymours' Reaction

"The Seymour family feared lest suspicion should fall on them of abetting the escape. The old Earl of Hertford was furious. The rumours even went abroad that he had died of the shock. Viscount Fenton wrote to Salisbury, bidding him discover whether the rumour was, as he suspected, false, in which case Hertford was to be brought to Court to answer for himself. Already Salisbury had received a protesting letter from the old Earl from Netley, enclosing the letter which his grandson Francis had sent from his temporary confinement in his own house (Hertford House). Francis Seymour's letter is endorsed in the old Earl's handwriting:— 'My Nepos—Francis Seymour his letter (received) at Nettley, Wednesday night at eleven of the clocke on night of 5th of June, 1611.' In his own letter the old man recalls his own early days; the news of his grandson is, he says, 'no lesse troublesome to me than straung to think I should in my last dayes be grandforther of a child that instead of Patience and tareeing the Lordes Leisure (Lessons that I learned and payed for when in ysame place wher (fr) om Lewdly he is now ascaped) would not tarry for ye good houre of favor to come from a gracious and mercifull king as I did and enjoyed in the end (though long first) from a most worthy and noble queene, but hath plounged himself into his Highnesses just dis pleasure.' He bids Salisbury signify from him to the King, 'how distastfull this his (William Seymour's) foolish and boyish action,' is unto him and assure his Majesty that even as he had at first misliked 'the unfitnesse and inequality of the match,' so he condemned this last action 'as worst of all in them both.' He winds up his letter (written at four o'clock in the morning of Thursday the 6th of June) with 'an unquiet mind to thinck (as before) I should be grandfather to any child that hath so much forgotten his dewty as he hath now doon, and having sleape never a winck this night (a bad medycyne for one that is noe fully recovered of a second great coald I tooke.'" One can picture the old man receiving and reading his grandson's letter late at night, holding it, in his agitation, too near the light and burning in it the

hole which is still to be seen at the bottom of the letter. He apologizes to Salisbury for the accident in a postscript to his own letter, filling in the obliterated words (words *Tower to acquaint*). Francis Seymour further wrote to his grandmother from his temporary confinement, that he had 'noe nues to write but that my heart trembles to think on, when I first hard of it I was amazed knowing yit would be their and Her undoing, a greif unto theire friends and good to none, most hurt unto themselves. What is now become of them is yet uncertain.' As for himself he was 'as cleare of their escape or any of their practices as is the child that was but yesterday borne.'

"Indeed it was not by the help of his own family that William Seymour had escaped, and it was not the Seymour family which was to suffer. The friends of Arbell had provided the means, and they and she suffered.

"On Saturday (the 8th of June) Mary Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury followed Arbell to the Tower. In her turn she was followed by Sir James Croft; Dr. Moundford, Arbell's physician; Mrs. Adams, the minister's wife whom Arbell had duped; and several servants and friends. The Earl of Shrewsbury was kept a prisoner in his own house, but nothing could be found against him. An examination of the chief prisoner's before the Privy Council followed. Arbell, relieved now that her husband was safe, answered 'with good judgment and discretion,' but the Countess was 'utterly without reason,' crying out that all was 'but tricks and giggs,' and that she would answer nothing in private, but if she had offended the law she would answer it in public. She was said to have amassed 'a great summe of money to some ill use;' 20,000^{lb} were known to be hers in cash, while she had made 'provision for more Bills of Exchange to her neice's use than she had knowledge of.' And although the Lady Arbell had not as yet been found inclinable to popery, yet 'her aunt made accounts belike that being beyond the Sea in the hands of Jesuits and priests either the stroke of their arguments or the Pinch of Poverty' might have forced her to their side.

"There was strange diversity of opinion to the possible danger that might have arisen from Arbell's escape. Some said that 'the Hott arlarm taken at the matter' would make the husband and wife more illustrious in the World's eye than . . . (being let alone) they ever would have been. Others compared the case with

the Powder Treason, and so filled his Majesty with 'fearfull imaginations,' and with him the Prince (Henry). Indeed the ravings of the Countess of Shrewsbury about mysterious dealings with the Romanist powers, were sufficient to make James, clutched by his ever attendant fears, tremble on his throne. Aunt and niece were both sent back to prison and the Countess was sentenced to a second trial because of her 'high and great contempt.' At this second trial Sir Francis Bacon presided and played the time-serving courtier, pandering to the terror of the King. 'That this flight or escape into foreign parts might have been seed of trouble to this state is a matter whereof the conceit of a vulgar person is not incapable . . . in another sphere (than England) she (Arbell) must have moved in motion that orb' (not under the guidance, that is, of the most noble and terrified James). As a result of the trial, Lady Shrewsbury was fined 20,000^{lb} and confined during the King's pleasure. In 1613 she attempted to escape, with the only result that she was more closely kept than at any time before, nor was she released until 1616, the year after Arbell's death.

"Meanwhile, from June 1611 until death released her Arbell was a close prisoner. Then confinement and loneliness preyed upon her mind, and in 1612 she was said to be '*distracted, which (if it be so) comes well to pass for some Body whom they say she hath nearly touched.*' However, a careful study of all possible evidence shows that her madness was only periodical, and sometimes, as many of her letters show, she was in possession of her faculties. She directed her own expenditures from the Tower, and by the help of her faithful steward, Compton, was able to send various sums of money to her exiled husband as Crompton's account-books clearly show. Her faithful, generous love for her young husband never failed, even though sometimes she was visited by a natural despair, since he seems never to have risked any attempt to communicate with her. He tarried first in Holland with the Archdukes, who had refused to deliver him up, and constantly tried to persuade James to Pardon 'so small a fault as a clandestine marriage.' James, however, was obdurate; what they termed a small fault was to him 'a mountain of iniquity,' and the English minister at Brussels was ordered 'to carry always a watchful eye to observe what entertainment he (Seymour) doth find there, how he is respected, to whom he most applies himselfe, who especially resort

to him, and what course he proposeth to take either for his stay or remove.'

"In September 1611, Seymour finds Brussels impossible. He removed to Paris where he seems to have fallen among evil company and to have made many debts. In October 1613 the old Earl wrote to him, censuring him for his late wilful repair to Dunkirk, contrary to the Kings orders and to the instructions sent him from his grandfather through his tutor Pellinge. (Note. The old Earl, fearing lest his grandson, who was only twenty-four years old, should be corrupted both in morals and religion, sent Pellinge to him in Paris in Nov. 1611.) This repair to Dunkirk, according to a fragment of a burned letter among the Cottonion Manuscripts, was made in order to escape his creditors, who had 'putt divers sergeants in waitt for him and threatened to putt him in prison.' The letter continued that 'Mr. Seymour being discontented in his minde hath declared unto C.T. that he (will not) have any longer patience, because that he perceyved that the King had noe (mind to) bestow and grace upon him, nor lett him and his Ladye come together so (that she hath) become distracted of mind, whereby he knew that she could not live long. And (therefore he) was resolut to take some other counsell and to show ere it was long that he was not beaste nor foole, but that he hath courage enough to anger the best of them, that 400^{lb} a yeare shoulde not keepe him,* for his grandfather would not (allow him) any more nor pay his debts in France.' He seems to have a further scheme for remaining with the King of Spain, and taking a pension which would be 'honorabile used.' This, of course was with the idea of intimidating James. He may even had some real project of allying with Romanist powers, and attempting an invasion of England. At least he was given a vast amount of verbal encouragement. For instance, a certain Captain Dekester called him openly a Prince of England, and declared that Henry VII went out of Brittany into Wales with 1,000 men and that Mr. Seymour might carry himself so, that he might have 20,000 men. This braggartism had little practical value, however. Seymour remained in exile, Arbell in prison.

"Note * This was the allowance his grandfather made him, and bade him consider sufficient considering the poorness of his own estates, crippled by debt at this time. Later in 1615 William wrote a complaining letter to his brother Francis, asking the old

Earl to release him from his debts, promising in future to cut his coat according to his cloth."¹

¹The above report is taken from A. Audrey Locke, **The Seymour Family**, p. 109 et passim. The various reports are here joined into a connected whole. They are: Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 126, f. 128, f. 122; Winwood Coll. State Papers, III, 281; C.S.P. Dom. James I, LXIV, 3 et passim, 1611.

CHAPTER LII

Search for these Culprits

IN the meantime the reports of Arbell's flight with the news sent to all parts of Europe as well as towns in the vicinity of London where any accomplices should be hiding, were searched. On Tuesday night, June 4, the government sent for the lighthorseman which was in Lee, or Leigh as it now seems to be spelled. They called out Phineas Pette, the King's ship builder, and he was ordered by the galloping horseman to "man the lighthorseman with twenty musqueteers, and to run out as low as the nose head to search all shippes, barks and other vessels for the Lady Arbell." Every house in Leigh was searched from garret to cellar that night. The Ambassador to Venice wrote his usual letter to the Doge:

Antonio Foscarine to Doge and Senate

(June 13 os. June 23 ns. 1611)

"In the Councill which was sitting under the King's presidency when I sent my last despatch it was resolved to arrest Lady Shrewsbury as suspect of having helped Lady Arbell in her flight and Seymour too. The arrest took place the next morning and Lady Shrewsbury was at once examined; and certain heads of interrogation were drawn up by the Council and she was ordered to reply at once. Lord Salisbury also informed the French Ambassador by word of mouth that the King desired him to send couriers to Calais and other places in France along the coast, so that if Lady Arbell and Seymour should touch there they might be arrested. The French Ambassador at once complied. The same day after all the necessary orders had been issued, arrests made both of the guard at the Tower and of others, they began an enquiry. His Majesty, after taking all possible steps, returned to Greenwich. Lord Salisbury had an express from Dover with news that Lady Arbell had been captured along with the ship she was in by a frigate of the guard a league away from Calais. Lord Salisbury went at once to the King, and the news was most welcome at

Court, and especially to the Council; for as the King and Lady Arbell are descended from two sisters of Henry VIII, although she descends from the younger and is moreover a woman, it was highly displeasing to see a lady of the royal blood, so closely allied to his Majesty, and who after his Majesty's children, is beyond doubt the nearest to the crown and the succession, betaking herself to foreign countries and thus possibly to offer an opportunity to some ill-affected Sovereign to act unfriendly or, may be, worse. It is added that as Seymour also claims kin, though distantly, with the Crown, by their marriage they fused their interests, and by declaring themselves Catholics they hoped to find protection. It was rumoured that they were to go first to Rome for certain, and then to Spain; but now all has vanished. She will remain in London less some worse fault is found in her; for all may be attributed to her great love for the person she had chosen to be her husband.

"The ship in which she escaped was very small, quite unarmed, and commanded by a Frenchman, and what is more important there was on board a Courier from the French Ambassador, with a packet of despatches for his most Christian Majesty. The crew was all French. Arbell embarked on Monday evening with three gentlemen and a maid of honour. The ship dropped down to the mouth of the river, where she had to stop for some hours or so on account of the wind. Seymour, who was in another vessel not far off, sent to visit her. The weather changed, Lady Arbell's ship resumed her voyage towards Calais, and when she was more than half way across one of the royal ships of the Guard, which two hours earlier had received orders to search all shipping, ordered her to strike her sail and haul to; the royal ship proceeded to compel obedience by firing but finding this useless she despatched her frigate and as the sea was calm and the wind had dropped, about a league off Calais she came up with Lady Arbell's ship and instantly seized her without meeting the smallest resistance from her crew. Lady Arbell seeing herself lost, gave a good quantity of gold and other things she had to various persons, but chiefly to the Captain. The ship was taken back to the Thames, and the Courier and the Captain strictly examined. The despatches were returned to the French Ambassador, but without their covers, by the hands of the Courier himself. At his first examination he was asked for the despatches and what he had done with them, also why, as he had been sent off four days earlier, he had delayed his jour-

ney and how he came to embark in that ship. The day before yesterday in the morning the French Ambassador sent to tell me some of these details; he added that the Captain of the ship and the Courier were both landed on the bank of the river by the King's people, and had come to London voluntarily. The Courier had handed him the letters. The Council then wished to arrest and examine the Courier and the Captain. The Ambassador, declared that they were in no way guilty; that Arbell came on board unknown; and he asked me if I did not think that, even supposing them to have been aware, jurisdiction to punish lay rather with him and his Master than with the law of England and his Britannic Majesty. The Secretary, who told me all this, added that the Ambassador had been to complain to Lord Salisbury, and he intended to complain to the King, of who he demanded audience, with the intention of making serious representations. The Audience was named for to-day, and tomorrow the Ambassador will call on me and consult me, and he now desired to have my advice as to the form of discourse he should address to the King. I replied to the Secretary that I was highly honoured, but that it would be impossible to add anything to the resolution taken by so able a gentleman: and I passed to other topics.

"It is supposed that those who flew with Arbell will pay the Penalty with their lives. From the examination held so far they have discovered the details of the way she took to escape from the place where she was under custody, ten miles away from London. It was very simple, for she was in charge of a gentleman, who, one may say, served for nothing other than for form's sake; she feigned illness for many days previously, and was seen by no one but the doctor appointed her and who attended her ordinarily; he on the plea of the illness of a relation with whom there was an understanding brought her to London to his house, leaving the maid who usually served her meals, which were given to the Hall Porter the evening Arbell escaped. She dressed herself like a man and left the house by some gardens, mounted a horse and in little more than an hour, it is said, she rode the thirteen miles and reached the landing place. She has now been through the ordinary examination to find out whether she had an understanding with any Foreign Prince and all other details.

As to Seymour, so far as we know, he landed at Ostend. He escaped from the Tower by the help of his barber, who bandaged a leg,

put on a false beard and otherwise disguising himself, and came to the Tower and asked for the barber, that was for himself. He was told the barber was there. He went in and Seymour disguised himself in the barber's clothes and both went out together; nor did the guards raise any difficulty as they took him for the man who had just gone in; not did they say anything to the barber, for he was accustomed to go in and out almost daily. Here they are closely watching the kind of reception Seymour will meet in Flanders from the Archduke, and what road he will take, whether he will change his religion and above all whether he will find anyone to protect him, and whether he has entered into an understanding with any Prince before he left the Kingdom. London, June 23 ns. 1611."¹

B. C. Bradley has abstracted this to say in regard to the ship that Arbell was captured in: "The ship's Captain's name was Corvé, and after the ship's boat from *The Adventure* had shelled her, Corvé struck his flag and Arbell stepped forward and surrendered herself a prisoner to the King. Demanded where was her husband, she replied she knew not, but trusted he was safe, and in any case his escape entirely consoled her for her own misfortune."

On June 26, the Earl of Hertford sent to Lord Salisbury for the Council's consideration a draft of a letter to his "disobedient unfortunate grandchild, William Seymour."

In due course the Council gave a minute to Sir William Bowyer as follows:

Summary of Minute to Sir Wm. Bowyer from the Council

"A certain parcel of gold ^{lb} 868, and jewels, had been seized upon the Lady Arbell's person. It was to be inventoried and laid up until the King's pleasure was further known. The care of it to be entrusted to Bowyer, to the use of the aforesaid Lady Arbell, and such others as to whom they shall appear to belong. He is to take them to the Tower, and there, in the company and presence of the lieutenant, 'show the said gold and jewels to the Lady Arbell, and to inform yourself from her ladyship to whom all the said gold and jewels belong; which if she inform you they are hers, you are to detain them to her use, issuing and delivering no part thereof upon any warrant from her ladyship until you first acquaint the Chancellor of the exchequer; and if the Lady Arbell says some is not hers but belongs to her servants and other persons, we do re-

¹C.S.P. Foreign, James I, Venetian, 1611, par. 258.

quire you to deliver them unto these persons, taking from them a sufficient aquaitance for your discharge.'

"From Whitehall 27th June, 1611"²

There is a note attached to the foregoing:

"A note of such jewels as my Lady Arbell affirmeth to be wanting, and desireth they may be inquired after:

Item—A poignard diamond ring.

Item—A flower de luce set with diamonds which she thinketh is in a little box, of wood, and left among her jewels.

Item—In the same box was a ring wherein was set a little sea-water green stone called an emeryn (aqua marine or Emerald).

Item—A little jewel like a horn, with a great yellow stone called a jacynth, with opals & rubies. This was also among her jewels.

Item—A jewel like a star set with opals.

Item—A piece of a chain of gold set with rubies and pearls.

Item—Some four pearls set upon a cord, with eight other less pearles.

Item—A watch left in Mistress Bradshaw's trunk at Barnet.

Item—A little chest with wares (or waters)."³

June 30. "Warrant to the Council to cause the charges of apprehending and bringing up Lady Arbell Stuart and her company to be defrayed out such gold as may have been found upon her or in her company at the time of her escape."⁴ (Douquet)

*The Venetian Ambassador in France, Zorzi Ginstinian,
to Doge and Senate*

(June 29 ns. 1611) "The Queen Regent of France would not give a positive answer to the English request to arrest Arbell and Seymour."⁵

²Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 138. Bradley, II, 271-272.

³Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 141. B. C. Bradley, II, 271-272.

⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, June 30, 1611.

⁵C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1611, par. 264.

Antonio Foscarini to Doge and Senate

(July 1, ns. June 20 os. 1611)

"The French Amb., representations for the liberations of the Captain of the French ship and of the Courier were so efficacious with the Earl of Salisbury that his Lordship sent the Courier to the Embassy with a message to say that he did so to avoid annoyance, although the Courier was culpable. The Amb. was not at all satisfied; he procured the publication of a paper clearing the Courier and almost testifying to his innocence. The same day he had audience of the King and remained for a very long time with his Majesty. He insisted on the ambiguous phrases being removed; he received a polite answer, but the phrases remained as they were written. The Captain is a prisoner seriously compromised. The Ambassador omitted no points. . . . The Queen then sent for him and treated him with great intimacy and honor, so that the Amb. appears to have been satisfied in a matter that touched him so closely.

"The Countess of Shrewsbury was sent to the Tower on Saturday morning: it is said that she is almost absolutely convicted of having supplied money to Arbell, who, it is feared, has an understanding with the Catholics of this Kingdom. All diligence is being used to discover the truth.

"The King's agent in Brussels writes that he begged the Archduke to arrest Seymour and Arbell if they arrived and received for answer that the Archduke would never wrong his Majesty. His Highness sent to Spain in order to guide himself by the instructions he received from that part. Meantime they continue to examine Arbell in the Tower: and if it does not turn but to be an affair of open conspiracy she will be well treated, though more closely guarded than she was at first, so as to avoid another flight."⁶

Foscanini to the Doge and Senate

(July 7 ns. June 28 os. 1611)

"Audience with the King. He first of all touched on the Lady Arbell and her flight. *He did not hide from me that he had resolved to marry her suitably to her rank; he knew quite well what was right and proper:* he hinted that worse might be behind, though he did not seem to attach much importance to it. Then

⁶C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1611.

talking of Seymour he said that the Archduke had replied to his request for Seymour's arrest that he would show to his Majesty and to the whole world how much he desires to oblige him, without however, making any definite promise. The King thinks that by this time the Archduke has made Seymour leave his States: nor is he quite satisfied. He desired me to beg of your Excellencies that, if Seymour should arrive in your dominions, he should be arrested til further communications. . . . The Amb. reassured him. The King listened with satisfaction; he showed his conviction that Seymour would go to the State of some other Prince; still he would like this favour as a pledge of friendship. *The King is much concerned about this flight, more perhaps, than he shows*; it is commonly held that Seymour will go either to the States of the Pope or of his Catholic Majesty."

"This morning I have been to Lord Salisbury, who spoke to me in great confidence on the same topics, and nearly in the same terms as his Majesty, though rather more reservedly, except on the subject of Seymour, who, he said, was a bastard; and he gave me clear and express evidence in a very few words. He showed that he did not doubt if Seymour came to your Excellencies dominions he would be arrested." etc. . . .⁷

"Persons committed on 4th and 5th of June, 1611. Upon occasion of the Lady Arbell and Mr. Seymour's escape. Dated June 11, 1611.

"Lady Arbell—Tower.

Countess of Shrewsbury—Tower.

Sir James Croft—Fleet.

Dr. Moundford—Gatehouse, Close prisoner at.

Mrs. Adams, Minister's wife—Gatehouse."

"To be Examined.

Bates, the Baliff of Westminster.

Pigott, sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury to be forthcoming."

"Newgate

John Baisley, waterman, committed to Davy Roden, a messenger."

"To some other place in the Tower

Batten, Mr. Seymour's barber, committed to the dungeon in the Tower by Mr. Lieutenant"

⁷C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, June 29, 1611.

"Released.

Saladin, A Frenchman, committed to the Porter's lodge in the Tower.

Mr. Seymour's butler, committed to the Tower.

Corvé, the French Skipper, to Newgate.

The Skipper of Ipswich, to the Gatehouse."⁸

(Note below) "*Smith* to be examined."

Prisoners—later list of persons, or after Arbell's capture:

"The La. Arbell—Tower.

Countess of Shrewsbury—Tower.

Hugh Crompton, gent.—Fleet.

William Markham, gent.—Marshlea.

Edward Reeves—Gatehouse.

Mrs. Bradshaw—Gatehouse.

Bonds. Batten, Mr. Seymour's barber.—Gatehouse

Bonds. Mr. Seymour's butler.—Gatehouse.

Removed. Sir James Croft—Gatehouse.

Removed. Dr. Moundford—Gatehouse.

Bonds. Mrs. Adams, the minister's wife—Newgate.

Bonds. Surson, the skipper of Ipswich—Newgate.

Loses his place. Edward Kirton, gent.—Newgate.

Tassin Corvé, the French Skipper

to be sent to ye Ambassador —Newgate.

John Baisley—Newgate.

To be delivered.

Bates, the Earl of Shrewsbury's man with the Baliff of Westminster."⁹

The Earl of Salisbury had news from William Seymour through his spies.

Alex. Capell to Salisbury

(Dated July 4, 1611, Gatehouse Prison)

"Was apprehended at Canterbury and committed to prison. Reports proceedings of the seminaries of Douay and St. Ower. Mr. Seymour, husband of Arbell is well treated by the Archduke, who will not deliver him up. Descriptions of priests and Jesuits passing

⁸Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 140. B. C. Bradley, II, 268.

⁹Harleian MSS., 7003, f. 143. Bradley, II, 269.

into England, the disguises which they assume, and the houses they frequent. Some dangerous matter is working."¹⁰

When Arbell finally reached the Tower she was given rooms in the Lieutenant's lodgings where her grandmother, Margaret Lenox, had been imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth for the crime of allowing her son Charles Lennox to marry Elizabeth Cavendish (Arbell's father and mother). "They were not ill rooms, but dreary to hopelessness. When Arbell was first sent there she dispatched a Memorial to the Council, making certain requests concerning her household."

The Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury

(July 4, 1611)

"Is glad the rough draft of the letter to his unfortunate grandchild pleased him. Has re-copied it, and sent it open with the seal, for the Lords to read and seal it."¹¹

The Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury

(Amesbury—July 15, 1611)

"Hopes his grandchild, Wm. Seymour's reply to his letter will be fitting. Lady Hertford is rabbit hunting at Salisbury's Castle Warren of Old Sarum. Thanks for a present of chessmen contained in the compass of a walnut shell."¹²

The Earl of Hertford to the Lord Salisbury

(Amesbury—Sept. 17)

"Cannot prevail on Sir John Rodney to undertake the journey to find his unfortunate grandchild—(Edward Rodney with Wm. Seymour). Suggests sending John Pilling, the youth's former tutor, who could dissuade him from errors in religion. Wishes young Rodney were removed from him."¹³

The Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury

(Amesbury—Sept. 27, 1611)

"Wm. Seymour is now in Paris, will do anything the King wishes concerning him."

¹⁰C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

¹¹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 53.

¹²C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 59.

¹³*Ibid*, p. 74.

The Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury

(Tottenham—Nov. 3, 1611)

"Asks directions for John Pelling, his chaplain, who is just going to Wm. Seymour at Paris. Will allow his grandchild 200 lb per ann., at the King's pleasure. Begs that young Rodney may be removed from him."¹⁴

Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury

(Hertford House, Cannon Row, London—Nov. 24, p. 92)

"Sends for the King's his instructions to his chaplain, who is now ready for France. Prays that young Rodney may be removed from his grandson, Wm. Seymour."¹⁵

There is probably some curiosity about this young Rodney that Hertford is so earnestly asking should be removed from his grandson. We have the following story which gives us some idea about him, and also gives us a chuckle or two.

"Francis, daughter of Howard, viscount Bindon, widow of Henry Pranel, citizen of London, "was the third wife of the Earl of Hertford.

Of this lady, Arthur Wilson gives the following curious account:

"This lady was one of the greatest both for birth and beauty, in her time; but at first she went a step backwards, as it were, to fetch a career, to make her mount the higher.

"Her extraction was high, fit for her great mind; yet she descended so low as to marry one Prannel, a Vinter's son, in London, having a good estate, who dying left her childless, a young and beautiful widow; upon whom, Sir George Rodney, a gentleman in the West, suitable to her for person and fortune, fixing his love, had good hopes from her to reap the fruits of it.

"But Edward, Earl of Hertford, being entangled by her fair eyes, and she having a tang of her grandfather's ambition, left Rodney, and married the Earl. Rodney, having drunk in too much affection, and not being able to with his reason to digest it, summoned up his scattered spirits to a most desperate attempt; and coming to Amesbury in Wiltshire, where the Earl and Countess were then resident, to act it, he retired to an Inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well

¹⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

composed verses to the Countess in his own blood, (strange kind of compostedness,) wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness: and when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries he ran himself upon his sword, and so ended that life which he thought death to enjoy; leaving the Countess to a strict remembrancy of her inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad spectacle of frailty: but she easily pasted this over, and so wrought upon the good-nature of the Earl, her husband, that he settled above five thousand pounds a year upon her for life. . . .

"When she was Countess of Hertford and found admirers about her, she would often discourse of her two grandfathers, the Duke of Norfolk, and Buckingham: recounting the time since one of them did this, the other did that; but if the Earl her husband came in presence, she would quickly desist; for, when he found her in those exaltations, to take her down, he would say, 'Frank, Frank, how long is it since thou wert married to Prannel?' which would damp the wings of her spirit and make her look after her feet, as well as gaudy plumes. . . . A. Audrey Locke in *The Seymour Family*, p. 89, says 'this marriage of the Earl of Hertford and Francis Prannel was clandestine.'¹⁶

What the Countess of Hertford did after the death of Hertford is given in the latter part of this book.

There is quite a lot of detail of the chase of Seymour and the reactions of foreign nations to his arrest during this period but it is merely a repetition of what we have already published, adding nothing new.

¹⁶Arthur Wilson's *History*, p. 258-259.

CHAPTER LIII

Prince Henry's Death

THERE is a letter to the lords and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, "requiring them to give order to Sir William Bowyer, Knight, and Henry Yelverton, Esq., to cause certain jewels remaining in the hands of Sir Wm. Bowyer, and found upon the Lady Arbell and her company at her intended departure out of this realm, to be valued and sold at cost price, and the money thereby made to be paid to such of her creditors as she shall nominate. And for such money as was found with her, and remaining with the said Bowyer, his Majesty's pleasure is at his suit, the same to be delivered to the said Yelverton to discharge a debt of hers for which he is bound."¹

According to notation about the dates of Shakespeare's plays, there is given by Mr. Peter Cunningham who scrutinized the Account Book of Revels at Court, that "the Play called *The Tempest* was given on Hallemas nyght at Whitehall, Nov. 1st, 1611." "The 5th of Nov. 1611, was given a play called ye *Winters Nightes Tayle*."²

If *The Tempest* was written around the time of Arbell's wedding in 1610, it would account for its similarity to the *Midsummer's Night's Dream*, which it seems to resemble most closely of all the plays. If he did marry Arbell that might account for the beauty and daintiness of the play. It could not have been written after her imprisonment, it could in no way resemble what fate had in store for Arbell, for it is full of beauty and hope and belief in a wonderful future.

In June 1612 the Earl of Hertford was appointed High Steward of the Revenues to the Queen (Anne).³ In this office he continued until the Queen's death and may have influenced somewhat the kind of attitude that the Queen took toward Arbell in her last days.

¹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, Sept. 21.

²White, *Memoirs of Shakespeare* I, 84.

³Doyle's *Official Baronage*, p. 180.

Sir Wm. Waad, Lieut. of the Tower to Salisbury

(Dec. 10, 1611)

"Concerning certain effects detailed, left by Wm. Seymour in the Tower at the time of his escape. Claims the goods as his due, and also payment for debts incurred by Seymour for physic, tapestry hangings, etc., with certificate relating to those debts."⁴

There is a curious little book in the South Kensington Museum called *Salve Deus*, dated 1611 and written by Mistress Emilia Lanyer, wife to Capt. Alfonso Lanyer, one of the King's household. It is dedicated to the Queen, Lady Elizabeth, Lady Arbell, and "all vertuous Ladies in Generall." Some most complimentary lines are added to the Lady Arbell:

*Great learned Ladie, whom I long have known,
And yet not knowne so much as I desired;
Rare Phoenix, whose fair feathers are youre own,
With which you flie, and are so much admired;
True woman, whom true Fame hath so attired.
Come, like the morning sunne new out of bed
And cast your eyes upon this little Booke;
Although be so well accompanied
With Pallas and the Muses, spare one looke
Upon this humble King, who all forsooke,
That in his dying arms he might embrace
Your beauteous soul, and fill it with his grace.*

In this copy, which had belonged to Prince Henry, the pages containing the poem to Arbell were deleted.

In the Calendar of State Papers there is this notice:

"July 22, 1612. Grant to And. Lanyer of the place of a musician on the Flute, for life."⁵ (Grant Book p. 95)

Bishop of Durham writes to the Earl of Salisbury

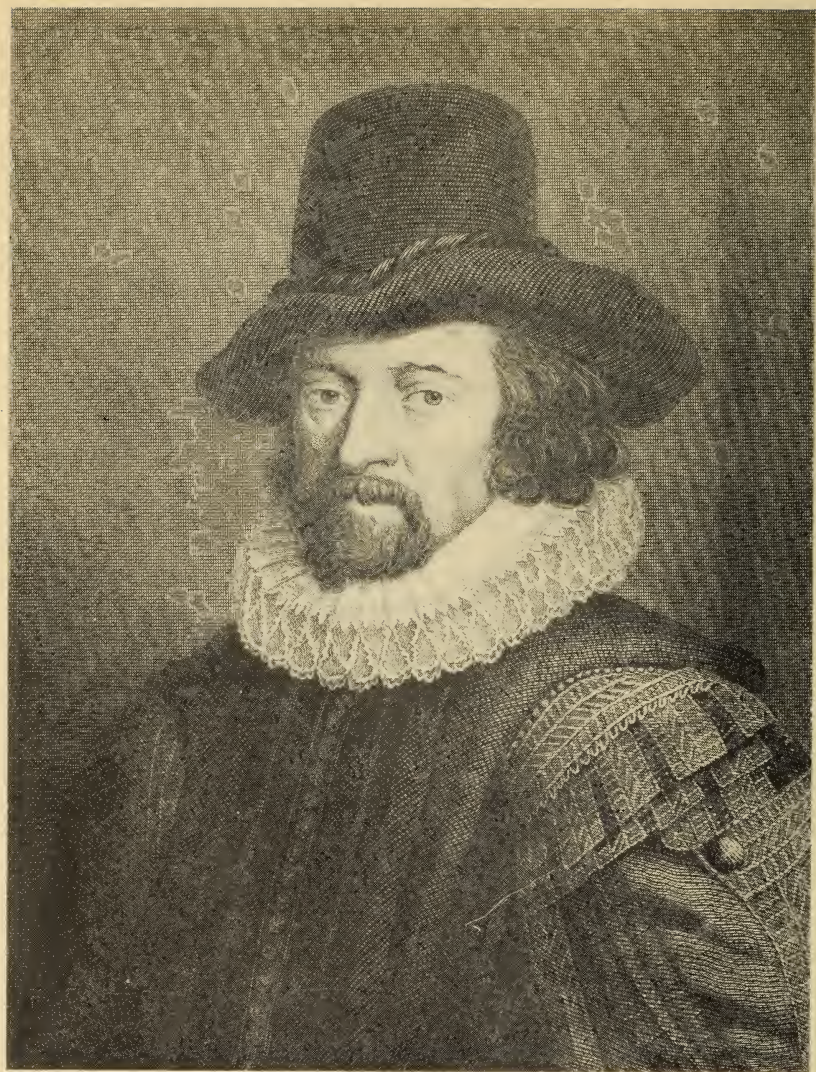
(2-3 of January, 1612)

"Is going to Bath to recruit after half a year's sickness and lameness, the relics of his attendance on Lady Arbell. Sir George Selby, Sheriff and his Chancellor, Dr. Colmore, will attend to his duties. Recommends his Lordship to try Bath. . . "⁶

⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

⁵Bradley, *Arbella Stuart* II, 213. C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, July 22,

⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 113.



Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Bacon)

Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood

(29 Jan. 1612)

"The Lady of Shrewsbury that hath been long in the Tower, and had the Liberty of the Place, and sometime to attend her Lord in his sickness is now of late restrained and kept more close, upon somewhat discovered against her, as they say, by her neice the Lady Arbell."⁷

John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood

(10 Mar. 1612)

In this letter Chamberlain has used these cryptic words. "The Lady Arbell is said to be distracted, which (if it be so) comes well to pass for somebody whom they say she hath nearly touched."

(What this item means I still can not discover, unless Chamberlain knew something about "Our Willy.")

Dowland published his last work, *A Pilgrimes Solace*. He is described as lutenist to Lord Walden, eldest son of the Earl of Suffolk. This year he was appointed one of the King's musicians for the lute and assigned to Prince Henry's service.⁸

Henry Peacham, the artist, who was a great friend of "Our Willy," wrote a book *Minerva Britannis* in 1612, in which he referred to the "Neglect of Dowland."⁹

The most interesting thing I can see "Our Willy" doing is putting himself in the circle of Lord Suffolk. For Arbell had no worse foes than this same Earl of Suffolk and his brother Lord Northampton. Perhaps he intended to find out what he could through this connection.

Death of Earl of Salisbury

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton

(May 24, 1612)

(Lord Salisbury) "He died on Sunday last the 24th of this present, at Marlborough in the Parsonage House, between one and two in the afternoon.

"As the case stands, it was best that he gave up the world; for they say his friends fell from him apace, and some near about him, and howsoever he had fared with his health, it is verily thought he

⁷Winwood, *State Papers* III, 429.

⁸Grove, *Dict. of Music & Musicians*.

⁹*Ibid.* Peacham.

would never have been himself again in power and credit. I never knew so great a man so soon and so generally censured; for men's tongues talk very liberally and freely, but how truly I cannot judge."¹⁰

"A chancery suit upon which Shakespeare was obliged to enter, apparently in 1612, for the protection of his interests in the tithes of Stratford and neighboring parishes, shows us that his receipts from that quarter were 60 ^{lb} (now full) \$1500."

"And your orator William Shackspeare hath an estate of and interest of an in the moyty of one half of all tythes of corne and grayne aryseing with the townes, villages and ffields, and of an in the moiety of half of all tythes of wool and lambs, and of all small & privy tythes, oblacions and alterages arisinge or increasing in Old Stratford, Bishopton, and Welcome, being in the same parishe of Stratford, or within the wholl parishe of Stratford uppon Avon aforesaid, for and during all the residue of the said terme, beinge of the yearly value of three score pounds."¹¹

"To finish all that needs be said about business transactions in March 1612-1613. Shakespeare in connection with 'William Johnson, citizein and vinter of London and John Jackson and John Hemynege gentlemen' purchased from 'Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell' a house and the land attached, not far from the Blackfriars theatre; paying for it ^{lb} 140. of which ^{lb} 60. were left on bond and mortgage. Mr. Collier has reasonably conjectured that Shakespeare joined in this purchase to serve his fellow-actors; Heminge and the two other purchasers not being able to discharge the amount which he paid and assume the mortgage, the property fell to him; The deed of conveyance has a peculiar interest as bearing one of the four authentic signatures of Shakespeare. It is now preserved in the Library of the city of London at Guildhall."¹²

Henry Walker was the son probably of our "old man Walker" of the Concealed Wards' affair of Leycester and Burlegh, and the man for whose son he stood as godfather, earlier.

*Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at Trial of Arbell
and Countess of Shrewsbury*

I am not going into the details of Arbell's and Mary Talbot's

¹⁰Nicholas, *Progresses*, James I, II, 444-445.

¹¹Halliwell, *Life of Shakespeare*. White, *Life of Shakespeare* I, 91.

¹²White, *Life of Shakespeare*, I, 92.

trials but I will give a resumé or abstract of these trials as found in the *State Trials*:

Arbell's Trial

"The Soliciter-generall, Sir Francis Bacon, who presided at the trial, addressed her (Arbell) in a lengthy speech. He dwelt first upon Arbell's extremely ill-advised course in 'Transacting the most weighty and binding part and action of her life, which is her marriage, without acquainting his Majesty, which had been a neglect even to a mean parent; but being to our Sovereign, and standing so near his Majesty as she doth, and she then choosing such a condition as it pleased her to choose, all paid together, how dangerous it was my lady might have read it in the fortune of that house whereunto she is matched; for it was not unlike the case of Mr. Seymour's grandmother, (Catherine Gray). The King never-theless so rembered he was a King, as he forgot not he was a kinsman, and placed her only *sub libera custodia*. But now did my lady accumulate and heap up to the offence with a far greater than the former, by seeking to withdraw herself out of the King's power into foreign parts. That this flight or escape into foreign parts might have been seed of trouble to this State, is a matter whereof the conceit of a vulgar person is not incapable. For although my Lady should have put on a mind to continue her loyalty, as nature and duty did bind her, yet, when she was in another sphere, she must have moved in the motion of that orb, and not of the planet itself, and God forbids the king's felicity should be so little as he should not have envy and envoirs enough in foreign parts.'"

Countess of Shrewsbury's Trial

"To the haughty Countess."

"This fault of conspiring in the flight of this lady may bear a hard and gentler construction—if upon overmuch affection to your kinswoman, gentler, if upon practice or other end, harder. . . . Nay, you must learn duty of the Lady Arbell herself, a lady of the blood, of a higher rank than yourself, who declining, and that by request neither, to declare your fact, yieldeth ingenuously to be examined of her own."¹³

There is a curious Law Court record in the Court of Requests—James Ist, which seems to have started somewhere in 1597 or 1599,

¹³Cobbett, *State Trials*, Bradley, *Life of Arbella Stuart*, II, 60 et passim.

and continued through until 1614. As Shakespeare is evidently connected with it, it gains our attention: "Court of Requests, James Ist, Case of Stephen Belott vs Christopher Mountjoy."

It seems evident that Shakespeare and Augustine Phillips were friends of all the people concerned, and Augustine Phillips was especially friendly to Stephen Belott.

These people lived in London at St. Olive, Silver Street, with the family of Christopher Mountjoy (Montjoi, or Montjoy) his wife and only daughter Mary. Just who lived here we do not exactly know, but it seems that Shakespeare was evidently here off and on during these years.

Shakespeare seems to have been busy arranging a marriage between Mary Mountjoy and the apprentice Stephen Belott. They were all French Protestant Huguenots and belonged to the French Protestant Church at Soho Square. Probably Mary and Stephen were married at this Church.

Evidently Christopher would not come through with the marriage portion which Shakespeare and Mary's mother had arranged for her. At last Stephen went to law about it, probably in 1611. The trial must have been held in 1612, as there are dates of May 15, June 15, 19, and 23 of 1612.

Christopher was quite well to do as he had a house in Muggle Street as well as the one in Silver Street and another at Branforde, Co. Middlesex.

The names of those interested as witnesses were, for Mountjoy: Humphrey Fludd; Christopher, weaver-mercier; Nowell Mountjoy; Xproper Mountjoy; Abraham Hardret; and Gideon de Laune. For the plaintiff they were: Stephen Bellott; Thomas Flower; Augustine Phillips; Nicholas Brew; and their witnesses were: David Carperan and Pierre Beauvais.

What the outcome of this suit was I have not been able to find out. But it is evident that the Players of the King's Company lived near the place where the Mountjoys did. Augustine Phillips died in May 1605 and was therefore not able to attend the trial. He left 'a thirty shillings peece in gould to Shakespeare and seven others of his fellow actors,' Shakespeare's name being the first named among them. Augustine seems to have been a musician of parts, as well as a comic actor.¹⁴

¹⁴Nebraska University Studies, v. 10, 1910, C. W. & William Wallace Charles.

"Lord Beauchamp died at Wick and was buried at Great Bedwin. His remains were later removed to Salisbury Cathedral. (Died on July 12, 1612)

Lines on Beauchamp's Tomb

*"Bellocampus eram Graia Genetrice Semerus,
Tres habui natos, est Quibus una Soror."*

"Kite, E.

"Wilts Brasses."

(Translation)

"I was Beauchamp; a Seymour: my mother a Grey;
I had three sons, and they had one sister."

"The daughter's name was Honora, and she married Sir Frederick Dudley."¹⁵

Death of Prince Henry

"Prince Henry died on the 29th of Oct. 1612. In a letter from Mr. Newton to Sir Thomas Edmondes, he says of the 'ordinary disease of the time, wherewith all the parts of the country have been much visited.' Another account by Mr. George Chapman, says that this fever was supposed to have been brought from Hungary."

Most of the poets of the era wrote commemorative verses praising him.

Mr. Donne wrote an elegy in the Prince's memory, as did Christopher Brooke Esq. of Lincoln Inn and William Browne, Esq., of the Inner Temple (who also deserves to be known for his *Britannias Pastorals*, and his *Shepherd's Pipe* in seven eclogues). George Chapman wrote an "*Epicede*" or "Funeral Song" on "the most disastrous death of the high-born Prince of Men, Henry," etc. John Webster composed a monumental column erected to the "ever-glorious Henry, later Prince of Wales" and Thomas Heywood also addressed a funeral elegy "on the death of the late and most hopeful Prince Henry." Yes there was great lamentation, for most Englishmen felt that Henry would redeem his father's weakness, when he came to the throne.¹⁶

Some time after Arbell's imprisonment "The Council sent an order to Waad to the effect that 'Whereas *Samuel Smyth, servant unto the Lady Arbell, being employed by her Ladyship in the man-*

¹⁵C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 138. E. Kite, Wilts, Brasses.

¹⁶Thomas Birch, *Death of Prince Henry*, p. 367.

aging of her private estate, hath been an humble suitor unto us that he might have access unto her ladyship as well as to receive her further directions for ordering the same. These are therefore to will and request you to suffer the said Samuel Smyth to repayre to the said Lady Arbell at convenient and seasonable tymes, to conferr with her about her sayd private affairs so the same be donne in your present and hearing, for which this shall be your Warrant.'" Samuel Smith was "Our Willy" using another first name for his admittance to Arbell in the Tower.¹⁷

John and Robert Dowland's names appear in lists of musicians performing in Chapman's Masques at Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn and at Whitehall during 1613.

¹⁷Hardy, *Arbella Stuart*, p. 300.

CHAPTER LIV

Affairs at The Tower

“OUR Willy” had still another alias he very seldom used which now comes into play. He did not want to use his name of Shakespeare for a Masque and his name of Smith was in use for Arbell’s purposes in the Tower, so he had recourse to an old one he seldom used. In fact, he had used it only a very few times before: it was Thomas Campion. I will give only a short resume of his life, as Campion, before this time: Born in 1567, went to Peters College, Cambridge, which he left in 1586 without a degree. He was admitted to Gray’s Inn (to study law), but was not called to the bar. In 1606 he adopted as his title “Dr.” Campion, after obtaining his degree of doctor of physick. He seems to have hidden under this alias until his supposed death in 1619, the year of Queen Anne’s death.

A group of five anonymous poems by Campion was included, along with some by Henry Constable in the *Songs of Divers Noblemen and Gentlemen* appended to Newman’s surreptitious edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, which was currently supposed to have been published by Nash, in 1591. In 1595 his *Poemata*, Latin panegyrics, elegies and epigrams, appeared, and in 1601 *A Booke of Ayres* which was contributed in equal parts by himself and Philip Rosseter, with the words, all of the finest quality, written by himself. In 1602 he published *Observations in the Art of English Poesie*, “against the vulgar and unartificial custom of riming” and in favor of rhymeless verse or the model of classical quantitative poetry. “The challenge was accepted by (Samuel) Daniel, whose *Defence of Rhyme* was published the same year.”

In 1607 he wrote and published a masque for the marriage of Lord Hays. Evidently when Ben Jonson went abroad he left Campion to continue the masques for the Queen. In February, 1612, he wrote the Lord’s Masque for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, which was doubtless held in Whitehall. Campion said once that “sometimes under a knowne name I have shadow’d a fain’d conceit,”

which seems to admit that he used his aliases indiscriminately, and other names as well.

The next letter we have to report is in really good Scotch. If you read it as written it will give you a broad Scotch accent.

Thomas, Vicount Fenton, to John, Earl of Mar

(27 Jan. 1613)

"There is some contravwesie betuyxt my Ladye Arabell and My Ladye Shrewesburrye and matters of moment lyke to trye, quhitche I have desyred this bearare more particularlye to acquent you with."

Same to same, 13 May, 1613:

"For theis matters of the Towre and of my Lady Arbell, it is thoct that thaye have had sum matter of moment in hande. It is thoct that Graye is not altogether innocent; for myself I will do him noe wrong. The lieutennent is chainged and Sir Gervas Elves hes the plaice that was squyer of the bodeye. There is tuo or thrie wemen committed, sutche as one Mrs. Pairpoint that did serve My Lady Arbell and hir cousinge verrye weell, and Sir Williame Wadd his docheter that did give my Ladye Arbell the doubill kye quherof she did take the prent in waxx and cawser make one uther nye it. This Kye my Ladye Arbell did present to his Majesty bye me, but in the discoverye of the ither matters that hes heinin hand hir Ladyshipe keipes a lytill too close yet I think it wilbe in end gottin out."¹

What the trouble was between Arbell and her Aunt Mary I have not been able so far to find out. Probably Arbell's sending King James the "kye" to the Tower did not please him too much. But at least it brought action as the King finally had the Lieutenant changed from Waad to Sir G. Elways. This was not well for Arbell or Overbury, as we shall see.

(Mrs. Pairpoint was Arbell's aunt and the sister of Lady Shrewsbury.)

The marriage which Salisbury had arranged for Princess Elizabeth was to come off on February 14, 1613. Arbell had bought four dresses for the event. There evidently had been some correspondence between Fedrick Elector Palatine and the Tower group. Evidently Elizabeth and her mother Queen Anne were anxious to help these poor prisoners of James's in the Tower and in some

¹H.M.C. Report (supplementary) on the MSS. of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, p. 48.



*Arbella Stuart Seymour in imprisonment in the tower. 1610-1615.
In Henderson's. Supposed to have been painted by Gheeraedto.*

fashion had aranged that he should ask as a marriage gift for their release from prison. Arbell certainly would not have had four dresses made without some prospect of their being worn.

That she had done so is found in the letters of Chamberlain and Issac Wake to Carleton: Written about February 15: "Lady Arbell, though still in the Tower, has shown her joy by buying four new gowns, one of which coast 1,500^{lb}."²

Princess Elizabeth was married on Shrove Sunday in his Majesty's Chapel at Whitehall.

"She was led to the altar by her brother Charles, 13 years old, and by the old Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who was 73 years of age. The Queen was loaded with jewels valued at 400,000^{lb} and the King managed to hang 500,000 ^{lb} of diamonds, rubies, pearles and emeralds upon his paunchy person.

"No wonder Arbell had ordered such rich gowns, as she fully expected to attend the wedding and other festivities."

"The Water Poet, John Taylor, was engaged to arrange or concoct a wonderful panoramic sea fight and fireworks, to be performed on the Thames. The tide however, caused some disturbance and spoiled the full effect. This was at the beginning of the festivities."

One of Arbell's new gowns was probably the "riche gowne embroïdered with pearls," mentioned by the Lieutenant of the Tower as among the prisoner's apparel after her death. "The pearls for this costume were valued at 400^{lb}; but the bill had never been paid, so the dress was laid aside in order to return the jewels to the seller."

One of these gowns may have been the one chosen by Marcus Gheerardts for this painting in which are shown her many pet birds and animals. Certainly it could not have been much earlier as large farthingales were just at this time coming into fashion, as Queen Anne's portrait taken about the same time is also in farthingales. But as there are no pearls on it to speak of, it must have been another one of the four gowns.

Sir William had probably refused to allow the spendthrift Lady as much as she desired for her clothes, so as usual Arbell went into debt.

There can be no doubt that she fully expected that she would

²C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

be pardoned in time to attend all the functions and so had four gowns made for the various occasions.

From what I can surmise there must have been considerable correspondence between Princess Elizabeth and her lover about the liberation of these prisoners. The King did not do anything about them and after the marriage the Prince made a suit to the King for the "delivery of the Lord Grey, and several other prisoners," which the King rudely refused his new son-in-law.

Evidently the news of the King's refusal must have come to Arbell's ears about March 14, as the Records show "Arbell ill of convulsions, said to be distracted."³ Her disappointment at not being freed must have been overwhelming. We have the following letter which explains some of these matters:

Chamberlain to Carleton

"The King refused a suit of the Prince Palatine for the delivery of Lord Grey and several other requests (probably that of Arbell and Mary) which made the Prince complain that he was treated as a child rather than as a son. Lord Grey and Lady Arbell are kept more closely than before, because he sent her love messages by one of her women. The Countess of Shrewsbury more restrained, and on good cause; the King desiring to falsify the report that Rochester rules him, and Overbury Rochester, determined to remove Overbury. Some foreign embassy was pressed upon him, which he positively declined (on the advice of Rochester) saying the King could not in law or justice compel him to leave the country; for which contempt he (Overbury) was sent to the Tower"⁴ (on April 23, 1613).

Chamberlayne to Sir Ralph Winwood

(6 May, 1613)

"The Prince Palatine before his going made suit to the King, for the enlargement of the Lord Grey. The King told him 'he marvelled how he should become suitor for a man, whom he neither knew nor ever saw.' He answered that he was recommended to him by his uncles, the Duke of Bouillon, the Prince Maurice, and the Count Henry who had better knowledge of him. Then the King said 'Son, when I come into Germany, I will promise you not

³C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

⁴C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 181.

to importune you for any of your prisoners.' Since that time the Lord Grey hath been restrained, and kept more straight, for having had conference with one of Arbell's women; who, being strictly examined, was fain to confess that it was only a matter of love and dalliance. The Lady Arbell is likewise restrained of late, though they say her brain still continues cracked: And the Countess of Shrewsbury more close than at any other time before; and not without cause as the voyce goes."⁵

Chamberlain to Carleton

"13 May 1613.

"Sir William Waad discharged from the lieutenancy of the Tower, on complaint of having embezzled jewels from the Lady Arbell."⁶

Sir Thomas Lake to Carleton

(19 May, 1613)

"Sir William Waad discharged from the lieutenancy of the Tower; his daughter imprisoned, and others examined relative to offenses there. The Countess of Shrewsbury and Lord Grey made close prisoners."⁷

Sir Gervase Helwys to (Rochester)

(Tower, about 19 May, 1613)

"Will attend him with a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury, to make good what is past, and intreat her Ladyship's stay."⁸

On May 26, 1613, Sir William Waad and his daughter and the rest of his family left the Tower, much to the content of the Royal prisoners there.

Chamberlain to Carleton

(7 July 1613—London)

"Dr. Palmer, and Crompton, a gentleman usher, committed to the Tower, for some business concerning the Lady Arbell, who is 'far out of frame this midsummer moone.' Lord Grey is desperately sick."⁹

⁵Winwood, *State Papers*, III, 454.

⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 242.

⁷C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

⁸C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

⁹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 242.

When and how "Our Willy" got Dr. Palmer, his co-vicar at Clavering, to become Chaplain of the Tower I do not know but he did so get him, for we find a record about the proceedings of the Council on a complaint by the Mayor of London concerning some misconception of his office etc. The Item is dated July 13, 1613, and is as follows:

"Proceedings in Council on a complaint by the Mayor of London, against (Sir Gervase Helwys, Lieut. of the Tower, who, on arrest of Dr. Palmer, the Chaplain, on a writ of execution, seized and imprisoned, by way of withernam, the bodies of several citizens passing Tower Hill, to detain them till Palmer was liberated.

"Helwys pleaded that being new in his office he was informed by the wardens and officers that this was the customary course, and therefore adopted it. The Aldermen produced a decree of 1595, in a similar case, limiting the powers of the Lieut. of the Tower, and condemning the custom of Withernam, which the Council confirmed, and ordered a copy thereof to be sent to the lieutenant."

What this was all about I am not certain, but Crompton was imprisoned in the Fleet prison, and sometimes he had to come to the Tower to see Arbell and this time Dr. Palmer, the Chaplain, was sent to convoy the prisoner to Arbell, and was arrested by the Town of London authorities.

At least it straightened out Crompton's status as he was removed from the Fleet soon afterward, or on November 13, 1613.

Dr. Palmer was undoubtedly some relative of Henry Palmer, a captain in the Armada, and closely associated with Sir Henry Seymour, the Earl of Hertford's younger brother, in that action.

Dr. Palmer was assistant to John Smith, vicar at Clavering, from 1592 until his death in 1616. I am quite sure that the wife John Smith was supposed to marry Francis Babbington, whose father was under suspicion, but she was really the wife of Dr. Palmer, and shortly after John Smith's death Palmer married John Smith's widow. Of course Clavering was a tiny place, and Smith had a lot of students and men connected with his activities in his many spy, musical, theatrical and writing as well as his preaching operations.

The Last Days of Arbell and "Our Willy"

These last days of Arbell in the Tower were clouded by tragedy. England probably in her long history never dropped so quickly and suddenly into moral disaster as she did at this time, just after

James became King. Elizabeth, no matter what her faults, did keep the fear of the Lord in the hearts of the men she trusted with the public weal, but she made the great mistake of believing in Mary Stuart instead of her old English stock. The French were probably right when they believed that James the VI was not her child by the King, Darnley. No one can speak with authority about this but certainly King James begins to show an Italian hand in his handling of Arbell's episodes.

Subtle and flexible after the manner of the Italians, he ruled by conterpoises, by playing faction against one another, by trading on the meaner side of human nature, by love affairs and jealousies. Yes, he was subtle and intricate in his affairs.

While Arbell and the Countess of Shrewsbury were in the Tower, a horrid event shocked all England. It was called the Overbury Case.

We have already shown how James resented the gossip, that his favorite Rochester ruled him and Overbury ruled Rochester. He became so inflamed by the talk of the Howard clan (that Elizabeth had kept out of power) that he decided to do something about it.

A plot was formed to ask Overbury, who was a poet of some note, to accept a diplomatic post to get him out of the country. Rochester advised Overbury not to accept this, and his refusal angered James to such an extent that he had him committed to the Tower on April 23, 1613.

A notorious Dr. Turner, Jesuit and Spanish spy, of whom we have spoken before, who dabbled in neocromancy and witchcraft along with his wife and another doctor, Stephen Forman, became interested in the North Colony explorations and plans for the Plantation at the Sagadahock River in Maine. We have the record that he obtained an interview with Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower in 1606, and also the record of his having been over to that colony from a letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Lord Salisbury in 1607-8. From this letter we know that he returned from North Virginia with the first ship, the *Mary and John* which returned in 1608, telling of the condition of the colonists there. George Popham died just after Turner left Sagadahoc.

That Turner must have died shortly afterward seems certain, for we find his wife, the mistress of Sir Arthur Mainwaring, practicing this witchcraft stuff with the ladies of the Court in 1613.

Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, had been married to the son of Essex when she was a child, and she wanted

to get a divorce so that she could marry James's favorite, Viscount Rochester. To help her in her effort she persuaded her uncle Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, who some years before had introduced her to Mrs. Turner, the woman who had helped Inigo Jones with his costumes and scenes in Ben Jonson's *Masques*, etc. Mrs. Turner had worked with her husband and had formerly worked enchantments and such like things along with Dr. Forman, another worker in dark magic and poisons, but Forman seems to have died in 1612, just before these present plans began.

To Mrs. Turner, then, Lady Francis Howard went with her troubles. She gave Mrs. Turner jewels, money, and promised her protection if she would help her to get rid of her husband and make Rochester fall in love with her.

According to the records they made a little wax image of Rochester making love to her, with directions for its use; she also gave Francis an enchanted nutmeg to put in his wine. "One sip of the wine and behold his heart turned towards Francis." In the meantime Francis was not slow, as she contrived to meet Rochester at Mrs. Turner's house in Hammersmith and at lodging houses in Paternoster Row.

Essex, meanwhile, although dosed with various substances seems to have been immune, as nothing disturbed him at all.

In the Tower, Overbury was not keeping quiet. He wrote Rochester letter after letter to know when he would be released. Rochester in the meantime sent him a white powder to swallow which would make him sick but which in the end would supposedly do him good. The powder upset Overbury's stomach, but in the meantime Rochester had sent him a physician who recommended jellies and broths which were specially prepared, with poison put in by Francis. Also he had a special servant, furnished by Admiral Monson, named Weston, who was paid by Francis but was really a servant of Mrs. Turner.

In the meantime Francis's divorce was being conducted and it was decided that a company of women should examine Francis, to see if she really was a virgin, as she contended, and the fault or lack of intercourse lay with her husband Essex.

The women examined her, but she, under a cloak of modesty, demanded that during the examination she should be veiled. Of course with the aid of the veil, she substituted a young woman, resembling her in stature and form. The result: "Commission

informed 'Lady Francis fitted to bear children and was a virgin uncorrupted!'"

Although there were surmises, the divorce was granted September 18, three days after Overbury had died in great agony in the Tower.

November 3, 1613, King James created his favorite, Rochester, earl of Somerset and later made him Lord Chamberlain. James may have thought to annoy the Earl of Hertford with this creation of the Somerset title, as that title was supposed to belong to the Seymour family.

Earl of Northampton to Lake

(Nov. 23, 1613)

"... Has sent the King's directions to the Earl of Shrewsbury by the Lieutenant (of the Tower) who was to take home the prisoner (Countess of Shrewsbury). His Majesty's pleasure concerning Talbot (Lord Shrewsbury) and the protection sought by Chambers, shall be delivered to the Lords. . . .¹⁰

Earl of Northampton to Somerset

(Nov. 25, 1613)

"The prisoner (Countess of Shrewsbury) is sent back to Mr. Lieutenant, though a request for a longer absence had been proposed. The place intended for the escape was under a study of Mr. Revenes (Mr. Ruthven). It has been carried on with great secrecy."¹¹

I think that all three of the prisoners were to escape; Arbell Countess of Shrewsbury and Lord Grey. John Smith, the Navigator, whose ships were on the coast near Plymouth was engaged to take them away, but Sir Ferdinando Gorges at Plymouth stayed his vessel.

¹⁰C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 211.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 212.

Arbell Dies in the Tower

I presume that as soon as Secretary of State Winwood found out about the guilt of Helwys he had him removed from the Tower, for we find that Sir George More became the new Lieutenant of the Tower, shortly afterward.

"There is an instance of the Earl of Pembroke's generosity shown when the King after the beheading of Sir Gervase Elwayes, for his complicity in the death of Sir Thomas Overbury, gave the Earl of Pembroke his forfeited estate, worth 1000^{lb} annually; (equal to more than \$25,000 now) he bestowed it immediately upon the widow and children of the unfortunate felon."¹

The trials of the guilty prisoners in the Overbury case took place in the autumn of 1615. The sentences were carried out as follows:

- 19 Oct. Weston—Death—Hanging
- 7 Nov. Mrs. Turner—Death—Hanging
- 16 Nov. Helwys—Death—Hanging
- 27 Nov. Franklyn—Death—Hanging.

The *State Trials* by Cobbett contains the trial of Anne Turner in 1615, (p. 930) and that of the Countess of Somerset, or Francis Howard, which also contains a charge of witchcraft joined to that of poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury (page 931).

A great deal of speculation has been indulged in by the students of Shakespeare in regard to his legal knowledge. Also much of the same was indulged in in regard to his studies of the Bible. We furnished the reason for the latter in his alias of John Smith, preacher and vicar of Clavering. Now we report the reason he knew so much about law and law terms and used them so correctly, in that he also studied law at Grey's Inn. It would not surprise me if he studied law under his father's solicitor Edward Kirton at Grey's Inn, or some other friend of his father.

¹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

"Our Willy's" studies of law, under his alias of Thomas Campion, need not have been carried on at the Inn itself. He might have reported for examination there from time to time; and it certainly explains his exact use of law terms in his works, both those written under the name of Shakespeare and those under his various aliases. As for his work in physic, I do not find so many examples of its use in his works; but I have not read all or even a half of his writings, by a long shot.

Campion wrote a Masque for the Queen—an entertainment for her amusement while she was at Cavershal House in 1613. The music and lyrics were both written by him. Also he wrote the Lord's Masque in 1613.

Lord Bacon, who was now Attorney-General, originated a great entertainment for the marriage of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and Francis Howard in December 1613 and Campion wrote the Masque. It was a very expensive fete and cost the sum of 2,000^{lb} to celebrate it.

Ben Jonson, who was in Europe with Sir Walter Raleigh's eldest son, sent an exquisite dialogue between two cupids for this entertainment. Campion seems to have also produced all the music for this entertainment.

In 1614 Campion published *Two books of Ayres*. He had already published a *Collection of Songs of Mourning* to commemorate the death of Prince Henry in whose service he was engaged.

According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "Campion set little store by his English lyrics; they were to him, 'the superfluous blossoms of his deeper studies.'" In 1617 Campion's books were published: his *Third and Fourth Books of Ayres*.

Of course the group that we have been studying were all heartily upset and distressed when Sir Walter Raleigh, after using the information that George Popham had obtained for him about the Orinoco, and going there, was returned to England and executed, really at the command of the Spanish factions in James's establishment.

Early in January, 1614, Sir John Digby, Ambassador to Spain, came home with the surprising news that the late Earl of Salisbury had enjoyed a pension of 1000^{lb} from the King of Spain; and that Lady Suffolk, mother of Francis, and the Queen's chief lady Jane Drummond, as well as Sir William Monson (Admiral of the Narrow Seas) were also on the annual payroll of Spain.

(17 June, 1614)

"Has spoken with the King concerning his grandson, Wm Seymour, now in France. Thanks for the grant of the markets, which will be a great relief to his poor tenants. It is the only suit he has had since the King's accession. Sends his writ (probably check) toward the present occasions, corresponding to his over-charged estates rather than to his heart."²

To go back during these months just past Francis Howard, now Countess of Somerset, began receiving letters and requests from the Tower. Finally "Sir Gervase Helwys, Lieutenant of the Tower complained that Francis owed him 100th, and was insistant on being paid."

By July 19, 1615, there were underground whisperings that Lady Francis had had several secret meetings with "Mrs. Turner, that gay widow who knew so many interesting people round and about London and whose fashion of yellow starched ruffs had spread like wildfire through the Court."

Sir Ralph Winwood, now Secretary of State, had had news from Flushing: "an apothecary's boy, about to die of fever, had confessed, that he had been assistant to the French Apothecary designated to wait upon Sir Thomas Overbury, and had been bribed to administer an injection of Poison to Sir Thomas." As this was such serious news, Winwood hesitated to say anything about it till he had more confirmation. This did not come about until August 18, 1615, when the Earl of Shrewsbury invited Sir Ralph Winwood, the Earl of Pembroke and other Lords to dinner, at the suggestion of his Countess and Arbell. Then the name of Sir Gervase came up and Shrewsbury spoke for him. But Winwood told of the "foul suspicion of his having allowed poison to be given to Sir Thomas, as confessed by the apothecary's boy," and he wished he could be cleared of this before Winwood would do anything for him.

They arranged a meeting and Sir Gervase acknowledged that there had been an attempt to poison Overbury. This Dinner was given on August 18; on August 25 Arbell died. Of WHAT? From the Venetian Ambassador's account it seems to be poison. She was

²C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

probably bed-ridden, so was waited on by women, and Helwys could have given it to her through their agency.

The only real contemporary story of her death is found in the Venetian Ambassador's Letters to the Doge and Senate:

Foscarini to the Doge and Senate

(29 Sept. os. Oct. 9, ns. 1615)

"The night of Wednesday, a little before daybreak, the Lady Arbell Stuart *died suddenly* in the Tower, and without leaving any will; thus the poor Lady at one and the same time has found an end of her troubles and of her life. Her body was yesterday borne to the grave, being followed by more than sixty coaches. Shortly before her death the Countess of Shrewsbury was allowed to see her, but she found her voiceless and almost entirely senseless, being very nigh to death."³

*Antonio Foscarini Kt. and Gregorio Barbarigo to the
Doge and Senate*

(6 Oct. os. 16 Oct. ns. 1615)

"I Foscarini, wrote last week that the Lady Arbell was dead, and seeing she is so nearly related to the King, and so much spoken of we think it well here to add that the Council have already met and deliberated whether, *as the Queen desired it*, their Majesties should put on mourning; further, where the Lady should be buried.

"It was resolved that since she had, in a certain way, died contumacious (scornful) the Court should *not* go into mourning but as to the place of her burial, that might be where her relations best liked it. Hence she has been buried in the same grave where her grandmother lies, among the royal tombs, and near the resting place of Prince Henry.

"Her death, which was almost *instantaneous accompanied by a sudden tremor and loss of power in the lower limbs, has been much regretted by many of the chief persons here, but the King has said nothing on this subject*, though his Majesty is become heir of such small property as she has left."⁴

"As a specimen of how rumour was very busy with the fate of

³C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1611-1618.

⁴C.S.P. Foreign, Venetian, James I, 1611-1618.

Arbell, it may be mentioned that she was popularly supposed to have borne a child in the Tower. The imputation, however, cannot be supported by any contemporary evidence. Further, James was credited with having poisoned her, as appears from the debate in Parliament a century and half after her death, for in describing the passage of the Royal Marriage Bill in March 1772, Horace Walpole (*Journal of the Reign of George III*, vol. 1. p. 71) writes: 'On the 24th the Bill was reported to the House, and opposed with vehemence by T. Townshend.' 'The Lady Arbell Stuart' he said, 'was poisoned in the reign of James I.' He wondered why the precedent has not been put into the preamble: it would have made as good a figure there as prorogative."⁵

This T. Townshend was probably the descendant of Sir Henry Townshend, Justice of Chester, and the father of Hayward Townshend, author of *Historical Collections*. Undoubtedly this T. Townshend, his son, had obtained his information from his father. Certainly the details of Arbell's death as furnished by the Venetian Ambassador would support such a supposition or accusation. Sir Henry Townshend had been appointed by Leycester in 1575 as his representative for the Concealed Wards.

If as this record shows, James had a hand in the death of Arbell it would not seem strange. If, also, he had had the records on the Close Roll of I Edward VI excised, as well, as we know he did have the Will of Edward VI cancelled, he would probably, being the moral coward that he was, have acted exactly as he did about the marriage of Arbell and William Seymour, and later her imprisonment.

There is also to be considered the strong French belief that James was not the real child of Darnley, but of Mary Stuart's lover, David Ritzio, her harp player. Gossip had it that Ritzio, the wandering Italian musician, in two years became so powerful with Mary Stuart that she was aiming at giving him the post of Chancellor in 1566. Lord Darnley had found Ritzio, half dressed in the Queen's closet between twelve and one p.m. one night, or so he declared.

At any rate Arbell, the daughter of Charles Darnley, shows no such cowardly traits. She was dangerously courageous, gallant, and of a vibrant personality. If James contrived her poisoning he had ample opportunity as the doctors and servants from the top down

⁵Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1896, "Lady Arbella Stuart and the Venetian Archives." Author unknown.

certainly had plenty of chances of obtaining the poison there, and they were susceptible to bribery.

Arbell's body was embalmed and there are several reports as to where she was supposedly buried. Some say it was in the tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, others that she was buried with her grandmother, Bess of Hardwick, Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury. Both of these reports I doubt, as certainly few real bodies were placed in the graves at Westminster. Lord Burghley's case, found in this volume, is an example of this fact. (I feel sure that Hertford occupying the position that he did would not have allowed his beloved son of whom he was so proud, or his son's beloved Arbell, to have been buried ultimately anywhere excepting in the family vault at Salisbury. This of course would hold, no matter *which* William Seymour she really did marry.

What the feelings of "Our Willy" and his great friend Dr. Palmer as well as those of Mary and Gilbert, Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, were, as well as how her faithful servants Hugh Crompton and her embroideriers and other servitors and friends reacted to this dreadful disaster, we have not been able to penetrate in records. We have our own ideas founded on these records, but they little matter.

That "Our Willy" never again used his pen, nor took up a musical instrument is evident. His life force had left him and from that time on all he did was to sign two wills leaving what property he had to those he had befriended or who had befriended him for so long. This is all that we can find.

As we have told that Christopher Marlowe, Edmund Spenser, and perhaps other bodies had been buried, or rather not buried, but substituted for the real persons supposed to have been buried this was not new work for "Our Willy" and his Packe; so Arbell's body was probably placed in some convenient vault until a place in the Seymour Tomb could be arranged for it.

There were many poems written to the memory of Arbell but we will give only two here. One is by Dame Nature, no other name being given to it.

ARBELLA DESCRIBED BY DAME NATURE

*"Golden hair on head of earthly mould,
Forehead a mirror—*

*Eyes two carbuncles—excell the moon and glorious sun,
Cheeks—rosy and blue veined.”*

“She had a small chin, white pearly teeth. She was eloquent and ‘poetig’; was a singer and played the lute.”

In his *Court of King James the First*, Bishop Goodman of Glocester, (1587-1656), the King’s apologist, “writes that, having sometimes displeased James in his life, ‘so give me leave to blame him a little after his death, especially in that business of the Lady Arbell, for her usage and her imprisonment only for marrying the now Earl of Hertford, which marriage could be no disparagement to her nor to her royal kindred, but was every way a fit and convenient match. She was a very virtuous and good-natured lady, and of great intellectuals, harmless and gave no offense.’” This book was not published until 1839. The MSS. is in the Bodleian Library.

For Arbell’s reputation for genius see: Phillips, *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675; Bridges, *Peers*, p. 509; Lodge, *Illustrations*, III, 178.

William Seymour to the King

(1 Jan. 1616)

“Is penitent for the transgressions of his youth and implores pardon and leave to come home.”⁶

Attached is permission to come home dated Jan. 5, 1616.

Winwood to Lake

(10 Feb., 1616)

“Mr. Wm. Seymour has returned, and is to see the King tomorrow.”⁷

If, as I think, Francis Beaumont was really young William Seymour, and his friend Edward Rodney, John Fletcher, then some things became rather clear to me. William Seymour arrived in London almost a month before March 6, the date of his supposed death. If he did see his beloved Grandfather and uncle, or “Our Willy,” and undoubtedly he did, then it would account for his death, for that occurred on March 6, 1616, just before the death of his uncle William Seymour, or William Shakespeare. That he did not want to go on with poetry and literature is evi-

⁶C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

⁷Ibid.

dent. Probably his grandfather Hertford was getting very old and his son Beauchamp was dead and Edward Seymour, his eldest grand son was probably sickly, as he died very shortly afterwards, in 1618. So Hertford did not have anyone to lean on but our young William Seymour, Arbell's supposed husband.

Hertford's estates were extensive and many depended upon their being well ordered. At any rate they evidently decided that the best thing was for Francis Beaumont to die as had many of the young writers. Of course it was easy to bury him as his alias in Westminster Abbey, along with Chaucer and Spenser.

This was accomplished, according to reliable sources: "Francis Beaumont died on March 6, 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey alongside Chaucer and Spenser." If my conjecture is true then Shakespeare would have had ample time to give his manuscripts to his father Hertford and his nephews William and Francis Seymour, for publication after Anne Hathaway's death. Probably this was to keep her from tattling about his taking the name of her husband, William Shakespeare I, in 1564.

My belief is that after Arbell's death "Our Willy" went to his father's home, Hertford House in London, along with Anthony Palmer, his co-vicar at Clavering; Mr. Kirton; his nephew William Seymour, recently from Paris; Francis Seymour; and of course his beloved father Hertford. He may have spent a short time there going over his works which had not been published, and his desires as to the future which certainly could not but look utterly blank to him.

His Will, although commonly called Shakespeare's Will, was not the only will he had to make: there was the one he had to make for John Smith as well. What property he owned seems to have been only in Stratford-on-Avon and Blackfriars in London. These he could dispose of by will as William Shakespeare. This he started to do in January of 1616, but finally changed the date to March 5, 1616. This Will can be so easily found in almost any good life of Shakespeare so that I will not give it here.

I did, however, find some, to me, interesting things about it which came through my search for the real man. He seems to have forgotten that his supposed son, Judith's twin, had died and that he had to alter "sonne and daughter" and substitute the name of his daughter Judith. The third item was "I gyve and bequeath unto the said Elizabeth Hall (his neice) all my plate, *except my*

brod silver and gilt bole that I now have att the date of my will."

Later he gives this to his daughter Judith: "*my broad silver and gilt bole.*" As I can find no mention of any "bole" of this sort being given to Shakespeare I take it to mean the "*Great Standing Cup*, with a cover gilt full of dollars," given to him by the Landgrave of Hessen when he was traveling in Holland under his alias of John Dowland in 1595-1596.

In the middle of the will he gives to Hamlett Sadler "xxvis, viiid" for a ring. It was originally written to be given to Mr. Rychard Tyler, (thelder), which might have been Mr. Richard Tyder, or the man Arbell spoke of as being interested in her marrying Edward Seymour.

Although this Will has been gone over so many times by all the commentators on Shakespeare no one evidently noticed that it was probated by: "*Probatum coram Magistro Willielmo Byrde, Legum Doctore* (etc.) *xxij de mensis Junii, Anno Domini, 1616.*" Now this Magistrate was evidently the son or a relative of "Our Willy's" old music master, William Byrde. He and his father probably knew the whole history of "Our Willy," for William Byrde and Thomas Morley, John Dowland, and Alfonso Ferrabasco were all great friends. Probably I would find if I took the trouble to search for it, that Campion may have also been one of his friends.

I have not been able to get the exact will of John Smith, but as he was so highly esteemed his Life and Will were published briefly by the biographers of that time. This is what they say about him: "John Smith was (supposed to have been) born near Coventry, co. Warwick, and was educated at the Coventry Grammar School which had recently been founded by John Hales; elected at the age of fourteen to Sir Thomas White's scholarship to St. John's College, Oxford. He proceeded M.A. in 1585 and B.D. in 1591. He was made a fellow of his college, and highly valued in the university 'for his piety and parts': he was chosen lecturer at St. Paul's Cathedral in the place of Lancelot Andrews in 1589 and became minister of St. Mary's and St. Clements, Clavering, Essex, in 1592. He obtained a license to marry Frances, daughter of William Babington of Chorley, Cheshire, 21 Oct. 1594. (William Babington was connected with the Babington Plot against Elizabeth.

He died November 11, 1616, leaving benefactions to St. John's

College, to Clavering parish, and to "ten faithful and good ministers, who had been deprived on the question of ceremonies, viz; 2. os. od, that is, 40 shillings to each, and hopes that none will attempt to defeat those parties of his gift, considering that God in His own law hath provided that the priests of Aaron desposed for idolatry, should be maintained; and that the Cannon law saith 'Si quis communitatis in custentationem dare aliquid voluerit, non prohibenus'." These were probably his understudies and scholars.

In his own lifetime, 1614, he published *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Greek versa interprete, by J. S. This was a Greek version of Bishop Jewel's *Apology* and was published again with the Latin in 1639. Bishop Jewel was of Salisbury Cathedral, Wilts.

Anthony Palmer, his devoted vice-vicar, married John Smith's widow after John Smith's death, and published most of John Smith's sermons: probably with the aid and instructions of William Seymour, Earl of Hertford:

Smith, John *The Substance and Pith of Prayer*; or a brief, holy and heavenly exposition of the Lord's Prayer. 4th London. 1629.

“ “ *An Exposition of the Articles of Our Christian Faith*, in seventy-three sermons. fol. London 1632.

“ “ *Essex Dove*, presenting the world with a few of her olive branches, or a taste of the works of Rev. John Smith, etc. dedicated in three treatises. London, 1629, 1633.

“ “ Extracts from *De Beata Vita*. Selected Discourses, London, 1660.

We give the following extracts from this last work: "Every particular good is a blossom of the First Goodness: every created excellency is a beam descending from the Father of lights; and should we separate all these particularities from God; for all affection spent upon them would be unchaste and their embraces adulterous. We should love all things in God, and God in all things, because he is all in all, the beginning and original of being, the perfect idea of their goodness and end of their notion."

In one of his sermons (text from Romans 3, 28) he says: "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds

of law." Most of these sermons had their texts taken from the *New Testament*.

Clavering Monument

Clavering is a very small village and aside from the Church of St. Mary's and St. Clement's, nothing of much interest is to be found. Miss May Ffytche writing in the *Essex Review* of May, January, 1924, says that its history is yet to be written. The main object is the Church.

In this church, "*in the south chancel on the South wall is a small marble tablet with cornice and flanking columns, and a painted kneeling figure at a desk.*"⁸ It resembles the monument of Shakespeare in Stratford except the height of the forehead and was probably done by the same sculptor. Smith died on Nov. 9, 1616, and undoubtedly the sculpture was done at the same time as was that of William Shakespeare at Stratford-on-Avon. There is little else to say about Clavering except it seems to have been a quiet and restful place. It is 6 miles S. W. from Saffron—Walden and about 40 from London."

We have an item from Hammond & Hammond, photographers of London in regard to the inscription below this monument that they recently photographed. They state: " 1616. The 12th day of November was buried Dr. J. Smith, the reverend pastor of the congregation. There is on the south wall of the chancel a monument of considerable artistic merit to Dr. Smith. He is shown kneeling at a prayer desk, bearded in Elizabethan fashion and wearing a skull cap, gown and ruff. The Latin inscription beneath states that he was a Warwickshire man, a fellow of St. John's College at Oxford, and formerly of St. Pauls; it records his wisdom, piety, learning, eloquence and worth, and states that he died on the 9th of November at the age of 56 years after 25 years as Vicar, and that the monument was erected by his widow. Incidentally he and his wife left 100^{lb} (a large sum in those days) for parish charities."

All his biographers state that he was born in 1563 which would have made him only 53 years of age instead of 56. If the effigy was ordered by Hertford when he ordered the effigy of Shakespeare he might have ordered the differenc in the height of the forehead

⁸H.M.C. "Monuments of N. W. Essex," I, 69.

as this of Smith is very low while that of Shakespeare is unusually high. Both effigies were originally painted. Smith's nose is slightly Roman.

At any rate although his wife Frances Babbington was supposed to have erected this monument to him, she married Dr. Palmer very soon after Smith's death. I contend that she must have been Palmer's wife all the time.

In the full photo of the monument will be seen a coronet on top of the Bible above his head. I believe this strawberry-leaved coronet was supposed to denote that he was a son of an Earl.

We have no means of knowing just where Shakespeare or "Our Willy" died. If he died, as some say, at Stratford, I have no information to the contrary. If he died at Clavering, again I have no information. My own idea is that he died in London at his father's house at Cannon Row and his body, after being embalmed, was sent to join that of Arbell's until the vault in Salisbury Cathedral was ready to take them in. I have absolutely no evidence for this theory. It is only what I think his father and his nephews would have done in those circumstances.

Of course he could not have died as a result of a rowdy party, which some records give as an account of his death. Of course everyone connected with Shakespeare or "Our Willy" was absolutely bound by secrecy, and you can believe that vow was certainly kept; for we know that Mary, the Countess of Shrewsbury, suffered imprisonment for many years for keeping it.

We also know that all the scholars searching for mention of Shakespeare's whereabouts and doings during his life have come up with very few examples of any breach of this vow, and certainly not from any that knew "Our Willy's" real identity. Besides Catherine Grey and her friends and servants, Hertford and sons, Kirton, Jonson, Leycester and Burghley, no other except Arbell and the Countess of Shrewsbury knew this secret. "Of course many others may have conjectured about it, but news was not played up as it is today and people did not exercise their imaginations to the extent that they do now.

Edw. Sherburn to (Carleton)

(1 Nov., 1616)

"The Earl of Arundal was made Earl Marchal for the Prince's

(Charles) Creation. The King has given him all the Earl of Somerset's pictures etc." He seems to have accepted them.

Incloses:

"Names of the persons to be made Knights of the Bath, on the Creation of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales: among them is Mr. Seymour that married the Lady Arbell. Edward, son of Beauchamp, was knighted as well."⁹

On November 1, Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, was committed to the Tower and on November 2, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, was also committed to the Tower.

We get along now to 1617, after the trials of Frances and Robert Carr. They were both convicted and their sentence was death, but James commuted their sentences to life imprisonment in the Tower. Carr had loaned James 25,000^{lb} in 1613, sometime in the early part of that year. I wonder if this had something to do with the carrying out of the verdict?

"On April 17, 1617, Arbell's supposed late husband, William Seymour was married to the Earl of Essex's daughter: his grandfather settled 3000^{lb} a year on him."¹⁰

On June 28, 1618, the Countess of Shrewsbury, who had been cooped up in the Tower all these years was suddenly brought before the Star Chamber. "Report of proceedings, speeches etc., in the Court of the Star Chamber on the pronouncing sentence against the Countess of Shrewsbury, for contempt in not answering about Lady Arbell's pretended child, the sentence being 20,000^{lb} fine and imprisonment for life. She pleaded a *vow* as her excuse for not replying, but her disbelief of any child."¹¹

On September 15, 1618, Edward Seymour, the eldest son of Lord Beauchamp and eldest grandson of Hertford, died, and now William Seymour, of Arbell Stuart fame, became heir to the estates of the Hertford or Seymour family. He, Edward, had matriculated from Magdalen College, Oxford, April 16, 1605, and graduated B.A. December 9, 1607. He had married the daughter of Robert Sackville on June 1, 1609. His widow afterwards married Sir Edward Lewis, Knight. He had had several children but they all died in infancy.¹²

⁹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

¹⁰C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618.

¹¹C.S.P. Dom. James I, 1611-1618, p. 548.

¹²Annals of the Seymours, p. 168.

CHAPTER LVI

Shakespeare's Monument at Stratford-on-Avon

ACCORDING to the monument at Stratford, Shakespeare died April 23, 1616. If this should be correct (which I doubt, as it was the date of the month in which he was born) he died just seven months after Arbell. I believe that he died, as I have stated before, at London or possibly at Clavering on November 9, 1616. But what matter where or when he died for his great soul laid down his restless spirit near the same time in 1616.

I have tried to get descriptions, when possible, of everything connected with "Our Willy" from records as early or as near to the date of their happening as possible, so here I give the earliest description of the Stratford monument that I can find. It is that found in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, 1656, as follows:

Shakespeare's Bust (at Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon)

"Against the north wall is the monument, elevated about five feet from the ground—and under an arch between two Corinthian pillars of black marble, with gilded bases and capitals, is the effigy of Shakespeare, in a sitting posture, in the act of composing; a cushion is placed before him; a pen is held in his right hand, and his left rests on a scroll. Above the entablement are his armorial bearings (the tilting spear, point upwards, and the falcon supporting a spear for the crest). Over the arms is a death's head; and on each side a boy figure, one grasping a spade, the other holding in his left hand an inverted torch, and resting his right hand on a skull. This bust was originally *coloured* to resemble life, and its appearance, before the colouring was obliterated, is thus described:

"The eyes were of a light hazel colour, and the hair and beard auburn. The dress consisted of a scarlet doublet, over which was thrown a loose black gown without sleeves. The upper part of the

cushion was of a crimson, and the lower of a green colour, with gilt tassels.'"¹

There is much speculation in regard to the slab or stone upon the grave bearing the following inscription, which has been renewed several times:

*"GOOD FRIEND, FOR IESUS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DUST ENCLOSED HEARE:
BLESS BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES."*

"Mr. Dugdall, in an existing letter to Mr. Edward Southwell, dated April 10, 1692, says that these lines were written by the poet himself a little before his death. Dugdall plainly records a tradition which possibly may have been well founded."²

There is also the curious record by Washington Irving, who visited Stratford-on-Avon in 1823 and who in his *Sketch Book* has the following to say:

"A few years since, as some laborers were digging to make an adjoining vault, the earth caved in so as to leave a vacant space almost like an arch through which one might have reached into Shakespeare's grave. No one, however, presumed to meddle with remains so artfully guarded with a malediction. And lest any of the idle or curious, or any collector of relics should be tempted to commit depredations, the old sexton kept watch over the place two days until the vault was finished and the aperture closed again. He told me that he had made bold to look in at the hole but could see neither coffin nor bones; nothing but dust. It was something, I thought, to have seen the dust of Shakespeare."³

Mr. Dugdell's statement that this curse was written by Shakespeare seems reasonable to me, as, if people were afraid to disturb the bones, certainly nobody would find out that there was nobody buried there.

The second, by Washington Irving, would seem to confirm the idea that nobody had been buried there. Of course this contention favors my theory that he deceived his fellows at Stratford-on-Avon as to his grave's whereabouts.

In my curious way I have looked at many of the pictures of the

¹Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, p. 437.

²White, *Shakespeare*, I, 107.

³Irving, *Sketch Book*.

monument of Shakespeare and although it is well described by Dugdale, it still shows more than the description gives. There is a mask in the upper decoration of the pediment, probably there are several, which Dugdale does not mention. He does, however, give us the color of the eyes and hair of "Our Willy" as it originally was, somewhat before entire destruction erased its portraiture quality. That Shakespeare was a medium, in fact, an almost small man is quite evident. That was the reason he could disguise himself so easily. Of course in our story Hertford, when he was young and was going to Court, dressed himself up—to effect the ladies so he told Harvey, but really to deceive Queen Elizabeth. The art of disguise was a necessary part of any actor's education and our whole Packe and their friends were adept at it.

In 1618 Richard Burbage, the friend of "Our Willy" died and was probably buried in his home town at Shoreditch, where he lived for so many years. It is his portrait of Shakespeare that we have chosen as our idea of what "Our Willy" looked like without makeup, and which I think resembles the authentic portraits that we have; that of the Monument and that of the First Folio, which we will give in a later chapter.

Sidney Lee's edition of *Shakespeare*, p. 498, has this to say: "The poet's monument in Stratford Church was in tablet form, and was coloured, in accordance with contemporary practice. It presents a central arch flanked by two Corinthian columns which support a cornice and entablature. Pillars were of marble, ornaments of alabaster. The earliest sketch of it was made in 1634."

Shakespeare's motto "None without right," or, as it is really given "*Non Sans Droict*," seems to make him shake a lance at ignorance. The death head ring which he inherited from his mother tops the monument. Of course the students of Shakespeare people who are determined to keep him the dolt that they have tried to make him out, would say that this death head was just a custom of that time. We know better and it is with the hope that investigations along the line of this study will be started and the whole truth, of which this is only an outline, will come quickly to light. For now I think he wants the world to know.

On January 21, 1621, the Earl of Hertford made his last appearance in the House of Lords. He must have been quite feeble then for on April 2 he died at Netley, Hampshire, which was not so

very far from his old home near Salisbury, and near Southampton.

He was buried in the tomb that he had erected for his wife Catherine Grey and himself and their family of children, in Salisbury Cathedral. He had outlived all of his sons and only two of his grandsons remained.

"An inscription is touching: 'Having experienced the vicissitudes of mutable fortune, they, as in the harmony of their living union here at last rest together.'"

We have given the tribute placed on the tomb when Catherine was interred in 1568, we will now give the tribute placed on his:

"He was a man of perfect integrity, a pattern of nobility, a guardian of morals and early training, of eloquence, prudence, blamelessness and gravity not less distinguished by virtue and learning than by the lustre of noble birth, as one who had associated in his youthful studies with Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII. An ardent champion of religion; the never-failing maintainer of right and justice; of consummate fidelity and influence in administration of the provinces committed to him. Plenipotentiary for James, King of Great Britain, in the legation to the Archduke and Dutchess (of the Netherlands). Great in his munificence at home and abroad, and though of surpassing wealth, yet he did more largely abound in mental than in material opulence, nor ever did he exercise his power on the weakness of his dependents. Full of honors as of years, in the eighty third year he yielded to Nature, the 6th of April 1621. By the heroine (of this epitaph) he had two sons."⁴

This Monument and description of the Seymours in Bedwyn-Magna is to be found in Jackson-Aubrey, South Wilts, p. 374-7.

Joseph Mead to Sur Martin Stuteville

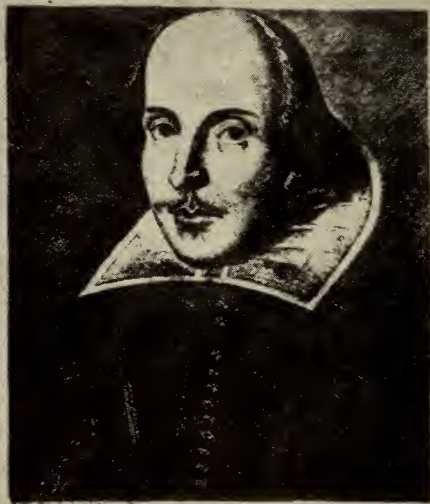
(30 June, 1621)

"I am told even now as a secret, the Earl of Southampton hath been searching concerning the lawfulness of the Earl of Hertford's marriage, which is that wherewith the King is offended; for it is said, that the last Parliament the King or somebody should

⁴Locke, **Seymour Family**.

Mr. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES.
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623

FIRST FOLIO PORTRAIT

To the Reader

*The Figure, that thou here seest put
It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
Wherein the Grauer had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life.
O, could he but haue drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in Brasse.
But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke."*

BEN JONSON.

propound a motion to pronounce that issue illegitimate. Some talk of other things, but I think all uncertain.

"Christ Coll. Jun. 30, 1621.

"Yours to command.

"JOSEPH MEAD"⁵

We have another record of this same fact, although not contemporary, which states nearly the same but with additional facts:

"... James, with despicable cowardice, used every effort to prevent the establishment of a legitimacy (of the Seymour children), which had only the remotest degree of danger to himself and his throne. Even as late as 1621, according to contemporary letters of a certain Joseph Mede, he had some thought of openly declaring in Parliament the illegitimacy of Hertford's children. "It is said, as a secret, that Lord Southampton, who together with Lord Oxford and several commoners, were imprisoned after the dissolution of that same Parliament, owed his commitment to an attempt to collect proofs in defence of the validity of the marriage."⁶

Yes, I think James I was guilty of tampering with the records that would establish the true rights of Catherine Grey's children to the throne.

Of course William Seymour, on the death of his grandfather, Hertford, received his estates and honours by the provision of 1608, though his legitimacy and royal descent were not acknowledged. For the remaining years of the reign of James I, he lived in comparative retirement in the country, being out of favour at Court.

Lady Hertford was, as the Seymour boys related, peculiar. After the death of Hertford she held great court, as Duchess of Hertford.

"After his decease Lennox and Richmond, with the great title of Duchess, gave period to her honour, which could not arrive at her mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent heights in speculation; for finding the King a widdower, she vowed after so great a prince as Richmond never to be blown with kisses, nor eat at the table of a subject; and this vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the bravery of her spirit; but this bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her aim, to make good her resolution, she speciously observed her vow to the

⁵Ellis, *Original Letters*, III, Ser. 2. Harleian MSS., 389, f. 100, p. 239.

⁶Locke, *The Seymour Family*, p. 91.

last.”⁷ There are more interesting items about this lady in the reference we give.

“William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford, wrote to Buckingham, after the death of James Ist and the accession of Charles I, in 1625, intreating his favor and help with the King concerning his legitimacy, praying that his Majesty’s liking he might plead in his own right, or, by his special favour, be preserved from such a troublesome suit. ‘When all honest hearts have such cause for rejoicing I alone am forced to hide myself.’”⁸

William Seymour had been General of the King’s forces in the West, but Charles did not grant this favour.

“It was not until the Civil War and the Commonwealth were over, and Charles II King, that, on the likelihood of this title of the Earl of Somerset being given to another family beside the Seymour, the House of Lords demanded that William Seymour should be made Duke of Somerset and his legitimacy established by recital in the Act for his creation. This Act of Parliament was dated 13 Sept. 1660, confirmed by Act of 20th of Dec. 1661.”⁹

“From the Register of Great Bedwyn, William Seymour was buried in his grandfather’s grave along with his Father in Nov. 1, 1660 and also his wife, the Earl of Essex’s daughter, who died in 1674, and a young son Henry, Lord Beauchamp who died in 1653.”¹⁰

From Mr. Doyle’s *Official Baronage* we have Lord Clarendon’s note in his History II, p. 231 the following about William Seymour I, “He was of an age not fit for much activity and fatigue, and loved and was even wedded so much to his ease, that he loved his book above all exercises.”

⁷S. E. Bridges, *Memoirs of the Peers of England*, p. 296.

⁸Locke, *The Seymour Family*.

⁹Locke, *The Seymour Family*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

CHAPTER LVII

First Folio

As most students of Shakespeare know, the First Folio is the only authentic source for the plays of William Shakespeare. It is unique as it was published, seemingly, by two of his fellow players, John Heminge and Henry Condell. As the Preliminary Matter in this volume is very extensive I am only giving such parts of it as I feel have not been fully considered by any former commentators of it, and also in the light of my conclusions, in this study of his life from the Public Records as I found them.

The copy of the First Folio is readily available in most libraries and therefore I am not giving it here; only such portions of it as are seemingly changed by the viewpoint of my study of Shakespeare's life.

For some reason it was necessary that Anne Hathaway should die before the complete Folio should be published. Of course according to my study she never was his wife, but the wife of the former William Shakespeare, soldier, and according to some writers, she had married again, although no record of such a marriage is forthcoming. Perhaps she was greedy and even perhaps she knew little about his plays. At least she died just before the Folio was printed.

I feel sure that Hertford and William Seymour had been given instructions as to the matter before it was published. Undoubtedly "Our Willy" had the originals of his plays, except *Pericles*, and gave them to his father and nephew before he died with instructions in regard to the treatment of both his monument and Folio. There is a pathetic and heroic quality about his monument, with its Coat of Arms and his motto *Non Sans Droict*, or "None Without Right," which makes one remember his brother Robert Greene's remark in his *Groatsworth of Wit* about him: "*Being an absolute Johannes-fac-totem, is in his own conceite the only Shake-scene in a country.*"

First we come to the Dedication of the Folio:

*To The Most Noble
and
Incomparable Paire
of Bretheren,*

William

*Earle of Pembroke, and C, Lord Chamberlaine To
the Kings most excellent Maiesty*

*and
Philip,*

*Earle of Montgomery and C, Gentleman of His
Maiesties Bed—Chamber. Both Knights of the
Most Noble Order of the Garter, and our singular good*

Lords.

Certainly, or so it seems to me, this dedication was well conceived, for both of these brothers had been companions and neighbors to Shakespeare all his life. Then too, Arbell was related to William, as her neice Mary Talbot had married William, Earl of Pembroke, and her great friend Susan de Vere had married Philip, Earle of Montgomery. So to me the dedication seems singularly apt.

We next come to the portion:

To the great Variety of Readers

The first paragraph of this part was evidently written by another pen and personality than the second paragraph. In the first you are urged to buy—in the second you are urged to read and understand and it seems to be written by another and a quite intimate friend or relative of Shakespeare. The first paragraph might have been written by anyone, William Seymour or even some close friend; but the second could only have been written by a serene mind, close to our Bard.

This second paragraph, then, to me seems to be the mature work of Spenser, or Hertford, his father. There seems to be one of his expressions in it; we give it here:

Second paragraph of "To the Great Variety of Readers"

"It had bene a thinge, we confesse, worthie to haue wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings: But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death, departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected and publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diurse stolne and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them; euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. *His mind and hand went together; and what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee scarce receuied from him a blot in his papers.* But it is not our Prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them to you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost. Reade him, therefore: and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to understand him. And so we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides; if you neede them not, you can leade your selues, and others. And such Readers we wish him.

JOHN HEMINGE.

HENRIE CONDELL.

And although Heminge and Condell signed this *Dedication* and *To the Great Variety of Readers*, I believe that Hertford, as Spenser, really wrote it. I call to your attention Hertford's letter to John Thynne telling him to read *Gorboduc* by Norton, where he uses the same admonition in regard to re-reading the book. "I know you will like it very well, but the oftner you read it the better." Which, to my way of thinking, is not unlike this admonition for you: "Reade him, therefore; and again and againe."

To me it is interesting to know what Ben Jonson had to say about Shakespeare's being so neat in his writing that he did not make a blot on his pages. It was published long after Shakespeare died, and is found in his *Timber*, and we give it:

“I remember the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penn’d) he never blotted a line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their *ignorance*, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justify mine own candor, (for I lov’d the man, and doe honour his memory, (on this side of idolatry, as much as any). Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature: had an excellent phantasie, brave notions, and gentle expressions: wherein he flow’d with that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop’d. *Suffaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power, would the rule of it had beene so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter: As when he said in the person of *Caesar*, one speaking to him, *Caesar thou dost me wrong*. Hee replyed: *Caesar did never wrong but with just cause*, and such like; which were ridiculus. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was euer more in him to be praysed, than to be pardoned.”

Thus we have two different sources for the fact that Shakespeare wrote easily and as it is said: “His mind and hand went together; and what he thought he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce receiued from him a blot in his papers.” His musical genius seems to have been in the same vein. He played and sang as do the birds, without any effort.

Ben Jonson's Tribute to Shakespeare

To the memory of my beloued,

the AUTHOR

MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE:

And

what he hath left us.

To draw no enuy, (Shakespeare) on thy name,
 Am I thus ample to thy Booke, and Fame:
 While I confesse thy writings to be such,
 As neither Man, nor Muse, can praise too much.

'Tis true, and all mens suffrage. But these wayes
 Were not the paths I meant vnto thy praise:
 For seeliest Ignorance on these may light,
 Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right;
 Or blinde Affection, which doth ne're aduance
 The truth, but gropes, and vrgeth all by chance;
 Or crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,
 And thinks to ruin, where it seemed to raise.
 These are, as some Baud or Whore,
 Should praise a Matron. What could hurt her more?
 But thou art prooffe against them, and indeed
 Aboue th'ill fortune of them, or the need.
 I, therefore will begin. Soule of the Age!
 The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!
 My Shakespeare, rise; I will not lodge thee by
 Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lye
 A little further, to make thee a roome:
 Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe,
 And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue,
 And we haue wits to read, and praise to giue.
 That I not mixe thee so, my braine excuses;
 I meane with great, but disproportion'd Muses:
 For, if I thought my iudgement were of yeeres,
 I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,
 And tell, how farre thou didst our Lily out-shine,
 Or sporting Kid, or Marlowes mighty line
 And though thou hadst small Latine and lesse Greeke,
 From thence to honour thee, I would not seeke
 For names; but call forth thund'ring Aeschilus,
 Euripides, and Sophocles to vs,
 Paccuuius, Accius, him of Cordoua dead,
 To life againe, to hear thy Buskin tread,
 And shake a Stage: or, when thy Socks were on,
 Leaue thee alone, for the comparison
 Of all, that insolent Greece, or haughtie Rome
 Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come
 Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to showe,
 To whom all Scenes of Europe homage owe.
 He was not of an age, but for all time!
 And all the Muses still were in their prime,

When like Apollo he came forth to warme
 Our eares, or like a Mercury to charme!
 Nature her selfe was proud of his designs,
 And ioy'd to weare the dressing of his lines!
 Which were so richly spun, and woven so fit,
 As, since, she will vouchsafe no other Wit.
 The merry Greeke, tart Aristophanes,
 Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not please;
 But antiquated, and deserted lye
 As they were not of Natures family.
 Yet must I not giue Nature all: Thy Art,
 My gentle Shakespeare, must enioy a part.
 For though the Poets matter, Nature be,
 His Art doth giue the fashion. And, that he,
 Who casts to write a liuing line, must sweat,
 (Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
 Vpon the Muses anuile: turne the same,
 (And himselfe with it) that he thinkes to frame;
 Or for the Lawrell, he may gaine a scorne,
 For a good Poet's made, as well as borne.
 And such wert thou. Look how the fathers face
 Liues in his issue, euen so, the race
 Of Shakespeares mind, and manners brightly shines
 In his well torned and true-filed lines:
 In each of which, he seems to shake a Lance,
 As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance,
 Sweet Swan of Auon! what a sight it were
 To see thee in our waters yet appeare,
 And make those flights upon the bankes of Thames,
 That so did take Eliza, and our James!
 But stay, I see thee in the Hemisphere
 Aduanc'd and made a Constellation there!
 Shine forth, thou Starre of Poets, and with rage,
 Or influence, chide, or cheere the drooping Stage;
 Which, since thy flight fro hence, hath mourn'd like night
 And despaire day, but for thy Volumes light.

BEN: IONSON

We all know how thoroughly everybody conceded that Jonson struck a true note when he said "He was not of an age, but for all

time!" for it is now over three hundred and thirty-five years since he died, and there is probably no one dramatist who has so many plays on the stage at this same time as our beloved Shakespeare.

In the latter part of the poem Jonson seems to tell us something about the poet that we did not know, but how could we when there is no portrait of his father, really, to be had. It is in the lines,

"For a good Poet's made as well as borne.
And such wert thou. Looke how the fathers face
Lives in his issue, euen so, the race
Of Shakespeares mind, and manners brightly shines
In his well torned, and true-filed lines:
In each of which, he seems to shake a Lance,
As brandish't at the eyes of Ignorance.
Sweet Swan of Avon! . . ."

Of course most Americans think of the Avon as Shakespeare's river at Stratford. But "Our Willy" knew four Avon Rivers: most of them were near his father's homes in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire. They are:

- 1 Upper Avon: Rises in Northamptonshire, flows through Warwickshire, Worcester and Gloucester, past Rugby, Warwick, Stratford and Eversham and joins the Severn at Twkesbury. Known as Shakespeare's River Avon.
- 2 Lower Arm: Source on the borders of Wiltshire. Enters the estuary of the Severn at King Roads after passing Malmesbury, Bath, and Bristol.
- 3 Middle or Little Avon: Has its whole course in Gloucestershire and reaches the Severn just below Berkeley.
- 4 Another river of this name rises in Wiltshire and flows past Salisbury to the British Channel.

One more item before we leave the First Folio. If, as I think it possible, the poets bearing the name of Seymour all adopted aliases for their work and John Marston was the son of a step-brother of Hertford's and therefore a step-nephew to Shakespeare (whom he adored) he may have asked to associate himself with the First Folio and, as he had already contributed a short tribute to the book, he dedicated a poem to Shakespeare himself, signed—IMS. In which case he might have added an S to his initials: I.M.(S.) which would account for this puzzle.

The Printing of the First Folio

In Dr. Appleton Morgan's book, *Mrs. Shakespeare's Second Marriage*, (N. Y. Shakespeare Society's Papers of No. 14) there is an estimate of the cost of publishing the First Folio by Thomas De Vinne, one of America's best printers. It is interesting although I do not know how near the mark he comes.

"I find that our estimate of the cost of manufacture of the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 is more difficult than I had supposed. The items are:

"Typesetting 578 pages, including make up, about 400 days at 10s per day	1b 8.6d.
Press work 145 days for two men, or 290 days at 8d per day	4.19
Paper 300 reams not counting outside or retree sheets at 30d	19.
Binding in leather at 14d (500 copies)	46.15
This is actual cost of labor and materials	
To this the printer adds one-half more for incidental and profit.	23.
1b102.00	

"This 102^{1b} is probably what the publisher of the book had to pay. This may seem an enormous advance. But it should be recollected that the book was slow of sale. If I recollect rightly it took more than forty years, 1623 to 1664, to sell three editions of Shakespeare.

"Yours very truly,

"THOMAS L. DE VINNE"

CHAPTER LVIII

Epilogue—Shakespeare's Alias

ACCORDING to the description by Dugdale of William Shakespeare's monument which was erected at Stratford, the original bust had coloured features. And Dugdale says that the eyes seemed, before the colouring was obliterated, to have been of a "light hazel colour, and the hair and beard auburn." We have a statement by Jonson that he resembled his father, "Look how the fathers face Lieues in his issue." Now the record is that Hertford was rather smaller than usual and was called at Court, "Little Lord Hertford." So "Our Willy" was probably somewhat under normal size, but otherwise extremely normal.

His mode of travel was always horseback, as we learn from the Sonnets. This is not strange as that was the usual method of travel for men in those days. He probably composed many of his verses and lyrics while passing along the roads through rain and sunshine, seated on a horse.

That he remembered all of the people who had done him some good turn we find in his wills. Arbell's summing up of him as only having one fault, and that jealousy, we also seem to find. But it was not the jealousy seemingly in regard to his work, for whatsoever he attempted to do he finally managed to do at the head of his class. His father and his friend found him gentle and lovable.

I feel that early in his life Hertford gave Edward Kirton special instructions in regard to guarding him, and that he must have studied law under his guidance. Edward Kirton, you remember, was a member of Arbell's and William Shakespeare's wedding group. He certainly was going to see that his William married the girl he wanted. I also think that John Combes was his earliest companion on his trips to Europe and other journeys, then after he became vicar at Clavering his companion was Anthony Palmer. Combes and "Smith's boy, *Southerne*, Mr. Smith's boy." Mr.

Smith was Hertford's cousin and Chaplain, and they were together at Tottenham Lodge in 1583.

My belief is that Walsingham gave him the idea of registering in different colleges when he was at Oxford and Cambridge, although he seemed to favor Cambridge to Oxford for these exploits. Perhaps the discipline at Cambridge was easier and more favorable for this sort of thing than at Oxford for we do not find many of his aliases as being from Oxford. His father, if you remember, pulled the same stunt at Cambridge.

"Our Willy"

Doubtless many of you have wondered why I have used "Our Willy" to identify Shakespeare's real personality. But he had no name except William Shakespeare, of his own, and that really was an alias so I had to have something to identify the real man, amongst so many aliases. When I found that his father, Spenser (Hertford), had called him 'Our gentle Willy' I speedily adopted it and shortened it to "Our Willy."

It will be impossible for me to travel my footsteps from one alias to another, as that would take another large volume, and a year or more for recording the matter. I did make some huge scale charts so that I could follow his wanderings under his aliases and found no discrepancies in his records. However, I shall give here a list of Shakespeare's many aliases that I found and his problems which caused him to adopt these strange tactics.

The very small world that knew about the little bastard wished him well, except Queen Elizabeth and the Catholics, and I believe that neither the Queen nor the Catholics knew a thing about him. His name was changed from his baptismal name soon after his christening; that is, from William Shakespeare to John Smith while he was still an infant. This was to protect him from any possible enemy action.

The world has seen, through the three hundred and thirty-five years the great search for the life of William Shakespeare, so we will say nothing more about it here, as this story, if you have read it, will give it to you as I found it. His first alias, aside from his legal one William Shakespeare was John Smith, and we will give *his* biography as the biographers knew it, plus our special knowledge:

John Smith, First Alias

Born in Warwickshire in 1563-64. Educated in Grammar School by John Hales (and after his death). He proceeded to Oxford on the White Foundation 1577. He eventually became Fellow at Corpus Christi in 1603. He succeeded Dr. Launcelot Andrews, in 1589, as Lecturer in St Paul's Cathedral. In 1592 he was presented to the Living of Clavering, Essex. Here, as Wood further intimated, "he shined as a star in its proper sphere, and was revered for his religion, learning, humility, and holiness of life." John Smith was, besides being a preacher, also an actor, spy for the Protestants, and organist and a singer. His disguise was probably very simple. A gown or robe such as a priest, minister or student wore. He received B.D. from Oxford in 1591. His brother Robert Greene said of him, "Johannas fac-totem, is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a countrey." He died in 1616 and his great friend and fellow worker, Anthony Palmer, collected and published his religious works later.

John Dowland, Second Alias

John Dowland was educated in Paris, so he says or so the Ambassador in Paris says. He was a spy and supposed to be a Catholic. He was a great lutenist, a composer, an actor and a singer. We first hear of him in Paris, where he acted as a messenger for the English Ambassador Cobham in 1579.

He had evidently gone to France to escape the plague raging in England. He was supposed to have been born in Westminster. He was in Paris off and on from 1579 to 1584, but probably only part of his time. He probably studied French, music, drama, and composition of music and verse.

He took Music B. at Christ Church Oxford in 1588. He applied for a place in Robert Greene's place, but was not accepted on account of his religion. After this refusal he went on a trip to Germany, France and Italy in 1595-96. While there he caught a spy, Silvester. As a performer on the lute he was probably without a rival in all Europe. He was also a great singer, and his church music was superb. He is credited with writing a version of "Silent Night" and also "Old Hundred." He returned to England and entered the service of Christian IV of Denmark in 1598. He was really a great composer and virtuoso.

He took his name from the old blacksmith at Tottenham

Lodge, as shown by the list of 1583. He took music B at Cambridge before 1597.

It was not difficult for him to make the passage from England to France, for that was the days of the small sailing boats, and when the wind was right, the voyage was accomplished in a very short time. For a spy it was perfect, for there were so many peasants with their queer and voluminous costumes that it would be quite easy to hide anything in clothes of this character. We only suppose that he usually affected the careless type of dress, probably then as now assumed by the artistic classes. He probably had regular addresses at many of these places, as he had at Fetter's Lane in England. He and William Shakespeare as well as Campion, seem to have been alive until 1616.

John Southerne, Third Alias

We know very little about this character because he only used this alias once. He was John Soowtherne, poetaster (c.1584). "He seems to have been born in England and was doubtless connected with the Shopshire family. Was educated partly in France, whence he returned to his native country to follow the profession of a musician. In 1584 he published an eccentric volume of verse under the title of *The Musyque of the Beautie of his Mistresse Diana*, composed by John Soowthern, Gentleman, and dedicated to the right Honourable Edward Dever, Earle of Oxenford, &c, 1584 June 20. *Nos cares patrica, me caret illa magis*. London for Thomas Hackette, 1584. (His patron was Edward de Vere, seventh earl of Oxford.) The volume consists of sonnets of the author, who anticipated Henry Constable in addressing them to a mistress named Diana, of elegies, odes, odellets and a stansse and two quatrains in French; as well as four epitaphs which are said to have been written by the Countess of Oxford after the death of her young sonne the 'Lord Bulbecke' (The Countess was Anne Cecil, oldest daughter of Lord Burleigh.)" One reason this is so interesting to me is because there was a young boy, named Southern of "Mr. Smith's boy," at Tottenham Lodge in 1583 when Hertford had his household enumerated, and as this is the only work by this author that I can find, it links up the Seymour family closely with all the members of the Packe. This boy belonging to Mr. Smith, who was a cousin and Chaplain to Hertford, makes me think there can be no possible mistake about my theories. For the

boy belonging to Mr. Smith could have been only "Our Willy." This book must have been the source for Henry Constable's later book *Diana*.

Thomas Morley, Fourth Alias

Thomas, according to the biographies of those times, was born in 1557 and died in 1603. He was an organist of note, a spy for Protestants, actor, singer, and song and madrigal composer. He was quite famous in each of these activities but especially as an organist. He was the tutor of Arbell Stuart from about 1589 to 1592. His characteristic was chattiness, especially in the prefaces and works of music he published. Indeed it is from this source that we find most of the items about his various aliases, especially Ferrabosco, Dowland, and Byrd, his music master. His great contribution to music was in his song writing. As he was a really great singer, so also was he a song writer, because he felt the harmony between the lyrics and the music. He was evidently, from the record, the poet and musician in Hertford's entertainment at Elvetham for Queen Elizabeth. He took the title of Music B. at Oxford along with Dowland in 1588. Complains of ill health in some of his later song books. Supposed to have died in 1603, but no details of that event are available.

Christopher Marlowe, Fifth Alias

Christopher was supposed to have been born in 1564 and died in 1593. He was an atheist, a prose dramatist, spy, actor. He attended St. Paul's, Cambridge, during the same years that Edward and Thomas Seymour were there. He had as a characteristic a slight limp. He had quite a lot of trouble with the college authorities before he could get his degree, which he finally obtained through the efforts of the Privy Council. He undoubtedly was connected with spy activities which caused this. Also his religious beliefs were extremely unpopular. He died what was undoubtedly an arranged death in 1593, after having written some fine prose dramas, forerunners to Shakespeare's own. He was a prolific writer and after his death his works were finished by his fellow actors and playwrights. He wrote the song "Come live with me and be my love," published in *Passionate Pilgrim*. This time his fellows spread so many stories of his death that even ordinary readers find them hard to believe.

Henry Constable, Sixth Alias

Henry Constable was supposed to have been born in 1562 and died in 1613. He was a Catholic spy, a court dandy, actor and poet. He went on many envoys for Lord Essex and other notables. He was sent to visit King James in behalf of Penelope Rich and Arbell. He also visited the French King Henry IV, who consulted him about religion. He was in religion an appeaser, trying to get the Protestants and Catholics together. He visited the Pope and was given a pension by Henry IV. He did not enter very largely into Shakespeare's ordinary life; only being used for occasions when such a courier was needed to meet the great ones of the earth. He wrote mostly poems.

Alfonso Ferrabosco, Seventh Alias

Very little is known about Ferrabosco the younger. He seems to have been one of those adopted sons we hear about in Shakespeare's time. He was undoubtedly a young pupil of the older man, who was a friend of Byrd, "Our Willy's" music master. All we know about Ferrabosco is what we find in Morley's chats, and later when he appeared to do the music for Jonson's Masques. He was a great performer on the lyra viol and wrote music for this instrument. He composed the music for these Masques of Jonson's for Queen Anne and in its place I have given Jonson's tributes to him and his respect for him. He must have been very good on the violin, as it was later called, for Andre Maugars, from Rome in 1639 says: "but I have heard none who could be compared with Ferrabosco in England."

Campion addressed Ferrabosco as:

*Music'ks Maister and the offspring,
Of rich Musick's Father
Old Alfonso Image living.*

Of course this was contributed by Campion in Ferrabosco's *Book of Aires*, 1609. Strange, is it not, that nowhere is this Ferrabosco mentioned before in the music of those times?

Thomas Campion, Eighth Alias

Thomas Campion was supposed to have been born in 1567. He was a musician, poet, actor, doctor of physic and wrote several masques for marriages and entertainment in his last days. He

attended Peterhouse, Cambridge, as a gentlemanly pensioner but left in 1586 to take up the study of law. He joined Gray's Inn in 1586, but left before he was called to the bar. Began writing English verse in 1593. In 1606 he received a degree of Doctor of Physic. When he did not have a name already used he invented a new one, for his genius was tremendously fecund and active in his chosen arts. He published in 1601 *Book of Ayres*, the music of which was contributed by himself and Philip Rosseter, with the words all written by himself. This Philip Rosseter was probably a sublimated student etc. In 1602 he published *Observations on the Art of English Poesie*, "against the vulgar and artificial custom of riming," in favour of rhymeless verse a model of quantitative poetry. The challenge was accepted by Samuel Daniel, whose *Defence of Rhyming*, was published in 1602.

In 1607 Campion wrote and published a Masque for the marriage of Lord Hays. In 1613 he issued a volume of *Songs of Mourning*, set to music by Coperaris or John Cooper, for the loss of Prince Henry. Also in 1613 he wrote three Masques: the Lord's Masque for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, an entertainment for the amusement of Queen Anne at Caversham House; and the third for the marriage of Frances Howard to the Earl of Somerset. He also published in this year *Two Books of Ayres*, both words and music by himself.

Campion set little store by his English lyrics; they were to him "the superfluous blossoms of his deeper studies."

"Our Willy," besides these many aliases, had some pen names: Robert Chester—*Love's Martyr*, in which Shakespeare wrote the *Phoenix and the Turtle*. And as Richard Branfield he published some of his overflowing effusions. These seem to have been of his bad-angel variety poems. Probably there were others, which I have not encountered. His genius was like a great natural spring which flowed night and day through his whole life, and he evidently wanted to preserve these out pourings, which he did in this manner.

Bastardy

Probably the most difficult thing "Our Willy" had to encounter was the fact that he was a bastard. Even though his brothers were also considered bastards by the Catholics, yet they were in the open, their births having been acknowledged to the world by both their father and their mother. He, however, was utterly unknown ex-

cepting to a very few people sworn to secrecy, and most of them dead before he became of any age to speak of. His great friend and protector John Hales died when he was still a very little boy, about six years old. Probably it was at this time that John Combes became his companion and protector. While he was yet very young he had been told about his parentage and his position as a bastard. Probably that was the reason that Edward Kirton had him come to his office to study law. (Everyone acknowledges that Shakespeare must have studied law.) It was also the reason that Edward Kirton was a witness to the wedding of William Seymour to Arbell Stuart.

The laws of bastardy were very curious in England, or so they seem to me. I will give an excerpt from an old book of Heraldry which seems to sum up the problems of a bastard fairly well.

"Marks of Bastardy"

"The illegitimacy of birth is an insuperable bar to inheritance, and a person of illegitimate birth inherits no arms at all, the popular idea that he inherits a right to the arms subject to a mark of distinction being quite incorrect. He has none at all. There has never been any mark which as a matter of course and of mere motion, could attach itself automatically to a shield, as is the case with the English marks of difference, e. g. the crescent of the second son or the mullet of the third. This is a point upon which I have found mistaken ideas very frequently held, even by those who have made some study of heraldry.

"But a very little thought would make it plain that by the very nature of the fact there cannot be either a recognized mark, compulsory use, or an *ipse facto* sign. Illegitimacy is negative, not positive, a fact that many writers hardly give sufficient weight to.

"If any one of illegitimate birth desires to obtain a right to arms he has two courses open to him. He can either (not disclosing the fact of his illegitimacy, and not attempting to prove that he is a descendant of any kind from any one else) apply for and obtain a new grant of arms on his own basis, and worry through the College the grant of a coat as closely following in design that of the old family as he can get, which means that he would be treated and penalised with such alterations (not marks of distinction) as would be imposed upon a stranger in blood endeavoring to obtain arms founded upon a coat to which he had no right. The

cost of such a proceeding in England is 76^{lb} 10s. the usual fees upon an ordinary grant.

"The alternative course is simple. He must avow himself a bastard, and must prove his paternity or maternity, as the case may be (for in the eye of the law—common and heraldic—he bears the same relation, which is nil, and the same right to the name and arms, which is nil, of both his father and his mother).

"Illegitimacy under the English laws affords one of the many instances in which anomalies exist, for, strange as the statement is, a bastard comes into the world without any name at all.

"Legally, at birth, a bastard child has then no name at all, and no arms. It must subsequently acquire such right to a name (whatever right that may amount to) as user of and reputation therein may give him. He inherits no arms at all, no name, and no property, save by specific devise or bequest. The lack of parents operates as a *chasm* which it is impossible to bridge. It is not a case of a peculiar bridge or a faulty bridge; there is no bridge at all.

"Names, in so far as they are matters of law, are subject to canon law; at any rate, the law upon the subject, such as it is, originates in Canon Law, and not in statute or common law. Canon law was made, and has never since been altered, at a time when surnames were not in existance. A bastard no more inherits the surname of the mother than it does the surname of its father; and the spirit of petty officialism so rampant amongst the clergy, which seeks to impose upon a bastard *nolens volens* the surname of its mother, has no justification in law of fact. A bastard has precisely as little right to the surname of its mother as it does to the surname of its father. Obviously, however, under the customs of our present social life, every person must have a surname of one kind or another, and it is here that the anomaly in the British law exist, in as much as neither statute nor Canon law, provide any means for conferring a surname. The King has the prerogative, and exercises it, of conferring or confirming, but it is hardly to be supposed that the King will trouble himself to provide a surname for every illegitimate child which may be born; and outside this prerogative, which probably is exercised about once a year, there is no method provided or definitely recognized by the law to meet this necessity.

"To obviate the difficulty, the surname has to be that which is

conferred upon the child by general custom, and as an illegitimate child is in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred brought up by its mother, it is usually by the same custom which confers the surname of the owner upon a dog in so many parts of the country that a bastard child gets known by its mother's surname, and consequently has the surname conferred upon it by general custom. *The only name that an illegitimate child has an inalienable right to are the names by which he was baptized*; and if two names are given, and the child or its guardian elect that it should be known only by those baptismal names, and if common repute and general custom, as would be probable, uses the last of those names as a surname, there is no legal power on earth which can force upon the child any other name: and if the last of the Baptismal names happens to be its father's surname, the child will have an absolute right to be known only by its Christian name, which to all intents and purposes will mean that it will be known by its father's surname.

"In the same way that a illegitimate child inherits no surname at all, it equally inherits no arms. Consequently it has no shield upon which to carry a mark of bastardy, if such a mark happened to be in existence. But if under a will or deed of settlement an illegitimate child is required to assume such a name and arms of its father, or of its mother, a Royal License to assume such a name and arms is considered necessary. It may be here noted that voluntary applications to assume a name and arms in the case of an illegitimate child are not entertained unless it can be clearly shown (which is not always an easy matter) what the parentage really was."

Of course neither Elizabeth nor James would grant such a request, for the simple reason that they did not know that such a child existed at all.

Elizabeth was either deceived by her trusted lieutenants, Burghley and Leycester, or she never knew of this third child's birth.

James had no knowledge and as he hated the Seymour family, of course he was not approached.

Hertford's search during his whole lifetime afterward shows how determined he was to establish his family's legitimacy, but few know, or ever knew the extraordinary reason he had in this wonderful son of his, "Our Willy." For this reason, if for no other "Our Willy" studied law and heraldry. He probably came to the

decision early in his life to establish some sort of right to arms for himself, for certainly John Shakespeare of himself would not have made such a determined effort to get his coat, after his early efforts which were disputed. So "Our Willy" helped him get them in 1596.

"Our Willy" certainly accomplished what he started out to do, for his coat of arms is unique. It is that of the "Fillongley line of Shakespeares and has never been investigated." (Chambers, v. II.) It is found in *Herald Genealogist*, I, 510; and *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, (1886), I, 109 ser. 2.

CHAPTER LIX

Finale

AFTER ten long years of search and research, and ten years of weaving it together this laborious but absolutely entrancing study now comes to a close. How did I get my clues? After the first one, I studied all the unconsidered trifles of small print and seemingly unrelated matter. Some day I may tell the beginning. Not yet. The main source of my difficulty was in the British names and their custom of the time of using a man's latest title. The people with whose names I was working were constantly being created to some higher class and their religions were changing, as a son took a title and became a Protestant, when his father died, an ardent Catholic, and similar title. Undoubtedly I have made many mistakes. Forgive. I trust they are minor in character and of little importance.

A set of *William Shakespeare's Works*, by Richard Grant White has been of great service to me, for although the work is condensed and without adequate indexes it is very complete in its gathering of every little item pertaining to "Our Willy," the chief character in this study. Yes, he was not only the greatest dramatist of all time, but also the greatest actor of all time. How many men could have acted in real life so many characters in such a convincing manner that none have doubted him till now?

However, I think that now he wishes his life and works to be known. I feel that music was his greatest achievement and that he loved it best and probably was responsible for its great advancement later.

CHAPTER LX

Popular Belief as to Date of Plays

The Tempest. Probably subsequent to 1610, certainly acted in May, 1613, but not printed till First Folio. References to Somers' shipwreck on the Bermudas, (1609), (event happened in 1606).

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. Early story derived from Montemayor's.

Diana. Not printed till folio.

The Merry Wives of Windsor. After 1598. Licensed in 1601: printed in part next year. Plot partly suggested by divers tales, Italian and other.

Measure for Measure. Produced December, 1604 (?) Not printed till folio. Story from Cinthio and Whetstone.

The Comedy of Errors. Acted December, 1594. Not printed till folio. Adapted from the *Menaechmi* of Plautus.

Much Ado About Nothing. After 1598. Printed in 1600. Part of story from Bandello and Ariosto.

Love's Labour's Lost. Early. First printed 1598. No direct source of story known.

A Midsummer Night's Dream. Middle early. Printed 1600. Story combined from Chaucer, Ovid, *Huon of Bordeaux* and many other sources. Practically original.

The Merchant of Venice. Late early, but before 1598. First printed (twice) in 1600. "Casket" and "pound of flesh" stories old medieval; frequently rehandled before Shakespeare separately and perhaps combined before him.

As You Like It. About 1600. Not printed till folio. Main story from Lodge's *Rosalynde*, which throws back to the mediaeval English tale of *Gamelyn*.

The Taming of the Shrew. Adapted from an older play printed in 1594. Not itself printed till folio. Partly drawn from Gascoigne's *Supposes*.

All's Well that Ends Well. Before 1598 (if identical with *Love's Labour's Won*). Not printed till folio. Story from Boccaccio through Painter.

Twelfth Night. About 1600. Acted at Middle Temple, February, 1601-2. First printed in folio. Original Italian either from play or novel, but perhaps directly from Barnabe Rich's translation of Bandello.

The Winter's Tale. Acted in May, 1611. Not printed till folio. Story from Green's novel of *Pandosto* (Dorastus and Fawnia).

King John. Early. Not printed till folio. Directly adapted from earlier play on same subject.

Richard II. Early. Printed 1597. Matter from Holinshed.

Henry IV. Late early. *Part I* printed 1598; *Part II* printed 1600. Partly worked up from earlier play, *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth*, but all best things original.

Henry V. 1599. Printed imperfectly next year. Origin as above.

Henry VI. *Part I* was first published in folio and no part is mentioned by Meres. *Parts II and III* in folio had appeared in a different and much less elaborate shape under the titles of *The First Part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster*, and *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* in 1594 and 1595. The source of the matter, as in all English chronicle plays, is Holinshed; but he is here largely corrected from other authorities.

Richard III. Completing the series, apparently, but more original than the *Henry VI* plays. It was published in 1597. Source again Holinshed.

Troilus and Cressida. Acted and licensed for publication in February 1602-3, was not actually printed till January 1608-9. It may have been suggested by Chaucer whom it followed in the main lines of the love story but owes much to other forms of tale of Troy—perhaps most to Ludgate's.

Coriolanus. Appeared at an unknown date (c. 1608-9 is the favorite guess) but was never printed till folio. It follows Plutarch very closely—an observation which applies to all Roman plays except

Titus Andronicus; which, one of the earliest, was acted in January, 1593-4 and printed next year. The subject is quite unhistorical and its original source is unknown; it could have had little or nothing to do with a previous play on "Titus and Vespasian."

Romeo and Juliet, which is certainly early, has been put as far back as 1591; was printed in 1597. Its source was a novel of Bandello's, already Englished by Broke in verse and Painter in prose.

Timon of Athens. Supposed to have been written in 1607, but was not printed till folio. A play on the same subject had been produced in 1600 and the suggestion of it was taken from Lucian and Plutarch through Painter.

Julius Caesar. Perhaps acted in 1601. Not printed till folio and is Plutarchian.

Macbeth. Has been conjecturally put as early as 1605. It was certainly acted in 1610: but was not printed till folio. The matter comes from Holinshed.

Hamlet. First acted and entered on the register 1602; first extant edition 1603; again printed in 1604 and, finally, in folio—the three forms differing much. The story came from *Saxo Grammaticus* through Belleforest, and, apparently, had been dramatized in English.

King Lear. First acted on 26 December, 1606; was printed in 1608 and again later, before folio. It comes from Holinshed, whose story had been (more exactly but much worse) dramatized in 1605 by someone else.

Othello. Acted, apparently, in November, 1622, but was not printed till folio. The story comes from Cinthio.

Antony and Cleopatra. Licensed for publication, but not published, in 1608. Like *Julius Caesar*, to which it is a sequel, it did not appear in print till folio, and again is Plutarchian.

Cymbeline. Acted in 1610 or next year, but not printed till folio. Its matter comes partly from Holinshed, partly from Boccaccio.

Pericles. Though not included in folio, was printed in 1609 and no less than five times again before 1635. It was included among Shakespeare's works thirty years later in the third folio of 1664. The story comes from Gower.

POEMS—*Venus and Adonis*, published 1593, is, apparantly, Ovidian in origin; and *Lucrece*, published 1594, may be so or may only go back to Chaucer.

The *Sonnets* were referred to by Meres in 1598. Next year, two were printed in Jaggard's *Passionate Pilgrim*, and all appeared in 1609. *The Phoenix and the Turtle* dates from 1601. Source *Cambridge History of English Literature*.

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"Our Willy", This is the author's designation for the bastardized William Seymour, whose legal or baptismal name was William Shakespeare. He took for productive purposes many aliases, which also see—John Southerne, John Dowling, John Smith, which was probably given him by his father for a protective measure; Thomas Morley, Richard Barnfield, Christopher Marlowe, Henry Constable, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and Thomas Champion. Why he took these names is partially explained in the text, along with "Our Willy" connection with each alias.
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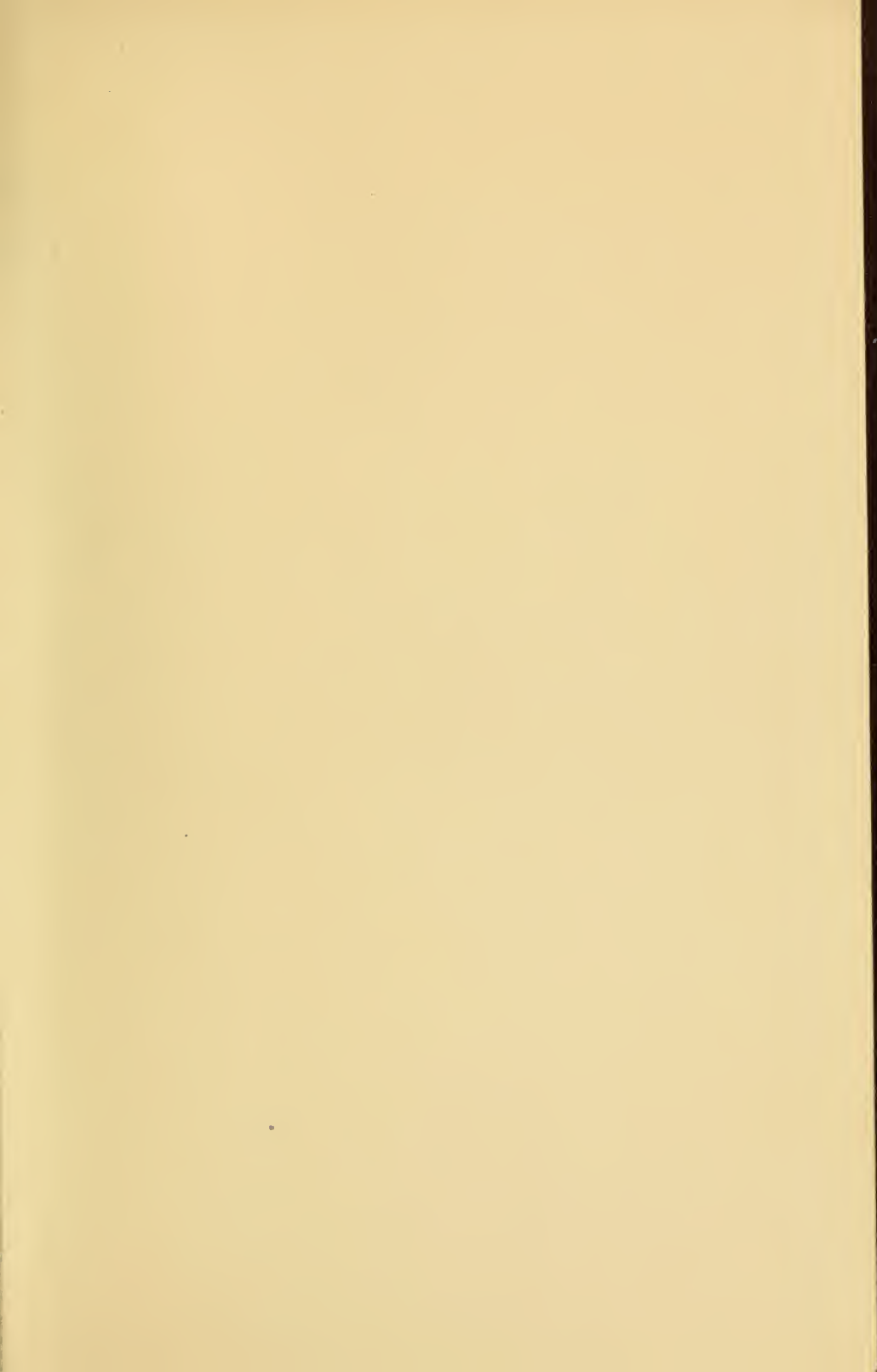
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